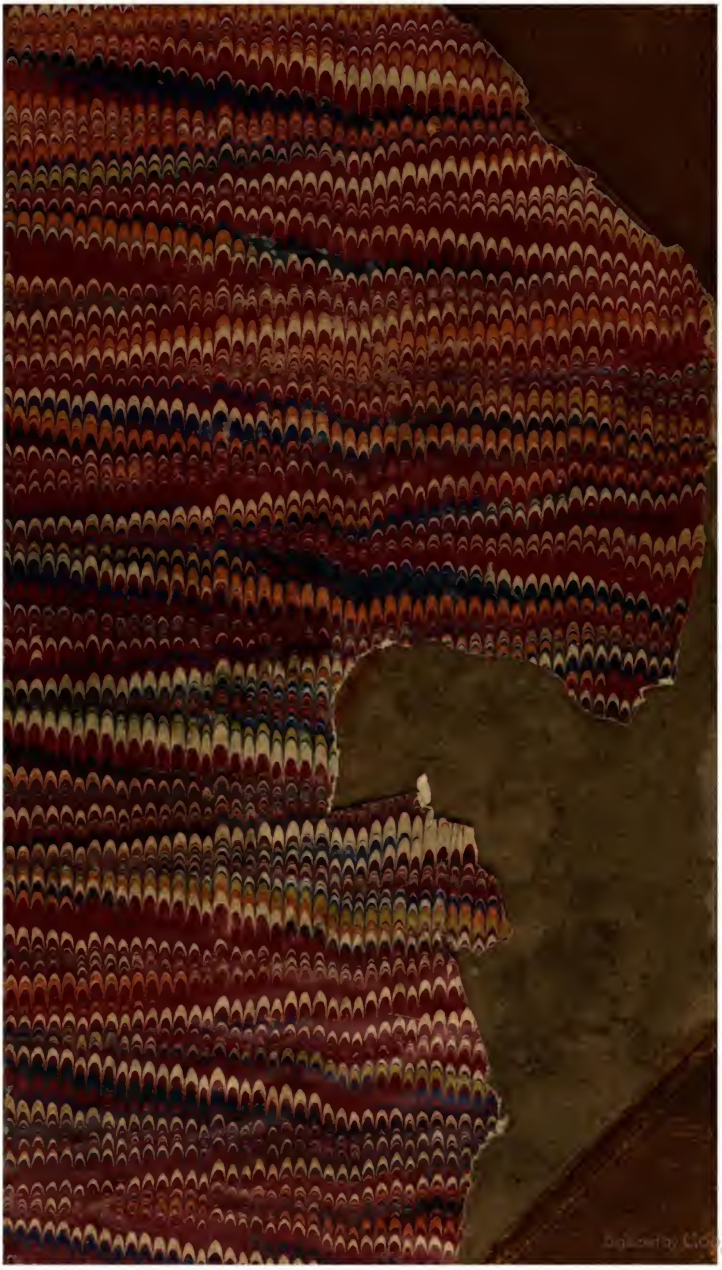

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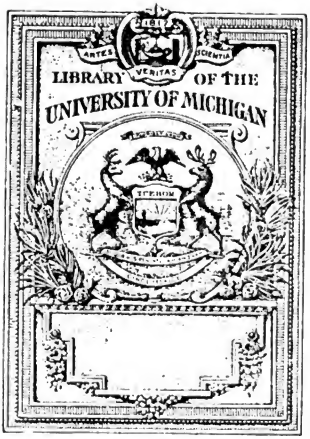

THE GIFT OF

Steve Raphael

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James Gould,
ATTORNEY & COUNSELOR AT LAW,
JACKSON, MICH.
SPECIAL ATTENTION GIVEN COLLECTION.

Daniel Ketchum
Adrian Michigan
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THE

AMERICAN

ANNUAL CYCLOPÆDIA

AND

REGISTER OF IMPORTANT EVENTS

OF THE YEAR

1861.

EMBRACING POLITICAL, CIVIL, MILITARY, AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS; PUBLIC DOCUMENTS; BIOGRAPHY, STATISTICS, COMMERCE, FINANCE, LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AGRICULTURE AND MECHANICAL INDUSTRY.

VOLUME I.

NEW YORK:
D. APPLETON & CO., 90, 92 & 94 GRAND STREET.
1870.

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PREFACE.

In preparing a Cyclopædia of what came to pass during the year 1861, the political and military events appeared to possess a greater importance than all that had been developed in the different branches of knowledge. The interest which they awakened soon became so strong and engrossing that the peaceful pursuits of industry were paralyzed, trade and commerce languished, the student of science forsook his quiet seclusion for the tented field, and the inventive genius turned to find more skilful weapons for conflict or terrible engines for destruction. The consequences involved in these events are regarded as destined to exert a permanent influence on mankind. Whether constitutional liberty can survive the violence of human passions; whether institutions organized to preserve and protect the rights of men, and which depend for their existence upon the will and pleasure of those whom they control, can withstand the shocks of military power, are questions in which the welfare of all is at issue. The conflict, therefore, in the United States, forms an important part of this volume. It embraces the political principles involved, with the arguments of their respective advocates and opponents; the movements of the leaders of secession, from their first acts to the close of the year, including the proceedings, step by step, in each of the Southern States until they had resolved themselves out of the Union, and their subsequent efforts; the organization of the Confederate States; the principles upon which that organization was founded; the civil and commercial regulations of the Confederacy; the movements of its Government to fill its treasury, and organize and equip vast armies; the counteracting movements of the United States; the organization of its armies, with the details of the weapons for the infantry and artillery, and for the batteries of the ships and gunboats; together with all the original documents, from the Messages of the respective Presidents; the instructions of Cabinet officers; the Messages and proclamations of Governors; the important acts of the United States and Confederate Congresses; the acts and resolutions of State Legislatures; the proclamations and orders of commanding officers; the contributions of men and money from each State, North and South; the details of every battle and every skirmish involving a loss of life. So ample have been the resources from which its details have been prepared, comprising publications both North and South, that it is believed no important public measure of the Federal or Confederate Governments, or of any of the States, has been over-

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looked, or valuable document omitted. The efforts of the Confederacy to secure the coöperation of foreign powers, and of the United States to prevent it, are summarily presented in the letters and instructions of the respective diplomatic agents.

In thus preparing in a narrative form this portion of the events of the year, although the effort has been made to observe strict accuracy and impartiality, some mistakes may have occurred, which ask for the forbearing consideration of the intelligent reader.

The developments of science during the year present some interesting particulars. The assent of geologists to the Taconic system advocated by the late Prof. Emmons, after so many years of disbelief, is another instance of the triumph of investigation over preconceived errors. The introduction of the method of Solar analysis, which has as yet progressed hardly so far as to receive a name, although Spectrography meets with much approval, may justly be classed among the important events. The conclusions of science, as applied to agriculture, which were reached during the year 1861, will become to the farmer of great practical value. At the same time, they set aside many opinions and processes of labor which have not yielded fruitful results. They will be found fully explained in a very practical essay from the pen of Prof. J. J. Mapes.

Geographical explorations were pursued with vigor in various quarters of the globe, and many travellers returned from their perilous journeys of a previous year. In all instances the information is highly interesting, and often valuable.

Connected with mechanical industry there were many ingenious inventions during the year, especially relating to implements of war, some of which have been described, while others are reserved, to be accompanied with such illustrations as more ample time will allow. To mechanical industry, so important in this country, an extensive portion of the annual volume of this work will be devoted.

The commerce of the whole world was interrupted during the year, and although sufficient time has not elapsed to gather the statistics of all its changes, yet the details of disaster to many branches have been made up in these pages. The stupendous resources of the United States, hitherto unconsciously possessed, not only in military and naval affairs, but especially in financial, have been brought to light by the present difficulties. The financial measures of the Government and of the States are explained with the most ample details.

The number of distinguished men who closed their career in 1861 was not so large as in many other years. A tribute has been paid to their virtues and their services.

Subsequent volumes of this work will be issued about the first of March in each year.

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THE

ANNUAL CYCLOPÆDIA.

A

ABDUL MEDJID, Khan, late Sultan of Turkey, born May 6, 1822, succeeded to the throne July 1, 1839, died June 25, 1861. Educated in the seclusion of the harem, and coming to the throne at the early age of 17, and possessing naturally a kindly but indolent and almost effeminate nature, it was hardly possible that he should have become an efficient ruler over an empire so extensive, and peopled by races so diverse, even in the most favorable period of its history. But his accession to the throne took place at a time of unusual commotion, and when the strong arm of a wise and vigorous ruler could hardly have saved the empire from disintegration and ruin. His father had been a man of great energy and iron will, and had initiated reforms which, in the opinion of the more fanatical Moslems, struck at the very foundations of their faith. The ill-concealed hostility of the mass of the Mohammedan people to these reforms would have awed a less resolute ruler than Mahmoud II., and his death leaving his reforms but half accomplished, encouraged the hopes of the reactionary party. Nor were there wanting other causes of anxiety to harass the mind of the boy sultan. Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt, his most powerful vassal, had placed himself in an attitude of open rebellion during the lifetime of Mahmoud II., and his son, Ibrahim-Pasha, on the 24th of June, 8 days previous to Abdul Medjid's accession to the throne, had defeated the sultan's troops in the decisive battle of Nezib. The interference of the allied powers alone prevented the Turkish empire from dismemberment at this juncture.

This danger passed, the young sultan applied himself to the development of his father's plans of reform. The first step in this direction was the promulgation of the *Hatti-Scherif* of Gul-Khané, in Nov. 1839. This Hatti-Scherif was a general decree in the nature of a bill of rights, declaring the equality of all his subjects, whether Mussulmen or not, before the law. Its intention was more fully developed in the subsequent measures, now included under the name of the *tanzimat*, or system of reforms. The most important of these measures were: the reorganization of the army in 1843 and 1844, the creation of new ministerial departments of commerce and public works, the reorganization of the provinces, the promulgation of a penal code and of a code of commerce, the establishment of mixed tribunals allowing Christians a share with Mussulmen in the administration of justice, the introduction of a new monetary system, the abolition of the *Kharadj*, or capitation tax, previously levied on all who were not Mussulmen; the reform of the system of public education, and the introduction of postal service, railroads, telegraphs, the regulation of quarantines, the establishment of banks, &c.

These reforms were at first put in force in the capital, and thence extended gradually to the remoter provinces. Not being in the nature of absolute decrees, but rather suggestions for reform, whose stringency was to be increased as the people would bear them, they were at first of little effect, except immediately in the vicinity of the capital. In Sept. 1854, desirous of giving them a wider scope and a more decided efficacy, the sultan called a council of *tanzimat*, or congress of representatives from all parts of his empire, and laid before them his measures. On the 18th February, 1856, he issued a new *Hatti-Humayoum* or imperial decree, conforming and enlarging the propositions of the Hatti-Scherif. These measures indicated the progressive disposition of the sultan, and his desire to become an efficient ruler. They were undertaken under circumstances of great difficulty; from the commencement of his administration to its close, there was constantly some disturbing element to delay or thwart his purposes: the Turko-Egyptian question at the commencement of his reign, and subsequently the Servian question; the insurrection in Albania; the war in Koordistan; the troubles in Syria, in Bosnia, and Montenegro; the Turko-Greek and Wallachian revolution of 1848–9; his noble refusal to surrender the Hungarian and Polish refugees, who had sought protection on his soil, to Austria and Russia in 1850; the question of the holy places

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which led to the Crimean war; the attempt to assassinate him in 1859; and the Syrian massacres of 1860, were all so many obstacles to his progress. To these might also be added his natural indolence and love of sensual indulgence, his infirm health and his yielding disposition, which made him often the helpless prey of the dissolute ministers and the rapacious harem which controlled him. He has been succeeded by his brother, Abdul Aziz Khan.

AGRICULTURE is the art of cultivating the earth in order to increase the quantity and improve the quality of its productions.

The practical farmer should be able to raise from a given number of acres, the largest quantity of the most valuable produce, at the least cost, in the shortest period, and without permanent injury to the soil; and therefore the great problem which the present age has to solve, is the discovery of the means of producing on a given area, a larger amount of bread and meat to supply the wants of a continually increasing population.

The object of these remarks will not be to give any history of agriculture, but rather to show the advantages which have arisen from the application of the sciences to its practice, until it may now be truly said, in its present status, to compose a science in itself, embracing the operation of the natural laws in their most extended sense, and covering, as part of its accessories, much of geology, chemistry, etc.

We shall aim rather to demonstrate that which experimental theories have culminated during the last few years into exact knowledge, than to give descriptions of the leading and more prominent improvements in agriculture as an art. It is now well understood that all known primaries are to be found in the soil, itself being chiefly composed of the debris of rocks, whence have arisen all of the primaries, except those which have existed in more dilate form, as in the atmosphere.

For a long time it was supposed by chemists that the analyses of plants and soils would furnish a sure guide to the farmer in his selection of the amendments requisite to the production of crops. Recent investigations, however, prove that these primaries, as found in the ashes of a plant, differ materially in their *functions*, from the same primaries existing in the rock or in the soil, unless they have been redeposited in the soil by the decay of organisms; that each primary, when taken up and appropriated by a plant, and then restored again to the soil by the decay of the plant, possesses functions which are entirely distinct from those belonging to a primary before its entrance into organic life: and thus arable soils are composed in part of inorganic matter which belonged originally to the rocks, then to the soil, then formed a part of organic life, and on being restored to the soil, became ready to act as pabulum to a higher organism; and that each time a primary so enters into organic life, it takes new functions and qualities not belonging to its original condition, and not recognizable by analyses or microscopic investigations. Thus we find that the feldspar rock, containing seventeen per cent. of potash, when ground to the finest powder, will not supply potash directly to the higher class of plants—still a rock containing feldspar will furnish potash to those of a lower class, such as the lichens and mosses, etc.; and on their decay it returns to the soil in a progressed or advanced condition, capable of being assimilated by a higher class of plant.

It is for this reason that, while ground feldspar fails to prove a valuable amendment to soils, requiring additions of potash, unleached wood ashes so readily furnish plants with this necessary alkali.

The same truth is observable with phosphate of lime, so readily assimilated by plants when furnished in the form of animal bones, even after they have been heated to redness, so that the phosphate of lime which they contain is freed from all surrounding matters.

This same substance, without any differences which may be recognized by the chemist, is found in large quantities in what is known as the phosphatic rocks, and some of them contain ninety-five per cent. of pure phosphate of lime; still when this is ground to a powder it will not be assimilated by the roots of plants in contact with it; and many soils formed in part of the chlor-apatite rock require additions of more progressed phosphate before their cultivation can be rendered profitable.

The same may be said of lime, for although primitive limestone when burnt so as to render it caustic, is valuable to the farmer as a means of disintegrating other materials in the soil from its chemical effects, yet lime so furnished will not form direct food for plants, while lime arising from organic decomposition is readily assimilated by them.

Two thousand bushels of lime, made by burning limestone rock of Westchester Co., N. Y., applied to a single acre, will render the land sterile for many years, itself forming less than two per cent. of the weight of this soil to a depth of fifteen inches.

There are many chalk farms, however, in England, containing forty per cent. of carbonate of lime, (which is the form which the Westchester lime assumes before the farmer uses it;) but this latter (chalk) has its origin in organic decay, and therefore is readily assimilated by plants to the extent they require lime to form part of their ash when burned; and the quantity in excess is not unfriendly to surrounding vegetable growth.

Indeed this principle is true of each and all the primaries in nature; thus, old soils which have been fairly and properly treated, are more fertile than new ones. As a general principle, therefore, it should be understood that, in the selection of fertilizers, those taken from the refuse of factories, etc., or at least from the highest organic sources, should be preferred.

Many of the ingredients in the soil have the

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power of absorbing and retaining ammonia and other gases consequent upon organic decay, which are brought down with rains and dews from the atmosphere, and these give to water the power of dissolving much larger quantities of inorganic matter than can be taken up by positively pure water. Of the ingredients having such power, the chief are carbon and alumina: were it not for the presence of which in the surface soils, the decay of organic life would not be retained for the use of forthcoming crops, but would filter downward and render every well and spring a cesspool.

So perfect is the action of these materials that one per cent. of either or both, disseminated through a soil to a depth of 12 inches, is quite capable of abstracting from fluids, during their downward course, most of those substances required to sustain plant life; and recent discoveries are quite sufficient to assure the agriculturist that he need not fear the loss of manures by downward filtration. A pure gravel or positively pure sand are the only exceptions which are practically to be met with, and these, overtopped by a loam to an ordinary depth, will never receive from the upper soil any solutions which would be valuable to plant life, unless such solutions be added in quantities far beyond what would ever be applied in practice. Were it not for this law, all the progressed and more soluble portions of organic life would have passed towards the earth's centre, leaving the surface sterile and incapable of sustaining man. The full understanding and appreciation of this fact may be fairly registered as belonging to the year 1861; for, although before suggested, it has not been generally admitted and understood until this time.

In the mechanical operations upon the soil, while agriculture was pursued simply as an art, the farmer merely knew that a disturbance of the surface produced increased results—but he now understands the laws on which such increase depends.

Rains and dews may be viewed as the natural means of cleansing the atmosphere, taking therefrom all the volatile exudations of organic life and restoring these to the soil for reassimilation. We find the atmosphere at all times containing certain proportions of these gases, and during droughts the quantity held in atmospheric suspension is materially increased. The first half-pint of rain, falling on the roof of a house, during a shower, will be found so highly charged with ammonia, sulphuretted hydrogen, etc., as to emit a peculiar odor; consequently the water from dews and the early parts of showers is more valuable to farmers than that furnished by continuous rains. To fully avail of this effect, the soil should be deeply disintegrated so as to permit the atmosphere permeating the soil to deposit its moisture upon the surface of the colder particles beneath the surface of the soil. We all know that a glass vessel containing ice or cold water, if placed in the sun's rays at midday, during droughts even at midsummer, will be speedily covered on its outer surface with drops of water, which of course are condensed from the atmosphere; for if the soil be dry the atmosphere *must* contain moisture, however dilate, as there are but two places in which it can exist, viz., the earth and the atmosphere—its quantity at all times must be constant. In the same way, then, the surfaces of particles of soil colder than the atmosphere, are capable of receiving a proper degree of humidity, which in turn is capable of absorbing all the gases from the atmosphere requisite to render the moisture a more perfect solvent of the inorganic food required to sustain plants: in this state, and in this only, can plants receive it—they cannot take up inorganic matter unless in solution, and no plant can grow without its reception. All these necessary conditions may be secured by *Underdraining* and *Subsoil-ploughing*.

Underdraining.—This consists in burying beneath the soil, in a proper manner, a series of tubes or pipes, so made as to be capable of receiving from the soil any excess or surplus of water it may contain, and leading it to lower points whence it may be discharged and find its way to outlets. For the method of constructing underdrains, we would refer the reader to the recent works of Judge French, Klippart, and others. The best specimen of practical underdraining with which we are acquainted, may be found at the Central Park, New York.

Millions of acres of apparently valueless soils have been rendered capable of profitable cultivation by underdraining. Drains have been made of stones, porous pipe, tile, wooden tubes of various kinds, etc.; but practice has proved that the ordinary draining tile, made of unglazed burnt clay, forms the safest and most efficient and durable underdrain. It is also ascertained that the tiles laid at a depth of five feet, in soils where underdrains may be so deeply constructed, produce results better than those attainable by drains of less depth. These drains should be at such distance apart as to thoroughly remove all excess of water from the soil, and in so doing, they insure full aëration. Both ends of each drain should be open to and at the surface, producing a continuous draft of air always passing through them, and as the atmosphere is warmer than the soil, the heat rising during its horizontal travel passes into and through the soil, materially elevating its temperature—it also secures motion to the air in the soil, which, in passing between the particles, supplies the necessary amount of humidity, and with it those gases which guarantee all the chemical changes required to furnish the inorganic food to plants.

The chief advantages of underdraining may be summed up as follows:

"*Underdrained soils never suffer from drought*," provided that the subsoil be disintegrated as in the process known as *subsoil-ploughing*. Less manure will suffice for crops.

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The after disintegration of the soil is more readily and cheaply performed. Its temperature is increased, and therefore a longer season of growth is secured. The best proof of the usefulness of underdraining, however, is to be found in the fact that the English Government, and many chartered companies and individual capitalists, have freely loaned money on mortgage to English farmers for the purpose of underdraining their soils, and that these mortgages are only active after a valuation—in other words, the mortgages only bear upon the increased value of the soil consequent upon underdraining. After the expenditure of millions of pounds sterling in this way, scarcely an instance can be found where the income of the farmer has not been increased sufficiently to enable him to pay his underdrainage mortgage, leaving him an increase of profit ever after, while the nation at large is permanently rendered wealthier by the system. Indeed it is doubtful if England could at this time sustain her population, were it not for the increase of crops consequent upon the underdraining of the land.

Subsoil-ploughing.—It is only within a few years that the process of subsoil-ploughing has been rendered practicable, for although known for many years as a needed improvement in the culture of soils, the tools presented for such use were inadequate, until the invention of the lifting subsoil-plough, by the writer of this article. This implement is known as Mapes' lifting subsoil-plough, and is formed of a lozenge-shaped wedge of steel, point forward, like a spear-head laid horizontally, and forming a series of inclined planes, gradually rising from the point to its bridge or highest part, being an elevation of only five-eighths of an inch. This horizontal wedge is sustained to a beam by two curved knives placed vertically, and by these means, as with other plough-beams, the instrument is propelled in the usual manner. In practice, the surface-plough precedes the subsoil-plough, moved by a separate team. The subsoil-plough follows with its beam in the bottom of the furrow, thus disintegrating to a depth of 12 inches or more, beneath the bottom of the surface furrow, raising the soil five-eighths of an inch, and in so doing, causing the separation of particle from particle, as in the soil over an ordinary *mole-track*, but to a width, at the surface, of twenty inches, and this disintegration is more perfect than between the particles of a soil turned over in a furrow-slice, as with the surface-plough.

The subsoil-plough insures to the subsoil full depth for the travel of roots, also permitting the entrance of atmosphere; the surface loam is consequently gradually deepened to any required depth; for while the loam as a new soil, may have a depth of but 6 inches, and the farmer is constrained to that depth of surface-ploughing; still, by the use of a subsoil-plough, he may disintegrate without elevating the subsoil, which will gradually change by atmospheric and other influences into a loamy soil, so that, in after ploughings, the depth of the surface furrow may be increased. Grass lands previously underdrained and subsoil-ploughed, *never run out*, and the full ratio of crops may be maintained for any length of time, by slight top-dressings, of such amendments as have not yet been progressed from the soil itself.

Where subsoiling and underdraining are not practised, mowing-lands and pastures are continually lessening in their products, so that the farmer is compelled every few years to take his land out of grass, and carry it through a series of rotation of crops, before he can reëstablish a grass crop. The foregoing may be considered as an epitome of the greater improvements connected with the proper mechanical preparation of the soil, together with the necessary rationale for comprehending the causes of the benefits to be derived therefrom; and all other and after manipulations are but the presentation of the same desirable conditions to the surface soil, in a more minute and extended manner, so as to avail of the same laws more rapidly and effectively. No farmer can reasonably expect to avail of the largest amount of profit, who has not prepared his surface and subsoil in the manner we have indicated; for, be his surface cultivation what it may, and the use of fertilizers ever so liberal, his profit will not be as great as that of his neighbor whose farm is underdrained and subsoil-ploughed.

Fertilizers.—In old times, farmers sometimes suffered their land to remain without crops for the purpose of enabling it to gain in fertility. This was accomplished by the slow reception from the atmosphere of gases capable of enabling the moisture in the soil to dissolve new quantities of the inorganic constituents, storing them up until, by their accumulation, the soil was again capable of bearing crops. This was called *fallowing*. The modern improvements, however, of underdraining and subsoil-ploughing, will secure all the advantages of the fallowing system, and in a much shorter time; for it is now admitted that "the true rest of the soil is a judicious succession of crops." This result is farther accelerated by presenting to the soil the necessary food for plants in a progressed shape, of organic origin, so that the growing crop is fed independently of the soil in place; therefore permitting it, as in the following process, to augment the quantity of plant food rapidly; for it must be understood that moisture is enabled to dissolve increased quantities of each of the inorganic constituents, when the roots of a growing crop are present. In the use of fertilizers, the farmer should not inquire, "*with how small a quantity can I create a crop?*" but rather, "*how large a quantity may I use with increased profit?*" for, with an increased quantity, not only does he increase the amount and quality of a current crop, but he leaves the soil increased in productiveness for the future.

Manures of the farm.—These are of the first importance, and require the greatest amount of care for their proper manipulation, admixture,

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and use. The value of farm-yard and stable manures consists mainly in the progressed inorganic matter they contain, and in the state of division in which that matter exists, and not, as many suppose, in the amount of nitrogen or ammonia they contain; for the value of ammonia consists, not in being a food for plants, but in its ability to give to water the power of dissolving new portions of the soil itself, passing it through the proper chemical changes to fit it for plants. It is doubtful if any plant ever received, through its roots, any of the constituents of ammonia; and it is only to this function of ammonia that the farmer need look for any advantage from its use.

If his soil be fairly arable, from former use, and be thoroughly underdrained, and subsoil-ploughed, containing a full share of progressed inorganic food for plants, he will find no benefit from the application of ammonia in any form; for soils so prepared will receive all they require of nitrogenous matters from the atmosphere, as they will be continuously condensing from that source moisture charged with gases. We freely admit that on badly-prepared soils, merely surface-ploughed, and presenting so slight a depth of soil to atmospheric influences that the necessary quantity of nitrogen cannot be received, it is necessary to increase the solvent power of the moisture they contain so as to secure the solution of a sufficient amount of inorganic pabulum to sustain crops; but the real value of every manure, so far as furnishing the constituents of plants is concerned, is due not only to the amount of inorganic food which it contains, but to its condition or state of progression, and not to the amount of nitrogen combined therewith in any form.

The best cultivators do not use open barn-yards as the receptacle of manures, but the manures of the farm are removed daily to adjacent manure-sheds, where the compost is placed on and above the surface of the ground, with a drainage cistern at the lower end of the shed, furnished with a pump, so that the fluid drainage of the manure heap may be thrown from the cistern on top of the mass, and by its downward filtration through the compost supply moisture and convey the soluble portions to the inert parts, causing continuous fermentation without excessive heat, preventing fire-fanging, and insuring entire disintegration, destroying weed seeds, and breaking up organic forms of all kinds, so that the mass may become homogeneous without the labor or expense of turning by forking, etc. All the fluids of the stables, house, etc., may be carried by gutters to this cistern, the compost heap may be supplied with muck, meadow mud, head-lands, weeds, and all waste materials of the farm, and by the continued and repeated infiltration of the soluble portion through all other parts, the admixture will become more perfect than by any other method; the occasional addition of sulphuric acid to this cistern will convert all the volatile products of decomposition into sulphates which are non-volatile, thus preventing evaporation, malaria, etc.

Special fertilizers which are soluble may be thrown into the cistern, and so find their way through the mass, and, with it, to the fields.

When the drainage is insufficient to supply the necessary amount of moisture, water may be passed into the cistern, and when fluid manures are called for to be used on the farm, they may be taken from this reservoir, and distributed by a sprinkling-cart.

With such an arrangement all kinds of farm manures may be thoroughly combined, securing such chemical changes as will do away with the disadvantages consequent upon their separate use, such as the unfavorable influence of hog-manure, when used alone upon the brassica tribe of plants, clump-rooting cabbages, giving ambury, or fingers and toes, to turnips, etc. The manure of the hen-house should frequently be added to the compost heap, so as to be more evenly divided through it.

The pump with which the cistern is supplied may be moved by a small wind-mill, placed above the shed, causing the changes to be continuous by the downward filtration through the mass followed by the atmosphere.

The value of manure so prepared, diluted with many times its bulk of waste organic matter, such as muck, leaves from the woods, woods-earth, etc., is greater per cord after fermentation than that of the pure manure kept in an open barn-yard, while the quantity will be materially greater, no loss by washing or evaporation having occurred. When potash is required by the soil, it may be added in the form of wood-ashes, and other special amendments, in solution or otherwise. These will not only find their way to the field, but while in the compost heap will furnish chemical action for the decomposition of all other portions, securing at the same time their own dissemination throughout the mass. So much for farm-yard manures; but who can produce so large a quantity of such manures (whatever may be the extent of his stables) as may be used on his land with increased profit? We claim that no farmer or stock-breeder can do so, and when, under these circumstances, the farmer has the means of farming more profitably, he must of necessity become the buyer of fertilizers; there are but few localities where farm and stable manures can be purchased; those manures made upon the farm itself may be used with profit, but if they are to be carted from a distance, the transportation will generally render them more costly than other fertilizers. Factory wastes of various kinds frequently may be purchased at less cost near towns and cities. Night-soil, also, may be used with advantage. Peruvian guano contains many of the constituents required by crops, and when properly treated before use is an admirable manure; it should be finely ground and mixed with some divider, such as charcoal dust, woods-earth, or even the ordinary soil of the farm, and should

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be wetted with dilute sulphuric acid, so as to render its phosphates more soluble and its carbonates less volatile; or, what is still better, it may form part of a well-made superphosphate of lime. The best of these is the nitrogenized superphosphate of lime, made by the admixture of 100 pounds of calcined bones, 56 pounds of sulphuric acid, 36 pounds of Peruvian guano, and 20 pounds of sulphate of ammonia, to which may be added an equal weight of dried blood, the whole to be thoroughly ground together. Six hundred pounds of this mixture will fully represent twenty-five cords of well-rotted farm and stable manure.

Lime.—Lime, as it is generally used, cannot be viewed as an *immediate* or *direct* food for plants; that which is contained in decaying organisms, or as resulting from the ashes of wood and other substances, when applied to the soil, is readily assimilated by plants; but the more crude kinds of lime, such as are made by the burning of the ordinary limestones, have their first action friendly to vegetable growth in their power to decompose all organic matter, and thus cause it to give up its inorganic constituents; in addition to which, it acts upon the inorganic constituents of the soil itself, forming silicate of lime; and by removing portions of the surface of particles, presents new surfaces for other chemical action and continued development.

Lime, when combined with salt, so as to form chloride of lime and carbonate of soda, before its use in soils, becomes materially more active and in a condition to be rapidly appropriated. Three bushels of lime, slaked with a solution of one bushel of salt, and then exposed to the atmosphere until the chlorine of the salt combines with the lime, forming chloride of lime, and setting free the soda, permitting it to combine with carbonic acid from the atmosphere, becoming carbonate of soda, form an admirable fertilizer. Four bushels of this mixture, sufficiently old for all the chemical changes to have occurred, if mixed with a cord of any cheap organic matter, such as swamp muck, woods-earth, etc., will decompose it to a powder in a very short space of time. It is therefore a valuable auxiliary to most composts.

Sulphate of Lime, (plaster of Paris,) usually known as gypsum, supplies to the soil not only lime, but also sulphuric acid, and previous to undergoing any change, it has the power of absorbing and giving off to water large amounts of the gaseous products of the atmosphere, as well as those consequent upon organic decay in the soil; it is found also to be valuable in deodorizing the effluvia of stables, compost heaps, etc. In soils containing very minute proportions of progressed inorganic materials, plaster is often used to assist in the growth of clover. This in turn throws down its deep roots, gathering from the subsoil large amounts of inorganic matter, elevating them to the surface soil, and on decaying, when ploughed under, enriching the soil, not, as has been frequently asserted, by the decomposition of matters abstracted from the atmosphere alone, but by its power in progressing the inorganic materials of the soil, and rendering them fit for future assimilations.

Wood-ashes.—These supply to the soil large amounts of potash, with smaller quantities of the other constituents shown in their analysis. Thus leached ashes from which the potash is entirely removed, still exercise, on many soils, a friendly influence, by furnishing plants with the other constituents making up their composition, all of which, once having been in organic life, are progressed and fitted for entering a higher class of vegetable growth.

Lime, ashes, and other alkaline substances, tend to alter the mechanical conditions of soils; clayey soils are rendered more free by their use, while sandy soils become more compact, each being improved in degree.

Our space will not permit any further detail on the subject of fertilizers; however, it should be remembered that all those which are not of a volatile character may be applied to the more immediate surface with greater benefit than when ploughed deeply under; for, in the former case, as they become soluble by the combined effects of sun and air, and the consequent chemical changes, they are presented to a greater number of particles attacking their surfaces, and coming in contact with a larger quantity of roots, than if they had been originally placed more deeply in the soil. Thus we find that the top-dressing of grass and grain crops with phosphates, ashes, etc., is of material benefit, while lime, from the peculiar shape of its particles, descends from the effects of rains and dews; and in soils which have not been subsoiled, the accumulation of lime applied during many years, will be found coating the surface of the subsoil, and can be brought into activity again only by an increased depth of ploughing of the surface, or the disturbance of the subsoil. Lime, therefore, should always be applied in small doses, and more frequently than has been usually practised. The chief benefit to be derived from the ploughing in of green crops, the application of meadow muck, river mud, and other cheap organic substances, is as follows: they furnish large amounts of progressed inorganic materials; during their decay or subdivision, they leave interstices in the soil for the reception of atmosphere; the process of decay generates heat, and this accelerates growth; and they supply large amounts of carbon, evenly divided, which perform the offices in the soil to which we have before referred.

It should be remembered that a soil, surface-ploughed to a reasonable depth, then subsoil-ploughed and fully underdrained, containing fertilizers of the kinds suggested above, has advantages over soils differently prepared; among which are *the entire absence of any ill effect from drought*, greater ease of manipulation, and the presence of conditions by which all that class of plants, known as *tillering* plants, can increase the number of their bearing shoots. A single grain of wheat will sometimes, by *til-*

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lering, throw up sixty separate standards, each bearing grain. This arises from *tiller roots* thrown out near the earth crown, but whenever any one root of a stool comes in contact with a cold subsoil, which has never been disintegrated, the tillering in the whole crown ceases. It is for this reason that grass crops frequently run out, in soils not so prepared; while with proper preparation, and the top-dressing we have named, a field once in grass may be maintained at its maximum of product for any length of time.

Recent Changes in Farm Crops.—Until within a very few years the American farmer has paid but little attention to the cultivation of roots as food for cattle. William Cobbett, the English statesman, was the first to introduce the culture of the rutabaga turnip as food for cattle in America. Its general adoption, however, until within a few years has been slow; it is now known that a proper variety of root crops is not only less exhausting to the soil than grass or grain crops, but that they are more economical as food for stock, securing a higher state of health, and producing results not attainable without their use in part.

Beets, parsnips, carrots, turnips, caulo-rapas, and many other roots, are now being raised by our dairy and stock farmers. The old style of cultivation, requiring laborious hand-work with hoes, spades, forks, etc., is fast passing away, also the hilling of potatoes, corn, etc., for which practice no good reason has ever been presented. The introduction of the various horse tools, for the cultivation of root and other crops, has materially lessened farm labor. Fifteen years ago, the writer required 20 men to cultivate properly a garden of 30 acres; now, by the use of a few judiciously chosen horse tools, he cultivates many times that area with but 8 farm hands, 4 of whom are boys. These tools include the digging machine, the lifting subsoil-plough, used as an instrument for cultivation, the carrot-weeder, the horse-hoe, in two modified forms, the roller, and the clod-crusher.

Seeds are now sown by machinery, and the variety of seed-sowers has been much increased within the last few years. For broadcast purposes, Cahoon's seed-sower is the best. It will sow with perfect evenness 35 acres a day; and the same instrument will spread manures, intended as top-dressings, over an equal number of acres. The corn-planters, drawn by a single horse, will do the work of 25 men; the ordinary seed-drills for the sowing of row crops, work with great exactness, and as they leave the seeds perfectly straight and equidistant from each other, the after cultivation of the surface is readily performed by a single mule or a horse.

With either of the following tools, a mule, with a boy driver, will represent many men with forks and spades. Thus, when row crops merely appear at the surface of the soil, a small-sized lifting subsoil-plough may be run half-way between the rows, disturbing the soil by a slight lifting, so that soil and plants are both raised together, leaving the earth loosened to a depth of twelve inches, and more thoroughly than could be effected by many hoeings, without covering the plants at all; this, in addition to the original ploughings, constitutes the necessary manipulation of the soil for the sowing of seed; the carrot-weeder may then be run between the rows, embracing the whole surface from row to row, disturbing the upper two inches more thoroughly than can be done by repeated hoeings, and leaving all the weeds lying on the surface to be wilted by the sun, and at the same time effectually disintegrating the surface soil. In this way the crops may be kept clean until their completion, and with very much less labor than would be required in the use of hand-tools.

The larger row crops, or, as sometimes grown, hilled crops, should receive a somewhat similar treatment. Corn, for instance, may be thus cultivated; the lifting subsoil-plough is run in both directions transversely, when the hilling system is preferred, and on each side of the rows of corn, when two or three inches high, and before the roots have extended out into the paths between; the expanding horse-hoe is then run between the rows, keeping the whole surface clean of weeds, and at such depths as the operator may desire, rendering the tedious hand-hoeing unnecessary; for if the planting be straight and true, every inch of the soil may thus be cheaply and thoroughly disturbed.

The same may be said of the potato and of all other analogous crops.

One of the greatest improvements in the feeding of roots to stock, consists in *pulping* them by machinery. After being pulped, the roots are mixed with *chaffed hay* or other provender, doing away with the necessity of the use of large quantities of water, and presenting the food in the most acceptable form, and susceptible of greater variety; for all the roots that we have named may in turn be used, changing the kind each week. The carrot is perhaps the most valuable of the roots as food for all animals; with the cow, it increases the flow of milk, greatly improving its quality as well as that of the butter, cheese, etc. Horses fed in part with this vegetable are not liable to the heaves, and, as is the case with other cattle so fed, soon acquire a loose hide, smooth skin, shining coat. The value of the carrot does not consist alone in the amount of nutriment it furnishes, but rather in the pectic acid which it contains, and which is found in degree in many roots; this acid has the curious property of gelatinizing the contents of the stomach, thus enabling the peristaltic motion of the intestines to act more thoroughly in the process of digestion. When the stomach of an animal is filled with water containing cut hay and other materials, digestion is very incomplete; thus we find horses fed on cut hay and whole oats frequently voiding the oats unchanged, and always

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some of the shells; while the dung contains so much starch as to cause fire-fanging in the compost heap.

Six quarts of oats, bruised, and six quarts of carrots, pulped, and the hay chaffed and mixed therewith, will sustain a horse as well as twelve quarts of oats with nearly a double portion of hay in the natural state, not chaffed, and without the use of carrots. Fatting cattle will flourish well with a less amount of grain when carrots are substituted in part. We should remember, however, that for the purpose of inducing appetite, a variety of roots is quite desirable. The cooking of food for cattle is becoming quite general, and many convenient steaming apparatus have been invented for this purpose. Hay is now chaffed instead of being cut; for it is well ascertained that 23 lbs. of hay, in the natural state, 19 lbs. cut one inch long, and 13½ lbs. finely chaffed, are equal in value as food for horses, cattle, etc.; and when this is steamed before use, its value is still further increased, particularly if mixed with the meal intended to be used before steaming, after which the pulped roots are added.

The feeding of cooked food to hogs is a material improvement now generally acknowledged and much practised; half the amount of corn, after being cooked, will fairly represent an entire quantity in the raw state, as food for hogs. Straw and corn-stalks, when used in place of hay, are found to be of high value if chaffed and steamed before use.

The thorough ventilation and proper temperature of stables are now recognized as adding materially to the economical keeping and healthful condition of the animals. The use of charcoal dust, plaster of Paris, and other deodorizers in and about the stalls of animals, is a material amendment in practice.

Mulching.—It is now well understood, that protecting the soil with a slight covering during the colder seasons, materially benefits the crops of the following year. If a board lie on the soil during fall and winter, and be removed in early spring, it will be found that the grass, during the following summer, will grow more profusely on that spot than elsewhere, and this fact has suggested the similar use of slight coatings of straw, salt hay, and other cheap materials, which may be removed with a horse-rake in the spring, and then used as bedding for animals. Grass and grain crops, by such treatment, are saved from the effects of winter, sometimes so disastrous to their growth. The sprewing or freezing out of crops seldom or never occurs in soils properly prepared to a sufficient depth.

The use of mowing machines has of late become quite general, and farmers who formerly were constrained to keep no more stock than they could supply with the quantity of hay which they, and one or two laboring men, could cut and cure at the proper season, are now enabled to appropriate a greater breadth of land and raise a larger amount of stock.

Threshing-machines are just taking the place of the flail and barn-floor. Many farmsteadings are now supplied with a steam or caloric engine, enabling each farmer to grind his own corn, pulp his roots, chaff his hay, straw, and corn-stalks, saw his own wood, thresh, winnow, and clean his grain, etc., by machinery.

In the culture of small fruits the improvements have been very great, and the citizens of New York and other cities, can now vie with those of London and Paris in the quality of fruits of all kinds obtainable in their markets. The culture of dwarf pears has materially increased; and we have so advanced in grape culture that we shall soon become a wine-making country; California furnishing an amount almost as great as produced by all the rest of the Union. Ohio, Missouri, and other States, are wine producers on an extended scale, while all our markets are supplied with grapes as a dessert fruit. Improved kinds are fast being introduced, of this as well as of all other fruit.

In flax culture the increase is very great. The late improvements in machines for the dressing and preparation of flax, will soon enable us to become large exporters of this article.

Bones are no longer exported from our shores for the use of English and French farmers, but they are all manufactured into superphosphates. The agricultural societies in all our States and in almost all our counties, are fast disseminating agricultural truths throughout the breadth of the land; we find from the reports of fairs that, in many agricultural districts, staple crops are continually on the increase. The wasting system which caused the wheat crop of the State of Ohio to fall from 35 bushels to 12 per acre, and of New York from 30 to 10, as average crops, and Massachusetts to be entirely unable to supply her own population, is fast passing away, and we anticipate that the future census of the Government will show, that as agriculture becomes a science, the suicidal skinning of the soil will cease. American agricultural machinery is now fast supplanting that of England and other European countries; even their own colonies, the Cape of Good Hope, and many other African settlements, and Australia and all of Central America, are now our customers for agricultural implements. American ingenuity is fast furnishing advantages which equal that of the lower price of European labor, and enable the American farmer to compete in the world's markets at their prices.

In all the older States, worn-out soils are being resuscitated and swamps drained, bringing new lands into cultivation; underdraining and subsoil-ploughing are fast doubling the available power of soils, and when the same kind of enterprise shall become general in the cotton-growing States, the increase of produce will be immense. We find, in almost every county throughout the Union, some individual who raises double the average of the corn crop of his State, double the average of the cotton

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crop, and, indeed, this may be said of any or all crops.

With the amount of capital and enterprise now being applied to agriculture, these improved results will become patent to all operators; and let us hope that with the present generation will die out the last vestige of that dogged resistance to agricultural progress from which the cause has already suffered so severely. An increase of one inch in the depth of ploughing, throughout the land, will do more to increase the national wealth than can the mines of California, and if we mistake not, this inch of soil, which would be a far richer acquisition than a new territory, will be enabled to yield up its treasure before many generations shall have passed away.

During the past year the United States Government has, more than ever before, recognized the great national importance of affording the largest facilities towards agricultural improvement, and the community are at present eagerly awaiting some tangible expression of that recognition in the formation of an Agricultural Department at Washington, with a secretary at its head, holding even rank with the Secretaries of State, of War, etc. The farmers of our country own more than half the wealth, pay more than half the taxes, and the principal business of our large cities is acting as their factors by importing their supplies and exporting their products. It is but proper that they should be fairly represented by a distinct department.

ALABAMA, one of the Southern States, is bounded on the north by Tennessee, east by Georgia, south by Florida and the Gulf of Mexico, and west by Mississippi. It is 330 miles in its extreme length from north to south, and 300 miles in its greatest breadth. The population of the State in 1860 was 960,296, of which 2,630 were free colored, and 435,132 were slaves. The Governor is elected for two years by the people. The Senate consists of thirty-three members elected for four years, and the House of Representatives of one hundred members elected for two years. The Legislature meets on the second Monday in November, biennially. (*See* NEW AMERICAN CYCLOPEDIA.)

The southern portion of the State was strongly in favor of secession from the United States. Early in December, 1860, State Commissioners were sent to the authorities and people of the other slaveholding States, to urge forward a movement in favor of secession, and a union of these States in a separate Confederacy. All represented that the purpose of Alabama was fixed to secede, even if no other State did. The announcement of the secession of South Carolina was hailed with great joy in Mobile. One hundred guns were fired. Bells were rung. The streets were crowded by hundreds expressing their joy, and many impromptu speeches were made. A military parade ensued.

The first official movement in Alabama towards secession was the announcement by Governor Moore of his intention to order an election of Delegates to a State Convention. He advised the people to prepare for secession. This election was held on the 24th of December, 1860, and the Convention subsequently assembled on January 7th. At the election, the counties in North Alabama selected "coöperation" members. The members throughout the State were classed as immediate secessionists, and coöperationists. The coöperationists were divided into those who were for secession in coöperation with other cotton States, those who required the coöperation of a majority, and those who required the coöperation of all the slave States. Montgomery County, which polled 2,719 votes on the Presidential election, now gave less than 1,200 votes. The inference drawn from this at the time was, that the county was largely in favor of conservative action. The vote reported from all but ten counties of the State was, for secession, 24,445; for coöperation, 33,685. Of the ten counties, some were for secession, others for coöperation.

The popular vote at the Presidential election in November was: Douglas, 13,651; Breckinridge, 48,831; Bell, 27,875. Bell was the candidate of the American and Union party, Douglas, of the non-intervention Democrats, and Breckinridge of the Southern States.

The Convention met at Montgomery on the 7th of January. All the counties of the State were represented. Wm. M. Brooks was chosen President.

A strong Union sentiment was soon found to exist in the Convention. On the day on which it assembled, the Representatives from the State in Washington met, and resolved to telegraph to the Convention, advising immediate secession, stating that in their opinion there was no prospect of a satisfactory adjustment.

On the 9th the following resolutions were offered and referred to a committee of thirteen:

Resolved, That separate State action would be unwise and impolitic.

Resolved, That Alabama should invite the Southern States to hold a Convention as early as practicable, to consider and agree upon a statement of grievances and the manner of obtaining redress, whether in the Union or in independence out of it.

Mr. Baker, of Russell, offered a resolution requesting the Governor to furnish information of the number of arms, their character and description, and the number of military companies &c., in the State, which was adopted.

Also the following was offered and discussed:

Resolved, by the people of Alabama, That all the powers of this State are hereby pledged to resist any attempt on the part of the Federal Government to coerce any seceding State.

After a lively discussion of some days, a brief preamble and resolution refusing to submit to the Republican Administration, were proposed in such a form as to command the unanimous vote of the Convention. It was in these words:

Whereas the only bond of union between the several

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States is the Constitution of the United States; and whereas that Constitution has been violated by a majority of the Northern States in their separate legislative action, denying to the people of the Southern States their constitutional rights; and whereas a sectional party, known as the Republican party, has, in a recent election, elected Abraham Lincoln for President and Hannibal Hamlin for Vice-President of these United States, upon the avowed principle that the Constitution of the United States does not recognize property in slaves, and that the Government should prevent its extension into the common territories of the United States, and that the power of the Government should be so exercised that slavery should in time be extinguished: Therefore be it

Resolved by the people of Alabama in Convention assembled, That the State of Alabama will not submit to the Administration of Lincoln and Hamlin, as President and Vice-President of the United States, upon the principles referred to in the foregoing preamble.

On the 10th, the ordinance of secession was reported, and on the 11th, it was adopted in secret session by a vote of ayes, 61; noes, 39. It was as follows:

AN ORDINANCE *to dissolve the Union between the State of Alabama and other States united under the compact styled "the Constitution of the United States of America."*

Whereas the election of Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin to the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States of America, by a sectional party, avowedly hostile to the domestic institutions and to the peace and security of the people of the State of Alabama, preceded by many and dangerous infractions of the Constitution of the United States by many of the States and people of the Northern section, is a political wrong of so insulting and menacing a character as to justify the people of the State of Alabama in the adoption of prompt and decided measures for their future peace and security: Therefore,

Be it declared and ordained by the people of the State of Alabama in convention assembled, That the State of Alabama now withdraws, and is hereby withdrawn, from the Union known as "the United States of America," and henceforth ceases to be one of said United States, and is, and of right ought to be, a sovereign and independent State.

SEC. 2. *Be it further declared and ordained by the people of the State of Alabama in convention assembled*, That all the powers over the territory of said State, and over the people thereof, heretofore delegated to the Government of the United States of America be, and they are hereby, withdrawn from said Government, and are hereby resumed and vested in the people of the State of Alabama.

And as it is the desire and purpose of the State of Alabama to meet the slaveholding States of the South who may approve such purpose, in order to frame a provisional as well as permanent government, upon the principles of the Constitution of the United States,

Be it resolved by the people of Alabama in convention assembled, That the people of the States of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri, be, and are hereby, invited to meet the people of the State of Alabama, by their delegates, in convention, on the 4th day of February, A. D. 1861, at the city of Montgomery, in the State of Alabama, for the purpose of consulting with each other as to the most effectual mode of securing concerted and harmonious action in whatever measures may be deemed most desirable for our common peace and security.

And be it further resolved, That the president of this convention be, and is hereby, instructed to transmit forthwith a copy of the foregoing preamble, ordinance, and resolutions, to the Governors of the several States named in said resolutions.

Done by the people of the State of Alabama in convention assembled, at Montgomery, on this, the 11th day of January, A. D. 1861.

WILLIAM M. BROOKS,
President of the Convention.

A majority and minority report were presented on the ordinance of secession. Trouble arose in the Convention, because a portion of the members desired that the ordinance should not take effect until the 4th of March. A number refused to sign it for this reason, and as late as the 17th of January, a despatch was sent to the Senators and Representatives of the State in Congress at Washington, to retain their seats until further advised.

A proposition was also made in the Convention to submit their action to the people, for ratification or rejection. This was refused, and an exciting scene ensued.

Nicholas Davis, of Huntsville, declared his belief that the people of North Alabama would never abide the action of that Convention, if denied the right of voting upon it. Mr. Yancey thereupon denounced the people of North Alabama as tories, traitors, and rebels, and said they ought to be coerced into a submission to the decree of the Convention. Mr. Davis replied that they might attempt coercion, but North Alabama would meet them upon the line and decide the issue at the point of the bayonet.

The ordinance was adopted about two o'clock in the afternoon. Subsequently in the afternoon, an immense mass meeting was held in front of the Capitol, and many coöperation delegates pledged their constituents to sustain secession. A flag which had been presented by the ladies of the city to the Convention, was then raised over the building, amid the ringing of bells and firing of cannon.

In Mobile the news was received at once, and the day became one of the wildest excitement. The people were at the highest point of enthusiasm until a late hour at night. To add to the excitement, news was received that the State of Florida had passed a secession ordinance.

Immediately on the receipt of the news, an immense crowd assembled at the "secession pole" at the foot of Government street, to witness the spreading of the Southern flag, and it was run up amid the shouts of the multitude and thunders of cannon. One hundred and one guns for Alabama and fifteen for Florida were fired, and after remarks from gentlemen, the crowd repaired to the Custom-House, walking in procession with a band of music at the head, playing the warlike notes of the "Southern Marseillaise."

Arrived at the Custom-House, a lone star flag was waved from its walls amid enthusiastic shouts. The balcony of the Battle House, opposite, was thronged with ladies and gentlemen, and the street was crowded with excited citizens. Standing upon the steps of the Custom-House, brief and stirring addresses were delivered by several speakers.

The military paraded the streets. The Cadets

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were out in force, bearing a splendid flag which had been presented to them a day previous, and, with the Independent Rifles, marched to the public square, and fired salvos of artillery. The demonstration at night was designed to correspond to the importance attached by the people to the event celebrated. An eye-witness declares the display to have been of the most brilliant description. When night fell, the city emerged from darkness into a blaze of such glory as could only be achieved by the most recklessly extravagant consumption of tar and tallow. The broad boulevard of Government street was an avenue of light, bonfires of tar barrels being kindled at intervals of a square in distance along its length, and many houses were illuminated. Royal street shone with light, the great front of the buildings presenting a perfect illumination. Rockets blazed, crackers popped, and the people hurrahed and shouted as they never did before. The "Southern Cross was the most favored emblematic design in the illumination, and competed with the oft-repeated 'Lone Star' for admiration and applause from the multitude."

By previous concert with the Governors of Georgia and Louisiana, "all the positions in these three States which might be made to follow the fashion set by Fort Sumter" were seized. The arsenal at Mt. Vernon forty-five miles above Mobile, was seized at daylight on the morning of January 4th; Fort Morgan was taken on the same day, without opposition. Previously, however, and on the 9th of January, five companies of volunteers, at the request of the Governor of Florida, left Montgomery for Pensacola. They were sent to assist in capturing the forts and other property there belonging to the United States. In order to place the city of Mobile in a better state of defence, the Mayor issued a call to the people for a thousand laborers. These were at once supplied, and also money sufficient to meet all demands. The Common Council of the city passed an ordinance changing the names of various streets. The name of Maine street was changed to Palmetto street; Massachusetts was changed to Charleston street; New Hampshire was changed to Augusta street; Rhode Island was changed to Savannah street; Connecticut was changed to Louisiana street; New York was changed to Elmira street; Vermont was changed to Texas street; Pennsylvania was changed to Montgomery street.

The Union feeling in the northern part of the State continued very strong. Many delegates from that region refused at first to sign the ordinance of secession which passed the State Convention, unless the time for it to take effect was postponed to the 4th of March. Some of them withheld their signatures entirely. The sessions of the Convention were conducted wholly in secret, and only such measures were made known to the public as were of such a character as to prevent secrecy.

On the 29th, the Convention adopted a resolution instructing the deputies to the Southern Convention to insist upon the enactment of such laws as would forever prevent the reopening of the African slave trade; and, on the next day, they passed a supplemental ordinance authorizing the Governor to carry into effect the previous ordinance for the protection of the defences in the Gulf of Mexico; also, an ordinance adopting as the law of Alabama the laws of the United States relative to patents, and securing the right of invention to citizens of all the Slave States. It then adjourned till the 4th of March.

Thaddeus Sanford, collector of customs for the port of Mobile under the United States Government, was appointed to that office by the Convention, and directed to proceed, as heretofore, collecting duties, issuing clearances, &c., only in the name and by the authority of the State of Alabama, instead of that of the United States.

Upon its adjournment, the President made an address, expressing the most decided views upon the permanency of the secession of the State. He said:

"We are free, and shall any of us cherish any idea of a reconstruction of the old Government, whereby Alabama will again link her rights, her fortunes, and her destiny, in a Union with the Northern States? If any one of you hold to such a fatal opinion, let me entreat you, as you value the blessings of equality and freedom, dismiss it at once. There is not, there cannot be, any security or peace for us in a reconstructed Government of the old material. I must believe that there is not a friend or advocate of reconstruction in this large body. The people of Alabama are now independent; sink or swim, live or die, they will continue free, sovereign, and independent. Dismiss the idea of a reconstruction of the old Union now and forever."

After the adjournment of the Convention, a Commissioner, Thomas J. Judge, was sent by the State authorities to negotiate with the Federal Government for the surrender of the forts, arsenals, and custom-houses, within the limits of the State. It appears that the President declined to receive him in any other character, than as a distinguished citizen of Alabama. In this capacity he declined to be received, and returned home. The negotiations were conducted through Mr. C. C. Clay, to whom the Commissioner writes on the 4th of February:

"I acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 2d instant, enclosing the correspondence between yourself and his Excellency James Buchanan, President of the United States, relating to my mission as Commissioner from the State of Alabama.

"The President declines to give me an audience in the only character in which I sought it, as Commissioner for the State of Alabama, and thereby refuses to receive any proposals from that State for a settlement relating to the public debt of the United States, contracted whilst Alabama was a member of that Confed-

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eracy, and relating to the property in the possession of Alabama, which belonged to the United States of America before the withdrawal of Alabama from that Union.

"From this course of the President it is to be presumed that he has abandoned all claim, or resolved not to make any, in his official character, to that property in behalf of his Government; or that, repelling every offer of amicable and peaceable adjustment, he desires that it shall be retaken by the sword.

"But, no matter what motive has prompted his unexpected treatment of me, I should be wanting in proper reverence for my State, and proper appreciation of my present relations to her, to sue for peaceful negotiations, since the right of Alabama to send me, and my right to speak for her, have been denied. And if negotiation is to settle our difficulties touching those forts and arsenals, it must be proposed by the President to the Governor at her capital, whither I shall go and report the result of my mission.

"Whilst I regret this action of the President, it is gratifying to know that the State of Alabama, by her prompt efforts to do that justice in the premises which has been thwarted by him, will stand justified before the world. And that State having now been placed right upon the record, and, under the circumstances, nothing more remaining for me to attempt to accomplish as her Commissioner, my mission ceases with this letter."

The State Convention again assembled on the 4th of March, and took up for approval the Constitution adopted by the Confederate Congress. In all the seceding States it was adopted by the State Convention, without being submitted to the people to vote for or against it. The Convention of Alabama was the first to adopt it, and almost immediately after its promulgation. At the time it was under consideration in that body, the following resolutions were offered, relative to the right of the people to express an opinion on the subject:

"*Resolved*, 1. That the political power in all free Governments is inherent in the people, and that an attempt to infringe this great principle is dangerous in policy and directly subversive of civil liberty.

"2. That the right of every people to frame the system of government under which they are to live is a fundamental doctrine in all free Governments, and should not be questioned or impaired.

"3. That the acknowledgment of these established principles, the spirit and genius of American institutions, and the well-ascertained precedents of republican usage, imperatively demand that the 'Constitution of the Confederate States of America' shall be submitted to the people of this State for their ratification or rejection."

They were rejected, by being laid on the table. Ayes, 54; noes, 33.

The vote in the Convention on ratifying the Constitution, was taken on the 13th of March, and was as follows: ayes, 87; noes, 5.

The Convention also adopted an ordinance transferring to the Provisional Government the arms and munitions of war acquired from the United States, and also all authority over the forts and arsenals in the State. It also passed an ordinance substituting stocks of the Confederate States for those of the United States, to be held by the banks as a basis for their paper circulation, and allowing the issue of two dollars for one of capital. Foreigners and foreign corporations were forbidden to hold stocks belonging in the State. The Convention adjourned on the 20th of March.

The Legislature of the State met, and was organized on the 15th of January. Its action was confined, as far as possible, to business arising from the action of the Convention. The Governor in his message, urged the necessity of placing the State at once upon the most efficient war footing. It very promptly and efficiently, with large majorities, aided the secession movement by all such acts as were necessary. On the 19th of January, the House passed an act to provide against the invasion of the State by sea. It declared that pilots bringing vessels into Mobile should be liable to a fine and imprisonment in the penitentiary, and also authorized the commander of Fort Morgan to destroy the beacon and landmarks at his discretion, and contract for the construction of a telegraph line to Point Clear, in order to more speedily communicate with Fort Morgan.

On the 5th of February, an act was passed appropriating $500,000 to aid the cause of Southern Independence.

After the formation of the Confederate Government the charge of precipitation was made against it in the border States. To this the official press of the State took occasion to reply. The answer was, that so far from being precipitate, the movement had been in contemplation for ten years. The ordinance of secession of Alabama declares that the election of Abraham Lincoln was such a wrong as to require the adoption of prompt and decided measures for their future peace and security. (*See* also DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE OF CONFEDERATE STATES, and Letter of the Southern Commissioners to Lord Russell, p. 278.)

The reply to the charge of precipitation was in these words:

"Has it been a precipitate revolution? It has not. With coolness and deliberation the subject has been thought of for forty years; for ten years it has been the all-absorbing theme in political circles. From Maine to Mexico all the different phases and forms of the question have been presented to the people, until nothing else was thought of, nothing else spoken of, and nothing else taught in many of the political schools.

"Civil war, with its attendant disasters, may mar the happiness of the men of the present time; carnage and slaughter may convert our hitherto happy and beautiful homes into barren and dreary wastes for a time; they may become the rendezvous of a devastating enemy; but who would now forego all the enchantment of the present scene for the security and prosper-

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ity of millions yet unborn? Beyond the gloomy prospect is to be seen an auspicious and an unclouded destiny of greatness for the 'Confederate States of America.'"

So reluctant were the minds of a portion of the people in the Gulf States to entertain the idea of a perpetual and absolute separation of the Union, that the views of a very respectable number turned now to reconstruction. The Commissioner from Alabama, in his address to the people of Baltimore, had put forth the statement that these political movements were designed to obtain better terms of Union. (*See* BALTIMORE.) It was only the authorities of the State and the principal public men, with a portion of the press, which had comprehended the dread reality in its full extent. Reconstruction was fatal to secession. Reconstruction would throw into political oblivion all the active leaders of secession. Reconstruction would bring over them again the power and sway of the North; absolute secession opened the only door of escape. Reconstruction would set at work again that silently-growing conviction in favor of greater personal liberty, which was spreading like leaven through the minds of the mass of the people. In Georgia every candidate for the Confederate Congress was required to give an assurance that he was not in favor of forming a Government having in view an immediate or ultimate union with the Northern States, before he could receive a vote at the polls. In Alabama the proposition was denounced in unscrupulous terms. The bitterness of those denouncing it is very fully manifested in the following paragraphs expressing their views:

"Any one who observes the indications of the day will readily conclude that some of those who, before the recent act of secession, only advocated 'coöperative action' to secure our rights, are now, since coöperation has been triumphantly secured, endeavoring to train the public mind in the direction of reconstruction. While this is an undeniable fact, it can be said that the leading members of the coöperation party in our own and the Conventions of adjacent States have signally vindicated their patriotism and their loyalty. No charge is made against them when it is said that an attempt is made to sell the South into worse than her former bondage, by a plan neatly phrased as 'reconstruction.'

"And what does 'reconstruction' mean? Its advocates, no less than its opponents, perfectly comprehend that it is the concession of all the rights sought to be maintained. It means, little as is said about it, the extinction of African slavery! It means negro equality—the surrender of the white man's right of domination. And most, if not all, the leaders who advocate it are aware of the ultimate effect to be produced.

"Then why, it is asked by the simple-minded, should large property-holders, large slaveholders, favor and foster such a scheme? Why, the sharp property-holders who do not intend to adhere to the South, are desirous of patching up a compromise, so that a temporary respite from political troubles may enable them to convert their Southern property, and to go with the proceeds wherever inclination may lead them.

"The men of the South, rich and poor, who intend to remain within the South, in weal or woe, will not be deceived by this crafty plan to deliver the South into the hands of free negroism. They see that any thing short of a maintenance of our independence, absolutely, is a total surrender, 'to take effect' at such time as our Abolition masters may choose to designate. This is known to them and to the advocates of the Grecian Horse of Reconstruction, because no sane man, of ordinary intelligence, does or can believe that the Republican leaders could give any guarantees which would be respected by their people. The hate between the two sections is perfect; and everybody knows the fact. Abolitionism, pinched in its belly, might seem to concede something; once fill that belly and give into its hands the Treasury and the army and navy, and the South becomes a San Domingo. Even supposing that the Abolition Government at Washington, after 'reconstruction,' should affect to execute what it had promised, is there any Southern fool so utterly besotted as to suppose that that Government would not wink at and privately promote raids like that into Virginia?"

All thoughts of reconstruction were soon given up, and in its place sanguine hopes were encouraged of the future glory of the Confederacy.

At this time, previous to the surrender of Fort Sumter, a considerable Confederate force was, in a manner, besieging Fort Pickens at Pensacola, under the command of Gen. Bragg. Meanwhile, the Federal fleet lay off at anchor. Supplies having been taken to the fleet by the sloop Isabella, Capt. Jones, of Mobile, the vessel was seized and turned over to the military authorities, and the captain arrested. The charge was that he had attempted to convey supplies on his own private account, or that of his owners, to the United States vessels.

Capt. Jones, in vindication of his rights, afterwards sued out a writ of *habeas corpus*, through his wife, and had a hearing before the Judge of the Circuit Court at Mobile.

His counsel contended that his arrest was illegal and unauthorized, raising the points whether a state of war existed, which alone could justify such an arrest; and whether Capt. Jones had been arrested within a jurisdiction embracing Mobile; for if so, Gen. Bragg and not the Court should adjudge the offence. He demanded the discharge of the prisoner.

Counsel against the prisoner held that the arrest was made under the regulations of the Confederate States; that a state of war existed by the acts of the Administration; and if the army regulations were decided not to prevail,

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then the Court would be protecting the enemy. He thought the case a leading one, and therefore important.

The Court confessing that the anomalous state of political and inter-State affairs surrounded the question with embarrassment, D. C. Green, in order to release the Court from all responsibility, discharged the prisoner from custody. The counsel for the defence insisted upon the Court's passing judgment, but his demand was not acceded to, and Capt. Jones was released.

The reputed owners of the sloop refused to receive her, intending to hold the captors responsible for all loss incurred.

Subsequently, in the month of June, after the relations of the North and South had changed, the Grand Jury of the District Court of the Confederate States found a true bill against three other persons, charging them with treason against the Confederate States, in having traitorously carried and delivered a cargo of fruit to the enemy's fleet off Pensacola. The Court, in its charge to the jury, stated the law to be, that furnishing provisions or important intelligence to the enemy was treasonable. The penalty for that offence, on conviction, was death.

The military operations consisted merely in enlisting and equipping soldiers, and sending them forward to the positions occupied by the Confederate forces in the other seceded States. No hostile soldier put his foot on the soil of Alabama during the year. This was entirely in consequence of her position. She is bounded by the other Confederate States except on the South, where her sea coast is small and less important than other points.

At the time of the secession of the State a small force was sent to aid the volunteers in Florida to capture and hold the Navy Yard and forts at Pensacola. On the 10th of April, President Davis made a requisition on the Governor for three thousand soldiers. On the 1st of May, the first battalion of the Third State Regiment left for Virginia; and on the 15th more troops were sent to Pensacola. Indeed, the business of preparing for the war became the all-engrossing subject in the principal cities, but especially Mobile. One of the public citizens, in rather enthusiastic language, describes the alacrity of the people:

"The like, where it has been left to the free volition of the people without any extraneous appliances to stir enthusiasm, and without the slightest compulsion of Government, the world has never witnessed. We saw men coming, when the news had been scattered abroad that their company had received 'marching orders,' by ones, twos, threes, to the place of rendezvous, on foot, on horseback, in mule wagons, and every way, without the slightest command or compulsion, save the commands of patriotism. They gather noiselessly at the electric summons of patriotism as the storms gather down behind the horizon of a clear, still day, when mustering for a tornado, and their stillness to us is as portentous. Can a people moved by such stern, quiet impulses of patriotism be conquered? Never!"

Forts Morgan and Gaines were taken possession of by State troops under orders from the Governor, on the 4th of January, while the State continued a member of the Union. (*See* FORTS.)

On the 19th of January, four days after Secretary Dix took charge of the Treasury Department of the United States, he sent the Chief Clerk of the First Comptroller's Office, W. H. Jones, to Mobile and New Orleans, to save, if possible, the two revenue cutters stationed at those places. At Mobile Mr. Jones could not find the captain (Morrison) of the cutter Lewis Cass, but he discovered in the cabin the following letter, which explains the surrender of the vessel to the Alabama authorities:

STATE OF ALABAMA, Collector's Office.

J. J. Morrison:

SIR: In obedience to an ordinance recently adopted by a convention of the people of Alabama, I have to require you to surrender into my hands, for the use of the State, the revenue cutter Lewis Cass, now under your command, together with her armaments, properties, and provisions on board the same. I am instructed also to notify you that you have the option to continue in command of the said revenue cutter under authority of the State of Alabama, in the exercise of the same duties that you have hitherto rendered to the United States, and at the same compensation, reporting to this office and to the Governor of the State. In surrendering the vessel to the State, you will furnish me with a detailed inventory of its armaments, provisions, and properties of every description. You will receive special instructions from this office in regard to the duties you will be required to perform. I await your immediate reply.

Your obedient servant,

T. SANFORD, *Collector.*

The number of troops furnished by the State to the Confederate army during the year has been estimated at eighteen regiments, besides a number of companies of infantry and artillery. These independent or separate companies were sent to Pensacola, Charleston, and elsewhere, with too much despatch to admit of their remaining until a full regiment was formed.

The commerce of the State was paralyzed by the events of the year. The blockade was so effective that very few vessels were successful in entering or leaving the harbor of Mobile. The internal trade suffered from the same causes. The crops were as favorable as in any former year, but having no market for cotton which could be reached, no return was received from its cultivation, and it became valueless during the continuance of the blockade.

ALBERT, PRINCE, consort of Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, born at Rosenau, Aug. 26, 1819, and died at London Dec. 14, 1861. He was the second son of Ernest, Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, under whose superintendence he received an admirable education, which he completed by attending for three sessions at the university at Bonn. In July, 1838, he visited

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England, in company with Leopold, the king of Belgium, and spent some time at the court of Queen Victoria. In November, 1839, she formally announced to the Privy Council her intention to form a matrimonial alliance with Prince Albert. The marriage was solemnized Feb. 10, 1840. He was a man of refined taste, and an accomplished musician and draughtsman. The progress of the arts and sciences, and general philanthropic subjects, such as the "dwellings of the working classes," sanitary arrangements, &c., engaged his attention. He was also a patron and president of numerous charitable institutions. As President of the Society of Arts, he was the chief promoter of the Great Exhibition of 1851. With a single exception, for a brief space of time, he enjoyed great popularity with all classes.

The Prince was taken ill about the 1st of December. Symptoms of fever, accompanied by a general indisposition, made their appearance. For some days the complaint was not considered to be serious, but from the 7th the medical men in attendance and the persons about the court began to feel anxious. It was not until the 11th, when the fever gained head and the patient was much weakened, that the first bulletin was issued. Even then it was stated that the symptoms were not unfavorable. It is said that the death of the king of Portugal had an unfortunate influence over him during his illness, and possibly assisted the progress of the malady. On the 11th he is said to have expressed a belief that he should not recover. No material change took place on the 12th, and on the 13th the Queen took a drive, with no idea of danger. When she returned the patient's extremities were already cold, and from that time he was in the greatest danger. On that evening he was not expected to survive the night. On Saturday forenoon, the 14th, there was a rally, which so often precedes dissolution, but it gave great hopes to the physicians. At 4 P. M. a relapse took place, and the Prince, who, from the previous Friday, had been sustained by stimulants, began to sink gradually. Congestion of the lungs, the result of complete exhaustion, set in. The Prince's breathing became continually shorter and feebler, and he expired without pain at a few minutes before 11 o'clock. He was sensible to the last moment. Deep sympathy for the Queen and regret for the death of one so universally respected, was the only sentiment apparent throughout England. The warmest eulogiums were passed on the deceased Prince by the press and the public.

ALEXANDRIA is a city in Alexandria County, Virginia; it is on the right bank of the Potomac, and 8 miles below Washington. The river is here one mile wide, and forms a commodious harbor for the largest ships. The streets cross each other at right angles and are generally well paved. The Alexandria, Loudon, and Hampshire Railroad terminates here. This road extends to Leesburg, passing through the following places: to Arlington Heights, 6 miles; Carlinville, 7 miles; Falls Church, 11 miles; Vienna, 15 miles; Hunter's Mill, 18 miles; Thornton, 21 miles; Herndon, 23 miles; Guilford, 27 miles; Farmwell, 31 miles; Leesburg, 38 miles. The Orange and Alexandria Railroad also terminates here. It extends from Alexandria through Manassas Junction to Gordonsville, 88 miles, where it unites with the Virginia Central. The distance to Springfield is 9 miles; Burke's, 14 miles; Fairfax, 18 miles; Union Mills, 23 miles; Manassas Junction, 27 miles from Alexandria. When the District of Columbia was ceded to the United States by Virginia and Maryland, Alexandria was in the part conveyed by the former. It was subsequently retroceded to Virginia by an act of Congress, passed July 2d, 1846. The city was occupied by Ellsworth's Zouave Regiment and a Michigan Regiment, on the morning of the 24th of May, 1861, and continued in the possession of the Federal troops through the year.

The effect of its military occupation is thus described: "Its trade was almost broken up. The Corn Exchange room was entirely deserted. The counters where the merchant exposed his samples of flour and grain, the little sample boxes lying here and there, the desk with the books of sales on it and the newspaper stand, all remained as they used to be; but there was no grain scattered around or in the boxes, no entry on the books of the Exchange since May, and the last newspapers bore date on May 23d, 1861. Of all the merchants who were accustomed to do business there only a few remained."

Six months previous to its military occupation, Alexandria was a thrifty, growing city, with an energetic, prosperous, and happy population It occupied an enviable position, and in a social point of view stood preeminently high. Soon after its occupation a large number of the oldest and most respected families no longer remained, having left their homes at the beginning of the war; their houses were closed or occupied by others, and their wonted life and cheerfulness departed. The wharves, too, where once were crowded vessels from foreign and domestic ports, and where all was bustle and activity, were now, save when a transport or pungy arrived, almost bare, and on the river no ships appeared, save those used in the service of the Federal Government. But very few warehouses on the wharves were open or occupied, and Union street, next to King the principal business street of the city, was now, except as a burden train passed, as quiet as on Sundays. Prince, Duke, Cameron, and Queen streets lost their vitality, and King alone resembled what it was wont to be. The city Government was no longer administered upon its chartered basis, the Mayor and night and day police having been deposed; and the sound of the watchman's horn heard in the town at 10 o'clock at night—"since time whereof the

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memory of man runneth not to the contrary" —was now silenced, the bugle's signal and drum's tattoo having taken their time-honored place.

Among the appointments made after the military occupation of Alexandria, was that of Provost Judge Freese. In the exercise of his duties it was decided by him that Southern merchants within the Union lines should pay their debts to Northern merchants. The decision was received with much favor in commercial cities at the North, and the business of the Court in which the Judge presided, was rapidly increasing. But this involved a point within the sphere of the civil Government, rather than within the jurisdiction of a Provost-Judge, and instructions were given by the military authorities to their Judge to confine himself to the limits of his military jurisdiction.

ANNAPOLIS, the capital of Maryland, is situated on the right bank of the Severn River, two miles above its entrance into Chesapeake Bay. It is twenty-five miles south by east of Baltimore, and thirty-seven miles east by north of Washington. The Annapolis and Elkridge Branch Railroad connects it with the Baltimore and Washington Railroad, at a spot called the Junction. The United States Naval Academy was established here in 1845. After the attack at Baltimore on the Massachusetts Sixth Regiment, on the 19th of April, the troops then on their way to Washington were brought from Perryville by water, to Annapolis, and thence by railroad to the Junction, thus passing around Baltimore. When the order was sent from Baltimore, amid the exciting scenes of the 19th, to stop the progress of more troops towards that city, General Benjamin F. Butler, with a Massachusetts regiment numbering eight hundred men, then on his way to Washington, stopped at Havre-de-Grace, and taking the steam ferry-boat Maryland, reached Annapolis on the morning of the 21st. Governor Hicks sent a protest against the landing of the troops at Annapolis. To this General Butler replied that he would land at the Naval Academy, over which the Federal Government had exclusive jurisdiction. At the same time, the New York Seventh Regiment arrived by another boat from Perryville. There was now no communication by railroad with Washington. Some part of the track between Annapolis and the Junction had been torn up by disaffected inhabitants along the line. The Seventh Regiment proceeded on foot to the Junction, and thence by railroad to Washington. General Butler, with a force from his regiment, took possession of the frigate Constitution, attached to the Naval School, and removed her beyond the danger of seizure by those sympathizing with the Confederate Government.

A consultation of officers was held at the Naval School on the 23d, and it was determined that the passage of troops through Maryland to the city of Washington should be conducted in such a manner as to give no cause of offence to the people of the State, and that nothing should be taken without prompt pay. Should the people, however, destroy the bridges, make a hostile attack, or offer any interruption to the troops, it should immediately be resented, and with proper severity.

The officers of the Seventh Regiment of New York conversed freely with the citizens of Annapolis and some from Baltimore, in relation to what they deemed the unexpected and inexplicable course of Maryland. They anticipated no hostile reception in Maryland, where each man claimed to have many intimate personal friends. "If, in the performance of duty," they added, "we shall be compelled to meet our old friends of the Baltimore City Guard and the Richmond Grays in hostile array, we shall return their first fire by presenting arms; but on the second fire we shall be compelled to defend ourselves."

On the 23d there were over 2,600 troops in the city, and on the same day 8,000 more arrived from New York and Pennsylvania. A detachment of the Massachusetts Volunteers, on the same day, took possession of the railroad leading from Annapolis to Washington and Baltimore. No resistance was offered; as soon as the demand was made, the gates were thrown open to them; and, after placing fifty men on guard, the remainder began to repair the engines and cars which had been disarranged by the company in order to prevent the troops from using them. In a few hours this object was accomplished, and a train run out by an engineer in one of the volunteer companies. Fifty men were detached to proceed in advance and examine the track, which resulted in finding that at various places it had been taken up. The damages were entirely repaired, the track put in working order, and the forwarding of troops and provisions commenced.

After these events the city relapsed into her former quiet condition.

ANTHRACITE. The progress of this trade and the production of the different coal districts are exhibited in the following table. For its history and production previous to 1857, see NEW AMERICAN CYCLOPEDIA.

YEARS.	Schuylkill.	Lehigh.	Wyoming.	Shamokin.	Aggregate.	Annual Increase.
1857	3,477,490	1,315,541	1,902,693	155,806	*6,451,575	Dec. 320,168
1858	3,357,726	1,300,000	2,145,694	135,603	6,524,888	80,469
1859	3,480,338	1,428,511	2,731,298	180,126	7,517,274	992,675
1860	3,764,629	1,521,874	2,856,564	210,108	8,059,017	545,707
1861	2,988,191	1,748,877	2,998,694	241,451	7,474,978	Dec. 584,109

* Includes amount sold on the line of the Schuylkill.

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ANTIQUITY OF THE HUMAN RACE. Among the interesting subjects that are occupying the attention of geologists is that of the greater antiquity of the human race than the historic period; and new arguments from various sources are brought to sustain this view, some of which will be presented below. The subject was first brought prominently before the public by the discoveries, made by M. Boucher de Perthes, of flints fashioned by hand, found in the drift in the valley of the Somme, in France. The localities have been examined by many distinguished geologists, as Joseph Prestwick, Sir Charles Lyell, Sir Roderick Murchison, and others, most of whom are satisfied, that the conclusions arrived at by M. de Perthes cannot be questioned. Mr. Murchison, in his address before the geological section of the British Association, 1861, not only expresses his full belief "in the commixture in that ancient alluvium of the works of man with the reliquiæ of extinct animals;" but adds his gratification "in learning that England, in several localities, is also affording proofs of similar intermixture." Professor H. D. Rogers, who also examined the localities, while admitting that the flints were really shaped by human agency and are found buried together with bones of extinct mammalia, still questions the fact of the men who left the flints, and of the animals that possessed the bones, having necessarily lived together in the same epoch. Or, admitting that they were contemporaneous, it is not proved that the *Elephas primigenius* and the other mammals of the diluvium may not have belonged to the historic period. (See his paper in "Blackwood's Magazine" for October, 1860.)

Among other evidences adduced to establish a high antiquity for the human race, are the mounds of shells discovered of late years in numerous places along the coasts of Denmark. These are of vast extent, and contain, mixed up with the shells, broken bones of deer, beaver, wild boar, *bos*, *mus*, &c., together with charcoal, fragments of coarse pottery, stone hatchets, arrow-heads, and knives of flint, and various implements and ornaments of horns and bones, all indicating the existence at an unknown and very distant period of savage and populous tribes, of whom no other vestiges nor traditions remain. Bearing upon the same subject, Sir Charles Lyell has called attention to the large Indian mound of similar character at Cannon's Point, on St. Simon's Island, in Georgia. "This covers 10 acres in area, having an average height of 5 feet, and is chiefly composed of cast-away oyster-shells, throughout which arrow-heads, stone axes, and Indian pottery are dispersed." Similar mounds are scattered over the swamps near New Orleans, and their materials were employed by Gen. Joseph Swift, for constructing the foundation of the Lake Pontchartrain Railroad; and by his advice they have since been used for macadamizing the streets of New Orleans, and forming the shell-roads in its vicinity. The vast extent of these mounds and their evident human origin have perplexed all who have studied them.

A paper was recently read by M. Lartet, before the London Geological Society, "On the Co-existence of Man with certain Extinct Quadrupeds, proved by Fossil Bones from various Pleistocene Deposits bearing incisions made by sharp instruments."

If, says the author, the presence of worked flints in the gravel and sands of the valley of the Somme, have established with certainty the existence of man at the time when those very ancient deposits were formed, the traces of an intentional operation on the bones of *Rhinoceros*, *Aurochs*, *Megaceros*, *Cervus somenensis*, etc., supply equally the inductive demonstration of the contemporaneity of those species with the human race. M. Lartet points out that the Aurochs, though still existing, was contemporaneous with the *Elephas primigenius*, and that its remains occur in preglacial deposits; and, indeed, that a great proportion of our living mammifers have been contemporaneous with *E. primigenius* and *R. tichorhinus*, the first appearance of which in Western Europe must have been preceded by that of several of our still existing quadrupeds.

The author also remarks, that there is good evidence of changes of level having occurred since man began to occupy Europe and the British Isles, yet they have not amounted to catastrophes so general as to affect the regular succession of organized beings.

Lastly, M. Lartet announced that a flint hatchet and some flint knives had lately been discovered in company with remains of elephant, aurochs, horse, and a feline animal, in the sands of the Parisian suburb of Grenelle, by M. Gosse, of Geneva.

The late discovery of ancient bronze implements near Moskowie, in Bohemia, also bears upon this interesting question. These are coated with successive layers of malachite, the copper derived from the bronze, and evidently very slowly produced. It has even been supposed that these prove that bronze instruments were in use in middle Europe at a period far beyond that of historical research.

Lastly, the "evidence of language" has been adduced to assign to man a high antiquity in the following paper, read before the British Association in 1861, by Mr. Crawfurd:

"The periods usually assigned for man's first appearance on earth, date only from the time when he had already attained such an amount of civilization as to enable him to frame some kind of record of his own career, and take no account of the many ages which must have transpired before he could have attained that power. Among the many facts attesting the high antiquity of man, the formation of language might be adduced, and his object was to give a few of the most striking facts which it yields. Language was not innate, but adventitious. Infants were without language, and

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those born deaf were always dumb, for without the sense of hearing there would have been no language at all. Among the unquestionable proofs that language was not innate, was the prodigious number of languages which existed, some being of a very simple and others of a very complex character. If additional evidence were wanted that language was an adventitious acquirement, it was found in this—that a whole nation might lose its original tongue, and in its stead adopt any foreign one. The language that had been the vernacular of the Jews for three thousand years had ceased to be so for two thousand years, and the descendants of those who spoke it were now speaking an infinity of foreign tongues, European or Asiatic. Languages which were derived from a single tongue of Italy had superseded the many native languages which were once spoken in Spain, in France, and in Italy itself. A language of German origin had nearly displaced, not only all the native languages of England and Ireland, but the numerous ones of a large portion of America. Some eight millions of negroes were placed in the New World whose forefathers spoke many African tongues. It necessarily followed from this argument that when man first appeared on the earth he was destitute of language, and each separate tribe of men framed a separate one; hence the multitude of tongues. That the framers were arrant savages, was proved by the fact that the rudest tribes ever discovered had already completed the task of forming a perfect language. The languages spoken by the grovelling savages of Australia were so, and were even more artificial and complex in structure than those of many people more advanced. The first rudiments of language would consist of a few articulate sounds by which to make known their wants and wishes; and between that time and their obtaining completeness, probably countless ages had passed, even among the rudest tribes. In every department of language we find evidence of the great antiquity of man. The Egyptians must have attained a large measure of civilization before they had invented symbolic or phonetic writing, and yet these were found on the most ancient of their monuments. The invention of letters had been made at many different points, extending from Italy to China—a clear proof that civilization had many independent sources; but, such was everywhere the antiquity of the invention, that we could hardly in any case tell when or by whom it was made, though made in a hundred separate places. Epochs or eras, depending, as they must necessarily do, on the art of writing, were, of course, of still later origin. They were all, indeed, of comparatively recent origin. The Jews, Egyptians, Assyrians, and Persians had none at all; the Greek epoch dated only 776 and the Roman 753 before Christ. The oldest epoch of the Hindus, made the world, and of course man, up to the present time, 3,872,960 years old. That was known to be a fable spun from faithless brains. The oldest era of the same people that had an air of authority, that of the Buddha, dates 544 years before Christ. The era of Vikramaditza, of better authenticity, dates but 57 years before Christ; and that of Saka, probably more authentic, only 79 years later than our own. The Chinese mode of reckoning was by cycles of sixty years, making the first year of the first cycle correspond with the year before Christ, 2397. Even this, if it could be relied on, would only carry us back to the time when the Chinese, a people placed, like the Hindus, under very unfavorable circumstances for development, had already attained a civilization which gave them the power of recording events, while it took no account of the long ages which must have elapsed before. After noticing the structure of various languages, and observing that there were many languages of simple structure, just as primitive as those of complex formation, the writer observed, that it appeared to him the structural character which languages originally assumed, would, in a great measure, be fortuitous, and depend on the whim or fancy of the first rude founders. Adam Smith, and he thought justly, supposed that the first rude attempts would consist in giving names to familiar objects, that is, in forming nouns substantive. Adjectives, or words expressing quality, as of a more abstract nature, would necessarily be of later invention; but verbs must have been nearly coeval with nouns; while pronouns he considered as terms very abstract and metaphysical, and as such not likely to have existed at all in the earlier period of language. 'Number,' Adam Smith said, 'considered in general, without any relation to any particular set of objects numbered, is one of the most abstract and metaphysical ideas which the mind of man is capable of forming, and consequently is not an idea which would readily occur to rude mortals who were just beginning to form a language.' And the truth of this view of the formation of numbers was corroborated by our observation of rude languages, in which the process seemed, as it were, to be still going on under our eyes. Among the Australian tribes, 'two,' or a pair, made the extent of their numerals. Other tribes had advanced to count as far as five and ten. Malayan nations had native numerals extending to a thousand. The two hands and the ten fingers seemed to have been the main aids to the formation of the abstractions which Adam Smith considered so subtle; and this would account for our finding the numeral scale sometimes binary, but generally decimal. However great the difficulty of constructing languages, there was no doubt they were all conquered, and that by rude savages; and the Sanscrit language, in all its complexity and perfection of structure, was spoken and written at least three thousand years ago, by men who, compared with their posterity, were certainly barbarians. The discovery of the art of writ-

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ing implied an advanced state of civilization, the fruit of very long time; and from the sketch he had given of the formation of language, the conclusion was, he thought, inevitable that the birth of man was of vast antiquity."

APPLETON, NATHAN, died at Boston, July 14, 1861. He was born at New Ipswich, New Hampshire, Oct. 6, 1779, and was the seventh son of Isaac Appleton. At fifteen years of age he was examined and admitted to Dartmouth College. It was decided, however, that he should proceed no further in his collegiate studies. His brother Samuel, who had been in trade in New Ipswich and was about to remove to Boston, proposed that he should accompany him. This was accepted, and as he himself says, "It was determined that I should become a merchant rather than a scholar." His brother commenced business in a small shop in Cornhill; it consisted mostly in purchasing goods at auction and selling them to country traders for cash or short credit, for a small profit. In 1799, his brother made a voyage to Europe, leaving his business in the charge of Nathan. On the return of the former he removed to a warehouse in State street, and proposed to the latter, who had become of age, to be a partner. This was accepted, and Nathan now had at hand opportunities for enlarging his observation and experience. He was sent out to England to purchase goods while Europe was in a state of war. The news of peace reached him on landing, and changed the whole condition and current of trade. He postponed his purchases and travelled on the Continent; shortly afterwards returning to America, and resuming his mercantile career. In 1806 he married Maria Theresa Gold, the eldest daughter of Thomas Gold, of Pittsfield, and for the health of his wife soon crossed the ocean again. In Edinburgh he met Francis C. Lowell at the moment the latter was first conceiving the policy to which the cotton manufacture of New England owes its origin; with him he held an earnest and encouraging consultation in regard to it.

As capital accumulated in his hands, he took a very active part in connection with Francis C. Lowell, Patrick T. Jackson, Paul Moody, and others, in establishing the cotton factory at Waltham, Massachusetts. He says: "When the first loom was ready for trial, many little matters were to be adjusted or overcome before it would work perfectly. Mr. Lowell said to me, that he did not wish me to see it until it was complete, of which he would give me notice. At length the time arrived, and he invited me to go out with him and see the loom operate. I well recollect the state of satisfaction and admiration with which we sat by the hour watching the beautiful movement of this new and wonderful machine, destined, as it evidently was, to change the character of all textile industry." He was also one of the chief associates in the company which made the first purchases for a like purpose at Lowell. They purchased the water power at Pawtucket Falls, on the Merrimac River, and a large portion of the land adjacent, on which the city of Lowell now stands. He was also the projector and largest proprietor of the Hamilton Company, where new varieties of goods were first made in this country.

On different occasions he was elected a member of the Massachusetts Legislature, and in 1830 was chosen a member of the Twenty-second Congress. His first speech was an effort to show that South Carolina was the author of the system of minimums, which was only another name for specific duties and a system capable of defence, the tariff being under discussion. He writes: "I took the occasion to state, that we could convert a pound of our cotton into the common cloth we were making, for less money than the British could do. This being a fact well known to me, the statement was made advisedly, wishing the matter to stand on its true basis; but, being so contrary to the general impression, it quite alarmed some of the friends of the protective system, as I learned afterwards. My speech gave a new turn to the debate. It brought up McDuffie and Cambreleng, and the debate occupied the whole day. The vote showed a majority of about twenty in favor of the protective system."

In 1842 he was again sent to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Robert C. Winthrop in Congress. Though not a frequent debater in Congress, he was listened to with attention. His mind turned to the financial and commercial view of questions. He was a member of the American Academy of Science and Arts, and of the Massachusetts Historical Society. In February, 1833, his wife died, leaving to him four children. In 1839 he was again married to the daughter of Jesse Sumner of Boston. Their children were three in number.

AQUIA CREEK is located on the right bank of the Potomac, at the termination of the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad. This was a part of the through route from New Orleans and Mobile to New York. The connection between Aquia Creek and Washington was made by steamboat, 55 miles. It is 15 miles from Fredericksburg. The creek itself, after which the railroad termination takes its name, flows through Stafford County into the Potomac, and is navigable for vessels of light draft for several miles from its mouth. Batteries were erected here by the Virginia troops, which were cannonaded by Commander H. J. Ward in the gunboat Freeborn, supported by the Anacostia and Resolute on the 31st of May. He thus reported the affair:

"After an incessant charge, kept up for two hours by both our 32-pounders, and the expenditure of all the ammunition suitable for distant firing, and silencing completely the three batteries at the railroad terminus, the fir-

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ing from shore having been rapidly kept up by them until so silenced, and having been recommenced from the new batteries on the heights back, which reached us in volleys, dropping the shot on board and about us like hail for nearly an hour, but fortunately wounding but one man, I hauled the vessel off, as the heights proved wholly above the reach of our elevation.

"Judging from the explosion of our ten-second shells in the sand-batteries, two of which were thrown by the Anacostia, it is hardly possible the enemy can have escaped considerable loss. Several others of the Anacostia's shells dropped in the vicinity of the battery."

Another attack was made on the batteries on the 1st of June, by the Freeborn and Pawnee, gunboats.

Just as the firing opened the men at the batteries burnt the depot houses at the end of the wharf, probably to prevent them from being in the way of their shot. They continued burning throughout the whole engagement, as it was not safe for any one to leave the batteries to extinguish the fire. It also burnt the entire wharf to the water's edge.

A slight affair had taken place on the 29th of May, previous to these two attacks, which was the first hostile collision on the waters of the Potomac.

ARCHITECTURE. New York City has long been famous for her stores, excelling those of any other city either in this country or abroad, in their size, expense of construction, ornamentation, and their conveniences for the purposes of the trade to which they are to be adapted. The war has, during the past year, materially interfered with new enterprises of this kind; but a few, undertaken in the previous year, have been completed, and are superior to any stores before constructed. Of these, the largest is the store and warehouse of Messrs Claflin, Mellen & Co., extending from Church street to West Broadway, with a façade on one side of these streets of 80 ft., and 375 on Worth street. The façades are of the green tinted Nova Scotia stone, with pediments on the three streets. The first story is of iron, painted and sanded to the same color as the stone. The style may be called Italian, with no excess of ornamentation, but the whole is in good taste. Like most of the later stores in this city, there are five stories above the sidewalk on Church street, and two beneath, viz.: basement and sub-cellar. Owing to the descent in Anthony street, the basement becomes on West Broadway, a full story above the side walk; at this end, most of the goods are delivered. The whole store is appropriated to the business of one firm, for the jobbing of dry goods. At the corner of White street and Broadway, a store has been erected by Wm. B. Astor, 75 feet on Broadway, and 175 on White street. The façades are of white marble, with the first story of iron. The roof is finished, a la mansard, with a balcony at the top of galvanized wrought iron, of which material the cornice of the building is also composed. This store differs in style from those usually constructed here. Heavy ¾ pilasters ornament the front above the first story on Broadway, which are supported, each on two columns of iron. The caps of the windows, and all the ornamentation are extremely bold, and by their depth of shadow on the material of which they are constructed, give a character to the building uncommon to the class. On Broadway, between 9th and 10th streets, a store is building for A. T. Stewart, probably for the retail dry goods trade. The façades are entirely of iron; not distinctive in character as to style, they strike one rather by their extent than by their architectural beauty.

In Boston, a few dry goods warehouses have been finished, which, in boldness and originality in their façades, are equal, if not superior to those in New York; but they do not equal them in capacity. Some private dwellings have also been built on the land reclaimed from the Back Bay, which are deserving of notice architecturally. They are mostly in the French style of architecture, with mansard roofs. Their façades are of Nova Scotia stone, and of brick; and they ornament a part of the city which has been heretofore a low-tide reservoir.

At Washington, the work on the Capitol has been in a measure suspended. Piece by piece is still slowly added to the ribbed skeleton of the dome. Each piece is raised by a steam derrick, placed on the roof at the base of the dome, and instead of steadying the load by a guy, a man rides up on the piece as it is hoisted, to preserve its balance, and returns resting on a small iron ball above the hook. In the interior, Leutze is maturing his design for the ornamentation of the stair-case of the House of Representatives. The bronze doors, designed and modelled at Rome by Rogers, have lately been cast at the Munich foundry. Each door—the whole forms a folding-door—is divided into four panels. Thus, with a semicircular space above, there are nine divisions, in each of which an important moment of Columbus' life is represented. The figures stand out in full relief. The crowning event of the discoverer's career occupies the commanding spot over the top of the doors. Here Columbus, standing on a mound, forms the central figure. He has just landed from a boat, and with the standard of Arragon and Castile planted upon the new soil, and with sword upraised in his right hand, he takes possession of the land in the name of his sovereigns. Some boatmen are still in the skiff, others are kneeling on the shore, while a group of Indians, peeping from behind a tree on the opposite side, look on in wondering astonishment. In one compartment is represented the triumphal entry of Columbus into Madrid, on his first return from America, amid crowds of gazers at him, the hero of the triumph, and at the Indians, who precede the procession, with paroquets on their upraised arms. The next panel is occupied with a sadder story. Here, Columbus in chains, surrounded

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by a sorrowing population, is about to embark for Europe. Then, the "last scene of all," accomplishing his "strange eventful history," we see him on his death-bed, attended only by a nun and some priests, who administer to him the consolations of religion. His son stands beside him. In the thickness of the door itself niches are formed at certain intervals, and in these are small whole-length figures of the great contemporaries of Columbus—kings, statesmen, ecclesiastics, and warriors. In the centre, close to each other, are two such lines of niches, while on both sides a single row of figures, one above the other, fills up the intermediate space between the outer edge of the panels and the door post. The large bosses, so often seen on doors, are here the heads of those historians who have written on the discovery of America. The ornaments below each niche are heads of animals indigenous to the country, with fruits and flowers entwined.

In London, a new building for the International Exhibition of 1862, is being hurried to completion. From the published view, architecturally, it cannot be considered a success; but the immensity of the space occupied, and the dimensions of some particular parts of the buildings, may produce an effect which cannot be even suggested by a drawing.

The following statistics are from the official account:

The buildings cover in the whole more than 26 acres. The principal picture gallery, which is in Cromwell road, is 1,150 feet long, 50 feet wide, and 50 feet high above the ground-floor; being about as long as the gallery at the Louvre in Paris. The construction of this is of brickwork. The walls are lined with wood, and pictures may be hung, if desired, to a height of 30 feet. The entrance to this gallery is through three very large recessed arcades, each 20 feet wide, and 50 feet high. The visitor enters a vestibule and hall, 150 feet long, and together 110 feet wide, which leads to the Industrial Halls and Galleries; whilst two flights of steps, 30 feet wide, lead on either side up to the picture galleries. The auxiliary picture galleries are 25 feet wide, and about 30 feet high, and jointly, 1,200 feet long.

The industrial buildings, constructed chiefly of iron, timber, and glass, consist of the following parts: two duodecagonal domes, which will be 160 feet in diameter, and 250 feet high, —the largest of ancient and modern times. The dome of the Pantheon is 142 feet in diameter, and 70 feet high; the dome in the Baths of Caracalla was 111 feet; Brunelleschi's, at Florence, is 139 feet in diameter, and 133 feet high; the dome of St. Peter's is 158 feet in diameter, and 263 feet high from the external plinth; the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral is 112 feet in diameter, and 215 feet high. The domes will be of glass, with an outer and inner gallery. The vista from dome to dome, through the nave, is 1,070 feet. Each of the domes springs from the intersections of the nave with the two transepts. The nave and transepts are 100 feet high, and 85 feet wide; the nave is 800 feet long, and the transepts are each about 635 feet long, including the domes. They are lighted on both sides by clerestory windows, 25 feet high.

At 25 feet from the ground, a gallery runs at each side of the nave and transepts. There is more than a mile and a half of upper galleries, some 50 feet, and some 25 feet wide; two courts, each 250 feet by 86 feet; two courts, each 250 feet by 200 feet; two central courts, —that at the north, 150 feet by 86; that at the south, 150 feet by 150 feet. All these glass courts are 50 feet high, and lighted from above. The entrances to the industrial buildings are constructed in brick, and each entrance is 55 feet wide. The iron castings are estimated to weigh nearly 4,000 tons; the wrought-iron used chiefly in the great domes, and for the roofs, about 1,200 tons.

For the top lighting of the galleries, 45,000 feet superficial of frames and glass are in preparation. For the clerestory lights of the nave and transepts, nearly a mile length of frames, 25 feet high, is preparing; and for the courts, upwards of 30 miles of sash-bars and glass.

The roofs are covered with slates for the great picture galleries, and elsewhere with felt, except in parts, to show how ornamental roofing may be hereafter applied. The contract is of a threefold character: for the use and waste of the buildings, a sum of 200,000*l.* is to be paid absolutely; if the receipts exceed 400,000*l.*, then the contractors are to take up to a further sum of 100,000*l.*; and if this sum is fully paid, then the centre acre of the great picture galleries is to be left as the property of the Society of Arts, who will pay the "1851" Commissioners a ground-rent calculated at the rate of 240*l.* per acre, per annum. Lastly, the contractors are bound to sell, absolutely, the remaining rights over the buildings, for a further sum of 130,000*l.*, which may possibly be paid by the surplus receipts of the Exhibition, if the success be great.

Comparing the extent of the present building with that of 1851,—the latter occupied nearly 23 acres; that now erecting covers a little over 26. The flooring space in 1851 was just short of a million feet. In the new building there will be 1,140,000; but as it is intended to exhibit machinery and agricultural implements in a wing especially built for the purpose, practically there will be some 500,000 feet of flooring more in 1862, than in 1851. The greatest height in 1851 was 160 feet, and the main nave 60 feet high by 72 wide. The greatest height of the new building will be 260 feet, and the nave 85 feet wide and 100 feet high. The total length of the first exhibition building was 1,800 feet by 400 wide. The present one, 1,200 long by 700 broad, exclusive of the space set aside for the display of agricultural implements, which is, in rough numbers, 1,000 feet long by 220 broad.

ARIZONA. (*See* TERRITORIES.)

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ARKANSAS, in its location, is one of the Western States, but its productions are similar to those of the Southern States. It is bounded on the north by Missouri, on the east by the Mississippi River, which separates it from the States of Tennessee and Mississippi, on the south by Louisiana and Texas, and on the west by Texas and the Indian Territory. The Governor is elected by the people once in four years. The Senate consists of twenty-five members elected for five years, and the House consists of seventy-five members elected for two years. The Legislature meets on the first Monday in November. The population of the State in 1860 was 435,-427, of whom 137 were free colored, and 111,-104 slaves. The views of the people of the State were strongly in favor of the Union, and no movement aiming at secession took place in the State until the 20th of December, when David Hubbard, a Commissioner from the State of Alabama, addressed the Legislature of Arkansas at Little Rock. He argued that Alabama would secede from the Union whether other States did or not.

The largest meeting ever held at Van Buren took place on the 5th of January. The resolutions adopted with great unanimity, opposed separate State action, and were in favor of coöperation. The election of Mr. Lincoln was regarded as not in itself a sufficient cause for a dissolution of the Union—reasonable time should be allowed to the non-slaveholding States to retrace their steps. A large majority of the people of all former party associations were considered, at this time, as in favor of making all honorable efforts to preserve the Union. The demonstrations to the contrary, thus far made, were looked upon as reflecting only a small fraction of the public sentiment.

On the 16th of January the Legislature unanimously passed a bill submitting the Convention question to the people on the 18th of February. If a majority were in favor of a Convention, the Governor should appoint the time for its election.

On the day appointed an election was held throughout the State, and the vote in favor of holding a Convention was 27,412; against it, 15,826. Majority for a Convention, 11,586. The vote of the State at the Presidential election in November was, for Douglas, 5,227; Breckinridge, 28,732; Bell, 20,094.

At the election of delegates to the Convention, the Union vote was 23,626; Secession, 17,927; Union majority, 5,699.

The Convention assembled on the 4th of March, and organized by the election of Union officers, by a majority of six. On the 6th, the inaugural of President Lincoln was received, and produced an unfavorable impression on the minds of the people. Secession was strongly urged upon the Convention, which had been regarded as containing forty members opposed to it, and thirty-five in favor of it.

Various resolutions were offered and referred to appropriate committees, looking to an endorsement, on the one hand, of the doctrine of secession, and the right and duty of Arkansas to secede, and on the other to a clear definition of the position Arkansas should take, stopping short of secession, with a view to the security of her rights in the Union.

A conditional ordinance of secession was debated, with a clause referring it back to the people for ratification or rejection. This was defeated by a vote of ayes, 35; noes, 39. The Convention was disposed to pass resolutions approving the propositions of Missouri and Virginia for a conference of the border slave States, and providing for sending five delegates to said Conference or Convention, and agreeing with Virginia to hold said Conference at Frankfort, Kentucky, on the 27th of May.

At Van Buren a salute of thirty-nine guns was fired in honor of the thirty-nine members of the Convention who voted against the secession ordinance. The same number of guns were fired at Fort Smith.

On the 17th, an ordinance was reported by a self-constituted committee composed of seven secessionists, and seven coöperationists, as a compromise measure between the two parties. It was adopted as reported, unanimously, in the Convention. It provided for an election to be held on the first Monday of August, at which the legal voters of the State were to cast their ballots for "secession," or for "coöperation." If on that day a majority of the votes were cast for secession, that fact was to be considered in the light of instructions to the Convention to pass an ordinance severing the connection of Arkansas with the Union. If, on the other hand, a majority of the votes of the State were cast for coöperation, that fact would be an instruction to the Convention immediately to take all necessary steps for coöperation with the border or unseceded slave States, to secure a satisfactory adjustment of all sectional controversies disturbing the country.

The next session of the Convention was to be held on the 17th of August; and to secure the return of all the votes of each county, each delegate was made a special returning officer of the Convention to bring the vote of his county to the Capitol.

Besides this ordinance submitting the proposition of "secession" or "coöperation" to the vote of the people, resolutions were passed providing for the election of five delegates to the border slave State Convention, proposed by the States of Virginia and Missouri, to be held some time during the month of May. Thus the proceedings of that Convention would be before the people, amply canvassed and understood, when the vote of the State was cast on the first Monday of August.

The result of the labors of the Convention, although not exactly what either party desired, was regarded as probably more nearly satisfactory to the public than any other action which could have been taken by that body. Time was given for investigation and deliberation as to consequences.

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Affairs remained quiet; the friends of the Union were hopeful; those who sympathized with the seceded States were sanguine that Arkansas would be one of them. The capture of Fort Sumter, and the subsequent events, roused Arkansas to take a stand either with the North or with the South. Together with the news of the fall of the fort, there came also the President's Proclamation, and the requisition of the Secretary of War for a quota of troops from Arkansas. The reply of the Governor to this requisition, was dated the 22d of April. It proved him to be decided in his friendship to the secession movement. He wrote to the Secretary of War thus: "In answer to your requisition for troops from Arkansas, to subjugate the Southern States, I have to say that none will be furnished. The demand is only adding insult to injury. The people of this Commonwealth are freemen, not slaves, and will defend to the last extremity, their honor, lives, and property, against Northern mendacity and usurpation."

The President of the State Convention, entertaining similar views, immediately issued a call requiring it to reassemble on the 6th of May. The call was dated on the 20th of April.

On the 6th of May the State Convention met, and immediately took the necessary steps to prepare an ordinance to sever the relations existing between the State and the other States united with her under the Constitution of the United States. The ordinance was prepared and reported to the Convention at three o'clock in the afternoon, and was passed immediately, with only one dissenting vote. There were sixty-nine votes in the affirmative, and one in the negative. An eye-witness describes the passage of the ordinance as "a solemn scene." Every member seemed impressed with the importance of the vote he was giving. The hall of the House of Representatives was crowded almost to suffocation. The lobby, the gallery, and the floor of the chamber were full, and the vast crowd seemed excited to the highest pitch. A profound stillness prevailed all the time as vote after vote was taken and recorded, except occasionally, when some well-known Union member would rise and preface his vote with expressions of stirring patriotic Southern sentiments, the crowd would give token of its approbation; but the announcement of the adoption of the ordinance was the signal for one general acclamation that shook the building.

A weight seemed suddenly to have been lifted off the hearts of all present, and manifestations of the most intense satisfaction prevailed on all sides. Immediate steps were taken by the Convention to unite with the Confederate States. The ordinance was as follows:

Whereas, in addition to the well-founded causes of complaint set forth by this Convention, in resolutions adopted on the 11th March, A. D. 1861, against the sectional party now in power at Washington City, headed by Abraham Lincoln, he has, in the face of resolutions passed by this Convention, pledging the State of Arkansas to resist to the last extremity any attempt on the part of such power to coerce any State that seceded from the old Union, proclaimed to the world that war should be waged against such States until they should be compelled to submit to their rule, and large forces to accomplish this have by this same power been called out, and are now being marshalled to carry out this inhuman design, and to longer submit to such rule or remain in the old Union of the United States would be disgraceful and ruinous to the State of Arkansas;

Therefore, we, the people of the State of Arkansas, in Convention assembled, do hereby declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the "ordinance and acceptance of compact," passed and approved by the General Assembly of the State of Arkansas, on the 18th day of October, A. D. 1836, whereby it was by said General Assembly ordained that, by virtue of the authority vested in said General Assembly, by the provisions of the ordinance adopted by the convention of delegates assembled at Little Rock, for the purpose of forming a constitution and system of government for said State, the propositions set forth in "an act supplementary to an act entitled an act for the admission of the State of Arkansas into the Union, and to provide for the due execution of the laws of the United States within the same, and for other purposes, were freely accepted, ratified and irrevocably confirmed articles of compact and union between the State of Arkansas and the United States," and all other laws and every other law and ordinance, whereby the State of Arkansas became a member of the Federal Union be, and the same are hereby in all respects and for every purpose herewith consistent repealed, abrogated, and fully set aside; and the union now subsisting between the State of Arkansas and the other States, under the name of the United States of America, is hereby forever dissolved.

And we do further hereby declare and ordain, that the State of Arkansas hereby resumes to herself all rights and powers heretofore delegated to the Government of the United States of America—that her citizens are absolved from all allegiance to said Government of the United States, and that she is in full possession and exercise of all the rights and sovereignty which appertain to a free and independent State.

We do further ordain and declare, that all rights acquired and vested under the Constitution of the United States of America, or of any act or acts of Congress, or treaty, or under any law of this State, and not incompatible with this ordinance, shall remain in full force and effect, in nowise altered or impaired, and have the same effect as if this ordinance had not been passed.

The Convention also passed a resolution authorizing the Governor to call out 60,000 men, if necessary. The State was divided into two grand divisions, eastern and western, and one brigadier-general from each appointed. Gen. Bradley was elected to the command of the eastern, and Gen. Pearce, late of the U. S. Army, to the western.

Among the other acts passed by the Convention, was an ordinance confiscating debts due persons residing in the non-slaveholding States of the United States, and also all the personal property belonging to such persons in Arkansas, on the 6th of May, 1861. All moneys collected for persons residing in any one of the non-slaveholding States of the United States were likewise confiscated to the State. By the provisions of this ordinance, it was made the duty of persons owing such debts to report them under oath to the Auditor of Public Accounts within sixty days from the passage of the ordinance. Failing to do this, or making a false report, they were subject to a heavy pecuniary fine and

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imprisonment in the penitentiary. Persons throughout the State were required to give information of delinquencies, and judges were required to give the matter specially in charge to grand juries at each term of the Circuit Court.

The Governor was authorized to call out the military force, and two millions of dollars in bonds were ordered to be issued in sums of five dollars and upwards.

The first movement after the secession of the State, was to get possession of the property of the United States. The United States arsenal, located at Little Rock, became the first object for seizure. On the morning of February 5th, that city was thrown into high excitement by the unexpected arrival of a steamboat with a body of troops from Helena, with the avowed purpose of taking the arsenal. In a few hours another boat arrived with more troops, and on the next day others arrived, until a force of four hundred men was collected. The City Council was assembled, and on application to the Governor, it was informed that the troops were not there by his orders. The troops themselves were of a different opinion, and came there, as they thought, at his command; but whether so or not, they were there to take the arsenal, and they determined to accomplish that object before leaving. The Governor was then requested to assume the responsibility of the movement, and in the name of the State to demand the arsenal of the officer in command of it. It was believed that Captain Totten would surrender to the authorities of the State rather than have a collision, but would not to a body of men disavowed by the Governor and acting in violation of law, and that as the troops were determined on taking the arsenal at all hazards, there would of course be a collision, and probably much sacrifice of life. Consequently, the Governor consented to act, and immediately made a formal demand upon Capt. Totten.

To the Governor's demand for the surrender of the arsenal, Capt. Totten asked until three o'clock the next day to consider the matter, which was agreed to. At the time appointed, Capt. Totten made known his readiness to evacuate the arsenal, and, after the details were finally agreed upon, it was arranged that, at twelve o'clock the next day, the arsenal should be delivered to the authorities of the State, which was done.

About the same time, the public property at Fort Smith was seized in behalf of the State. (*See* Forts.)

On the 18th of May, Arkansas was admitted as one of the Confederate States, and her delegates took their seats in Congress. They were R. W. Johnson, A. Rust, A. W. Garland, W. H. Watkins, and W. F. Thomason.

The military operations within the limits of the State during the year were fruitless in results. A difficulty early occurred between the Governor and Legislature on one side, and the State Convention on the other. It was charged upon the latter body that they had overstepped their authority in an attempt to regulate the military affairs of the State by the appointment of a Military Board. The Governor, in his message to the Legislature at its session in November, said, that on the 10th of May, Gen. McCulloch was put in command of the Indian Territory west of Arkansas, and had with him two regiments, one from Louisiana and one from Arkansas. Before he could prepare for any offensive operations, Gen. Lyon, in pursuit of Jackson, approached near the south boundary line of Missouri, and the Military Board of Arkansas called out ten regiments for defensive purposes. On the 21st of June the Board despatched a messenger to Richmond, proposing to transfer the entire State force, with their arms, to the Confederate Government, making a condition precedent, however, that the arms were to be used for the protection of Arkansas. The Secretary of State was willing to receive the men and arms, but would make no promise as to their future disposition, and so the transfer was not then effected.

On the 4th of July the effort was again essayed, one of the members of the Board visiting Gen. Hardee, then recently appointed to the command of the northern border of Arkansas, and an agreement was made whereby a vote should be taken among the Arkansas troops, and if a majority of each company consented to be transferred, those consenting were to be turned over as a company; if, however, a majority declined, the company was to be disbanded altogether. One company of General Yell's division disbanded, and two or three hundred others, "from various motives, returned home." This was from the eastern division of the army.

The western division, under Gen. Pearce, however, was not so easily transferred. After the battle of Springfield, the Military Board despatched an agent to General Pearce to turn over his troops to Gen. Hardee. The agent proposed to submit the question of the transfer, but Gen. Pearce became angry, and refused to allow it to be done, following this insubordinate conduct up by writing a most abusive letter to the Board. Not content with this, Gen. Pearce separated his troops from McCulloch's command, and marched them back to Arkansas, where they were informally disbanded and sent home. Gov. Rector says, that without General Pearce's command, "General McCulloch was left too weak for any thing but passive inaction."

As soon as Gen. Pearce's return to Arkansas was known, the Military Board, fearing a disbandment, directed him to suspend all action in reference to the transfer, but the despatches were received too late, and only "in time to stay the waste of public property scattered in all directions."

His narrative showed that the Arkansas forces, claimed to be twenty-two thousand in number, were in a complete state of demoralization at that time.

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On the subject of the increase of the army, the Governor suggested the following method:—"It is probable that the troops now in the field will meet present emergencies, whilst it may be safely calculated that a much larger number will have to go into service before spring. I beg to recommend that the executive authorities be authorized to organize two 'class regiments,' one of Germans and their immediate descendants, and another of Irish and their descendants. . . . These people, though brave and patriotic, have been deterred from entering the army mainly because for them there was little chance for promotion. . . . . If I should be mistaken, however, in the causes that have deterred them, and it is found to proceed from a lack of inclination, then authority ought to be given to draft a regiment from each class. It is not a wise or just Government which, in a war like this, taxes native blood and energy alone, leaving the foreign-born at home, reaping the fruits of dear-bought victories."

The forces of the State in the field, at the time when the greatest number were in active service, were as follows:—

In Virginia, two regiments of infantry, one thousand strong each	2,000
Under Hardee, in regiments	6,000
Under McCulloch, in regiments	6,000
Seven new regiments just organized, and under marching orders	6,000
Independent companies and battalions of artillery and cavalry with Hardee and McCulloch,	1,500
Total Arkansas force	21,500

The entire vote of the State at the Presidential election in November, was 54,063; consequently over one-third of the amount of her vote was in the field. The number of twelve-months men that entered the Confederate service from the State is stated at thirteen regiments. As late as October, all the pay which the troops had received was in Arkansas war bonds, and much murmuring existed among the soldiers, owing to the worthlessness of the bonds. Even as far back as June, some of the troops furnished by the State were very poorly equipped. Col. Hindman, writing to the Military Board about June 10th, says:—"I telegraphed you that the men of my regiment were without blankets and shoes, and requested you to allow me to apply to their benefit the proceeds of the sugar now in store which I seized from the Cincinnati steamboats, and turned over to the civil authorities before Arkansas seceded."

The expenditures of the State for military purposes, previous to the 6th of November, amounted to $1,041,603. Thirty-seven thousand dollars of this sum were spent in the capture of the arsenal at Little Rock, and the post at Fort Smith, and the stores at Pine Bluff and Napoleon, before the State seceded. Apart from the regiments furnished to the Confederate army by the State, the stores and men supplied, at various times, to Gen. Sterling Price, to enable him to maintain a foothold in Missouri, and thereby prevent the approach of the Federal forces into Arkansas, were the most important debts of her authorities and citizens.

The internal condition of the State was very far from being satisfactory to the authorities or to the people. On the 12th of June, several negroes were arrested in Monroe County, thirty miles west of Helena, upon a charge of attempted insurrection. Two men and one girl were hung. The plot was to murder the white male inhabitants, and to spare the women and children, if they did not resist.

The great cause of uneasiness, however, was the Union sentiment which was known to exist in the State. Of the fifty-four thousand votes polled at the Presidential election in November, 1860, over twenty thousand were given for the candidate whose platform was "the Constitution and the Union." In the State Convention, previous to April 15th, the secession party were not strong enough to pass an ordinance of separation, and were forced to compromise with the opposition. Even as late as December, 1861, within one week, a member of the Legislature of Arkansas, and forty other citizens of the State, came to Rolla, in Missouri, where thirty-five joined a regiment of Missouri troops. They represented that a surprising degree of loyalty to the Federal Government still existed in the northern part of the State.

The Governor, in his Message to the Legislature, at its session on the first Monday of November, alludes to the existence of "treason in the State," without stating any details. These were well known. On the 29th of October, twenty-seven persons were brought to Little Rock as members of a secret Union organization in Van Buren County. They were placed in jail to be brought to trial by the civil authority. At this time many others were also taken. It was publicly stated that they formed a regular organization, called a "Peace and Constitutional Society;" that there were 700 members in Searcy, Van Buren, Newton, and Izard Counties, and 1,700 in the whole State; that they had a regular system of signs and passwords, and were furnished with supplies of money. The Constitution made it obligatory upon every member to hazard his life in aid of another in distress, and the penalty of exposing any of the secrets of the organization was death. Those who were taken, were reported to have been well supplied with arms, and the others were supposed to be equally well equipped. The disaffection of the people in that section of the State was made known to the authorities by Gen. Burgevin, and the names of citizens given.

On the 23d of November, it was determined that, after a campaign of sixty days in Kansas and Missouri, Gen. McCulloch should fall back into Arkansas. Preparations were therefore made to accommodate five thousand army horses, and a number of mules, near Fort Smith Valley. A hundred thousand bushels of corn,

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and three thousand seven hundred and fifty tons of hay, were procured for their forage. As this valley had been largely drawn upon during the summer and fall months of the year, it was feared that the encampment of such a large number of men and animals as composed McCulloch's force might distress the inhabitants. The campaign in Kansas was not carried out, and early in the spring Gen. McCulloch was driven out by the Federal force.

ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES. At the time of the attack on Fort Sumter, the entire military force at the disposal of the Government was 16,006 regulars. They were principally employed in the West to hold in check marauding Indians. It has always been the policy of the Government to maintain the army at the lowest number of privates which was practicable consistent with the interests of the country, and to rely upon volunteers whenever any emergency should arise. The effect of this policy was to place the forts and arsenals in seceding States in such a condition as to be entirely unprepared to make any defence when assaulted, even by armed citizens disposed to seize them. The nucleus of an army was always preserved by the education of officers at the military institution at West Point. The wisdom of this policy is now more severely tested than ever before.

The call of the President for troops for three months, in his proclamation of April 15th, asked for 75,000 men. This call amounted, in the aggregate, to ninety-four regiments, making 73,391, officers and men. Of the States called upon, the Governors of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas, Kentucky, and Missouri peremptorily refused to comply with the requirements made by the War Department. All the other non-seceding States promptly furnished the number required of them, except Maryland, whose Governor was prevented from so doing by the outbreak at Baltimore. The quota for each State under this call was as follows:

Maine.....	1	780	Virginia.....	3	2,340
New Hampshire	1	780	North Carolina.	2	1,560
Vermont.....	1	780	Kentucky.....	4	3,123
Massachusetts.	2	1,560	Arkansas.....	1	780
Rhode Island..	1	780	Missouri.....	4	3,123
Connecticut...	1	780	Ohio.....	13	10,153
New York.....	17	13,280	Indiana	6	4,683
New Jersey...	4	3,123	Illinois.....	6	4,683
Pennsylvania.	16	12,500	Michigan.....	1	780
Delaware.....	1	780	Iowa.....	1	780
Tennessee....	2	1,560	Minnesota....	1	780
Maryland.....	4	3,123	Wisconsin....	1	780

The remainder, to constitute the 75,000 men, was composed of troops in the District of Columbia.

Notwithstanding the positive refusal of the Governors of Virginia and Missouri to coöperate with the Government, patriotic citizens voluntarily united together and organized regiments for the Government service. Virginia furnished a regiment, and Missouri raised a force of 11,445, officers and men, making in round numbers twelve organized regiments. The citizens of the District of Columbia furnished no less than 2,813, officers and men, making in all four regiments. It was ordered that each regiment should consist of an aggregate of 780, officers and men. This was at a future day changed. Under the above-mentioned call the Government received, and had in service on the 1st of July, 77,875 men. These troops were infantry or riflemen.

On the 4th of May a second proclamation was issued by the President, calling for volunteers to serve during the war. So patriotic and enthusiastic were the people in favor of preserving the Union, that, under this call, two hundred and eight regiments had been accepted by July 1st. A number of other regiments were also accepted, on condition of being ready to be mustered into service within a specified time. All of those regiments accepted under this call were infantry and riflemen, with the exception of two battalions of artillery and four regiments of cavalry. Many regiments, mustered as infantry, had attached to them one or more artillery companies; and there were also some regiments partly made up of companies of cavalry. Of the two hundred and eight regiments above mentioned, one hundred and fifty-three were in active service on the 1st of July, and the remaining fifty-five within twenty days afterwards.

The total force in the field on July 1st, was computed as follows:—

Regulars and volunteers for three months and for the war.....		232,875
Add to this 55 regiments of volunteers for the war, accepted and not then in service.....	50,000	
Add new regiments of regular army.	25,000	
		75,000
Total force at command of Government.....		307,875
Deduct the three-months volunteers.....		77,875
Force for service after the withdrawal of the three-months men.....		230,000

Of this force, 188,000 men were volunteers, and 42,000 men computed for the regular army.

The proclamation of the President of May 4th also called for an increase of the regular army. This increase consisted of one regiment of cavalry of twelve companies, numbering, in the maximum aggregate, 1,189, officers and men; one regiment of artillery of twelve batteries, of six pieces each, numbering, in the maximum aggregate, 1,909, officers and men; nine regiments of infantry, each regiment containing three battalions of eight companies each, numbering, in the maximum aggregate, 2,452, officers and men, making a maximum increase of infantry of 22,068, officers and men.

The system adopted for the organization of the volunteers was different from the one which had existed in the regular army. The French regimental system of three battalions to a regiment was adopted.

The appropriations asked of Congress at its

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extra session in July for the support of the army, were as follows:—

Quartermaster's Department	$70,289,200 21
Subsistence Department	27,278,781 50
Ordnance Department	7,468,172 00
Pay Department	67,845,402 48
Adjutant-General's Department	408,000 00
Engineer Department	685,000 00
Topographical Engineer Department	50,000 00
Surgeon-General's Department	1,271,841 00
Due States which have made advances for troops	10,000,000 00
Total	185,296,397 19

By an act of Congress of July 22d, the States were asked to furnish 500,000 volunteers to serve for three years, or during the war; and by an act approved July 29th, the addition of 25,000 men to the regular army was authorized. At the same session, five hundred millions of dollars were appropriated for the support of the army.

The enlistment and organization of troops were entered upon with great activity and warm popular approbation during the ensuing three months, when it was restricted. Many circumstances aided the enlistment. The cause of the Union was approved by every one; a general stagnation or inactivity pervaded all industrial pursuits, and multitudes were partially or wholly unemployed, and the wages offered to the soldier were extremely liberal. The pay offered to privates by the United States was $13 per month, and a bounty of 100 acres of land at the close of the war. In addition, many of the States gave to each married citizen volunteer about one dollar per week for his wife, and in proportion for each child of his family between certain ages. Where such a sum was not given to the family of the private by the State, it was in numerous instances bestowed by the city or town in which he lived.

The clothing furnished to the private by the Government, is one uniform hat each year, price $1; one forage cap each year, price 57 cents; one uniform coat each year, price $6 56; three pair of trowsers the first year, two the second, and three the third, price $2 82 per pair; two sack coats each year, price each $2 10; three flannel shirts each year, price 90 cents each; one overcoat in five years, price $5 40; three pairs of drawers the first year, two every other year, price 71 cents each pair; four pair of brogans each year, price $2 20 per pair; two blankets in five years, price $2 44 each.

A variety of other articles are supplied, but these are the chief. To encourage economy and cleanliness among the troops, every article not drawn according to the allowance will be paid for to the soldier.

For the ration, or amount and variety of food furnished to privates by the Government, *see* RATION.

The pay of officers was on an equally liberal scale; and civilians in profitable, social positions, as well as those in no position, aspired, in the rawest state, to obtain the rank of officers. Too many unworthy persons were successful. It cost the Government millions, and required the efforts of all the military skill in the country to bring the accumulated mass up to the discipline and order of an approved army.

On the 1st of December, the entire strength of the army, both volunteers and regulars, was estimated as follows:—

	Volunteers for the War.
California	4,608
Connecticut	12,400
Delaware	2,000
Illinois	80,000
Indiana	57,332
Iowa	19,800
Kentucky	15,000
Maine	14,229
Maryland	7,000
Massachusetts	26,760
Michigan	28,550
Minnesota	4,160
Missouri	22,130
New Hampshire	9,600
New Jersey	9,342
New York	100,200
Ohio	81,205
Pennsylvania	94,760
Rhode Island	5,898
Vermont	8,000
Virginia	12,000
Wisconsin	14,153
Kansas	5,000
Colorado	1,000
Nebraska	2,500
Nevada	1,000
New Mexico	1,000
District of Columbia	1,000
	640,637
Estimated strength of the regular army, including the new enlistments under act of Congress of July 29, 1861	20,334
Total	660,971

This estimate, which was prepared at the War Department, as representing the force of the army, varied unquestionably from the amount of troops in the field. It was not to be expected that the precise force could be stated with strict accuracy while the enlistment was not closed. The quota of New York in the field was about the amount stated; the same was the case with the force assigned to other States.

The several arms of the service were estimated as follows:—

	Volunteers.	Regulars.	Aggregate.
Infantry	557,208	11,175	568,383
Cavalry	54,654	4,744	59,398
Artillery	20,380	4,308	24,688
Rifles and Sharpshooters	8,395	.....	8,395
Engineers	.....	107	107
	640,637	20,334	660,971

The appropriation asked for to sustain the army, by the Secretary of War, on the 1st of December, was $360,159,986.

The appropriation was computed for a force

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of 500,000 men. Some portion was to cover deficiencies arising from an excess of force in the field over the estimate for the previous six months.

The great mass of this force was calculated to operate in Virginia and in the West. Detachments were engaged elsewhere. That portion engaged in Virginia it was expected to subsist by supplies drawn chiefly from the cities of New York and Baltimore. That portion in the West would be supplied from St. Louis and the cities on the Ohio River. It is not possible to obtain the details of stores required for a military force until a campaign has closed, and the accounts of an army are made up by the respective officers. Some facts representing the unparalleled magnitude of these operations are of interest. At the very extensive warehouses occupied by the Government at Washington, there were on hand, on the 12th of October, an amount of stores represented by the following figures:

Pork, 3,000 barrels; beef, 6,000 barrels; beef tongues, 200 barrels; bacon, 300,000 pounds; hams, 50,000 pounds; flour, 11,000 barrels; hard bread, 3,000,000 pounds; beans, 4,000 bushels; rice, 1,000 pounds; hominy, 10,000 pounds; riced barley, 20,000 pounds; green coffee, 20,000 pounds; ground coffee, 40,000 pounds; tea, 1,000 pounds; sugar, 2,000,000 pounds; vinegar, 70,000 gallons; candles, 40,000 pounds; soap, 200,000 pounds; salt, 40,000 bushels; desiccated potatoes, 2,000 pounds; desiccated mixed vegetables, 17,000 pounds; pickles, 278 kegs; dried apples, 50,000 pounds; split peas, 4,000 bushels; molasses, 6,000 gallons; potatoes, 4,000 bushels.

The receipts at these warehouses, for the week ending the 12th of October, were as follows:

1,000 barrels of pork; 2,000 barrels of beef; 1,850 barrels of tongues; 76,000 pounds of bacon; 300 barrels flour; 850,000 pounds hard bread; 3,500 bushels beans; 34,000 pounds rice; 500 bushels hominy; 20,000 pounds riced barley; 150,000 pounds roasted and ground coffee; 100,000 pounds green coffee; 2,000 pounds tea; 750,000 pounds sugar; 9,000 gallons vinegar; 34,000 pounds candles; 80,000 pounds soap; 8,000 pounds desiccated potatoes; 10,000 pounds mixed vegetables; 30,000 pounds dried apples; 1,000 bushels split peas; 3,000 bushels potatoes; 5,000 gallons molasses.

For the previous three weeks the issues had been about equal to the receipts.

The following shows the prices paid by the Government for the specified articles:

Pork, $19 per barrel; beef, $15 per barrel; beef tongues, $16 per barrel; bacon, 10 cents per pound; hams, 12 cents per pound; flour, $7 50 per barrel; hard bread, 4 cents per pound; beans, $2 per bushel; rice, 7 cents per pound; hominy, 2½ cents per pound; riced barley, 4½ cents per pound; ground coffee, 20 cents per pound; green coffee, 14 cents per pound; tea, 50 cents per pound; sugar, 8½ cents per pound; vinegar, 12½ cents per gallons; candles, 26 cents per pound; soap, 6 cents per pound; salt, 5 cents per pound; desiccated potatoes, 11 cents per pound; desiccated mixed vegetables, 24 cents per pound; pickle, $3 75 per keg; dried applies, 5½ cents per pound; split peas, $2 per bushel; molasses, 32 cents per gallon; potatoes, 60 cents per bushel.

When the necessity of a bakery became apparent, one was constructed in the exterior vaults of the Capitol, under the supervision of Lieut. Cate. From these ovens at least 50,000 loaves were sent out daily, during the winter, to the troops around Washington.

Infantry Arms.—On the commencement of the war the United States Government found itself scantily supplied with small-arms, the armories in the Northern States having been in great part stripped, and the arms removed to the Southern States. (*See* CONFEDERATE STATES.) The chief dependence for the supply of muskets was upon the Springfield armory and that at Harper's Ferry. The capacity of the few private armories was only a few thousand muskets annually; and on the destruction of the arsenal and armory at Harper's Ferry on the 19th of April, 1861, together with 15,000 muskets, to prevent their falling into the hands of the Confederates, the resources of the Government were seriously diminished. It was, no doubt, the want of arms that limited the call of the President for volunteers, on the 15th of April, to 75,000 men; and until muskets could be imported from Europe many regiments were detained in their camps in the different States. Orders were sent abroad by the Governors of States, and many arms were imported at high prices, although inferior, most of them very much so, to those of American manufacture. The Springfield armory, the capacity of which was rated at only about 25,000 muskets annually, was enlarged as rapidly as possible, and its production, assisted by outside machine shops, was brought up at the close of the year to about 8,000 muskets per month, and has since been increased to about 15,000 a month. These are rifled with three grooves, making one-half turn in the length of a barrel of 40 inches. The bore is 0.58 inch in diameter, and the projectile used is a hollow base cylindro-conical shot of lead. Including the bayonet, ramrod, and other appendages, the number of pieces belonging to the musket are 84 in number, 26 of which are of steel, 2 of wood, and the remainder of iron. All of them are made by machinery, and in all the guns the corresponding pieces are so precisely alike that they may be used indiscriminately, and, in case of damage, the injured parts may be replaced without any difficulty as to their fitting. By this system, which is purely American, the arms are made of uniform excellence, and are unsurpassed by any produced by the best armories in Europe. Their estimated cost, from the official reports, is $13 25 each for the gun alone, and

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$1 68 for appendages, making a total of $14 93. This, however, allows nothing for the general expenses, as salaries, interest upon the heavy cost of the establishments, etc. The barrels are made of the best kind of wrought-iron bars, each 14 inches long, 5⅝ inches wide, and $\frac{9}{16}$ of an inch thick. These are rolled with bevelled edges, so as to make a perfect joint when they are turned over to form a tube. This is effected by passing them at a high heat through a succession of grooves in the curving rolls, each groove gradually bringing the bar nearer to the cylindrical form. The edges are brought together and welded in a machine, which also elongates the barrel. The machine is provided with 8 grooves, of decreasing sizes, through which the barrel is passed in succession, being kept in shape by a mandrel thrust through the barrel, and changed for a smaller one with each decreasing groove. After this, the barrel, without a mandrel rod, is passed through the finishing groove twice, to render it smooth and cylindrical. The straightening, which is the next operation, is effected in large dies of the same length as the barrel, into which this is gradually forced by the pressure given by an eccentric movement. The next operation is what is called conescating, which is fixing and welding the seat for the nipple for a percussion cap. This is done by the action of tilt hammers. The polishing of the barrel is done by emery wheels, run by steam or water power. The manufacture of the nipples is one of the most difficult parts of the work, as the steel of which they are made has to be brought to the exact degree of hardness by tempering, adapted for receiving the concussion of the hammer without being either broken or flattened by the blow—the former effect resulting from too great, and the latter from too little hardness. The locks are extremely simple in their construction, while at the same time they are of the greatest efficiency. They contain but two springs, which are made of the best English cast steel. The other parts are of the best Norway iron, costing sometimes to import $215 per ton. The lock-plate, like most of the smaller pieces of the gun—as the guards, triggers, etc.—is cut out at once of proper shape in a die, and the finishing is effected by a chisel, the movements of which are exactly regulated by machinery to the shape of the piece, so that it is not even necessary to use the file. The stocks are made of black walnut, well seasoned, and sawed into blocks, with rectangular edges, of the general shape of the stock. The shaping of them, and excavating the grooves for the barrel and ramrod, the screw-holes, and the receptacles for the lock and butt-plate, are all effected by machines of extraordinary ingenuity, developed from the principle of the lathe invented several years ago by Mr. Thomas Blanchard, of Massachusetts. Of these machines, some of which are also employed in shaping the outside of the barrel, as many as thirteen, each having its separate work to perform, are required for the completion of the gun. An exact pattern in iron of the object to be produced regulates in its rotation the action of the cutters, planes, drills, etc., which excavate in the block depressions corresponding precisely to those of the pattern. The operation of the machines is wonderfully rapid, and so exact that the lock, mountings, etc., are found to fit precisely in their places, with their edges exactly flush with the wood. These machines are among the most expensive of those employed in the gun manufacture. All parts of the gun are subjected to rigid tests of gauge and inspection throughout the different processes, and the barrels are twice proved by firing with 360 and 240 grs. of powder, with an ovate ball double the weight of the service ball. Only about one gun in 100 or 150 is injured. The service charge is 60 grs. of powder, and the conoidal bullet weighs 500 grs. The final process for completing the gun is the rifling. The bayonets and ramrods also are made of the best English cast steel, and especial care is taken to give the former the exact temper adapted to them.

Similar rifles have been supplied to the Government for many years from the Whitney Armory, near New Haven, and other private establishments. Of the foreign arms imported the best are the Enfield rifles, made at the Government armory at Enfield, England, upon the same system as the American rifle, and with machinery, the models of which were obtained from the Springfield armory. In size these differ little from the Springfield muskets. The barrel is 3 ft. 3 in. long, and its bore of precisely 0.5777 inch. It weighs 4 lbs. 2 oz., and the whole piece, with the bayonet, 9 lbs. 3 oz. The bullet is of pure lead, compressed in dies, and is 1.05 inch long and 0.55 inch diameter; weighs 520 grains. The rifles are sighted to 900 yards. Many arms have also been imported from Prussia, of the kind known by the Germans as *Zündnadelgewehr*, or darting needle guns, with which all the armies of Prussia are armed. It is a peculiar breech-loading rifle, having a slide for the reception of the cartridge, which is introduced on its upper side when this slide is drawn out from the breech end of the barrel by its stout handle. It is then pushed forward into the barrel, and is secured by a catch. The firing is effected by the sudden release of a steel needle, which enters through a hole in the centre of the rear end of the slide, and, passing through the powder, strikes a fulminating composition contained in the base of the conical bullet. This rifle has found little favor with the American War Department, and all the muskets have been altered to muzzle-loading and percussion locks. The objections are: the liability of the pieces to become foul, in which state they are difficult to charge; and of the cartridges to explode in store, from their containing both the powder and the detonating compound. Breech-loading arms, of which a great variety have been invented, are not approved for general use so highly as the old

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form; and the United States Government, in their contracts for muskets made with private parties, in 1861, requires that all shall be made of the Springfield pattern, with all their parts interchangeable with these.

The impending danger of a foreign war near the close of the year, together with the urgent necessities of the country, rendered it the part of prudence for the Government to adopt extraordinary measures for receiving supplies of arms. Every year the waste by loss and deterioration is estimated at 33 per cent. of all in use; and with European Governments it is found expedient to keep the arsenals stocked with at least as many as are in the hands of the army. Consequently the War Department at that time issued proposals for the manufacture of large numbers of muskets in separate contracts of 25,000, 30,000, 50,000, etc., each, as well to meet immediate demands as to be prepared for extraordinary and unforeseen future emergencies. The consequence of this will soon be the establishment of private armories adequate to the supply of all the arms that can be required for the country. The price of these is $20 each, the minimum sum offered in response to previous proposals presented by the Government. The price paid for the inferior foreign arms imported has varied from $5 to $30 each, the low rates being for old smooth-bore muskets of the Prussian and Austrian service, and the higher prices for Enfield rifles. Most of these have been altered to bring them to the great simplicity and efficiency of the American arms. The Maynard, or percussion tape primer, has been dispensed with, and percussion caps are exclusively used. The only arms furnished to the infantry are the simple musket and bayonet, with cartridges prepared for service at the armories.

A few companies of sharp-shooters have been furnished with revolver rifles of superior construction, fitted with telescopic sights adapted for execution at long distances. Colt's and Sharp's rifles are selected for this purpose. The former are manufactured at the great establishment of the late Col. Colt, at Hartford, which is unsurpassed in extent and in the perfection of its machinery, and has a capacity to furnish more than 1,000 firearms, including rifles, carbines, and pistols, per day. The principle of Colt's revolvers is well understood to consist in a revolving breech of 6 chambers, which are brought in turn in line with the barrel by each successive working of the lock. Sharp's rifle is a breech-loading and self-priming piece, the barrel made of cast steel bored out. The breech is secured by a sliding cut-off or block of metal, which being drawn down by the guard to which it is attached, exposes a cavity on the upper side extending into the barrel. The cartridge is laid into this, and its rear end is cut off by the edge of the block on pushing this up to its place. The escape of the gases is prevented by a ring, so fitted in the face of the slide and against the end of the barrel, that when the discharge takes place, this ring is forced closely against the barrel. Flat disks of copper, containing percussion powder, are used for priming, one being shoved forward upon the nipple by the movement of the lock, or percussion caps are used if preferred. The rifle was invented by Mr. C. Sharp, of Philadelphia, about the year 1852, and has been manufactured, together with pistols of a similar construction, upon an extensive scale, in the works of C. Sharp & Co., near Fairmount, Phila. The principal establishment for their manufacture at present is that of the "Sharp's Rifle Manufacturing Co.," at Hartford, Conn. All the materials used in their manufacture are made in the buildings, even to the screws that fasten the parts together.

Cavalry.—The fire-arms furnished the U. S. cavalry are of no regular pattern. They consist of a revolver, carbine, and pistols, the varieties of which supplied by private armories are very numerous, and soon after the commencement of the war the productions of these were altogether monopolized by the U. S. Government.

The carbine is a weapon intermediate between the rifle and pistol in weight and length, is usually breech-loading, and is sometimes furnished with a bayonet in the form of a sword. This has also an ordinary handle, and is carried as a side-arm, for which purpose it is well adapted, having a curved cutting edge as well as a sharp point. Those in common use, and which have been favorably reported upon by boards of officers, are Burnsides', Sharp's, and Maynard's. They are of steel barrels, which taper uniformly from breech to muzzle. The first, invented by Gen. A. E. Burnside, was formerly manufactured at Bristol, R. I., and is now made by Charles Jackson, at Providence, R. I.. The chamber of this carbine opens by turning on a hinge; the cartridge is introduced with its case of sheet-brass, which in the explosion packs the joint, and prevents the escape of the gas. This arm is recommended on account of its strength, its perfectly tight joint, and water-proof cartridges; but it is objected to on account of its cost, and the difficulty of obtaining the cartridges. Sharp's carbines, made by the "Sharp's Rifle Manufacturing Company," Hartford, Conn., is like the rifle already described. Maynard's carbine, manufactured by the Maynard's Arms Co., Washington, D. C., has a fixed chambered piece, with the joint closed by a metallic cartridge case. Carbines, pistols, and muskets are manufactured to considerable extent for the army, at the works of Messrs. Remington, at Ilion, Herkimer Co., N. Y. Of the repeating pistols issued to the cavalry and to the light artillery, the following are among the most popular: Colt's; Savage's, made at Middletown, Conn.; Smith & Wesson's, made at Springfield, Mass.; Warner's, at New Haven, Conn.; and Allen's, at Worcester, Mass. Savage's pistol, which is a six-

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barrel revolver, is constructed with a view of obviating the objection to most self-cocking pistols, of the aim being disturbed by the cocking movement. This is effected by the introduction of a double trigger, one part fitted for the middle finger, and the other for the forefinger of the right hand. As the first is pressed the hammer comes up, and a fresh chamber turns to its place. As the pressure is slackened, the cylinder springs forward, making a close connection with the barrel; when the aim is secured and the piece is fired by pressing the other trigger with the forefinger. The pistol is provided with two sights, and its size and length are such that, in the hands of a good marksman, it should prove a formidable weapon, even at 150 yards. The other pistols named, all have a revolving cylinder with several chambers. The cartridge employed is a copper cap, resembling a percussion-cap, exactly fitted to enter the open breech end of the chamber. At the close end it is enlarged by a flange, which affords a thin annular receptacle for the percussion priming, and at the same time prevents the cap from passing into the bore. In the base of the cap is placed the charge of powder, and over this, as a stopple, a Minié bullet, the pointed end of which projects out like the end of a cork from a phial. Different devices are adopted for releasing the cylinder, so that the cartridges may be introduced into the ends of the chambers. In Smith & Wesson's pistol, the barrel is hinged upon the stock, so as to be easily turned at right angles, thus making room for the cylinder to be slipped off the spindle upon which it revolves. It is then easily freed of the remains of the old cartridge cases, and new ones are introduced. In Allen's pistol the barrel is fixed, and the cylinder is slipped out to one side. In Warner's, too, the barrel is stationary, and the cylinder can be removed sidewise for cleaning, or it may be charged through an opening in the side of the stock. In discharging the pistol, the blow of the hammer is directly against the close end of the cartridge, driving its edge in upon the percussion powder. The explosive effect backward of the powder is, in some of the larger pieces, resisted by a fixed guard against the end of the barrel, leaving room only for the thin flange, and a slit through this guard admits a thin projecting portion of the hammer to strike the cap. These cartridges have the advantage of extreme portability, being carried even in the vest pocket; and being made perfectly tight by the close fit of the bullet stopple, they are always preserved dry, and are exceedingly convenient, as requiring no preparation nor even priming.

Artillery.—All the ordnance used by the United States Army for land service, is furnished by private armories in different parts of the country, and of the following kinds and calibres of cannon, as given in the "Ordnance Manual." There have been some recent modifications introduced in the new steel guns of Mr. Wiard, and in the Parrott gun, both of which will be described below:

	Kind of Ordnance.	Calibre.	Material.	Weight.	Weight of Round Shot.	Weight of Round Shells.
				lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
Guns	Field	6-pounder.	Bronze.	884	6.10	....
		12-pounder.		1,757	12.25	8.34
		12-pounder.		3,590		
	Siege and Garrison	18-pounder.	Iron.	4,913	18.30	13.45
		24-pounder.		5,790	24.30	16.80
		32-pounder.		7,200	32.40	22.50
	Sea-coast	42-pounder.		8,465	42.50	31.30
	Mountain	12-pounder.		220	12.25	....
Howitzers	Field	12-pounder.	Bronze.	788	12.25	....
		24-pounder.		1,818	24.30	....
		32-pounder.		1,920	32.40	....
	Siege and Garrison	8-inch.	Iron.	2,614	65.00	....
		24-pounder.		1,476	24.30	....
	Sea-coast	8-inch.		5,740	65.00	49.75
		10-inch.		9,500	127.50	101.67
		8-inch.		9,240	65.00	49.75
		10-inch.		15,400	127.50	101.67
Columbiads		8-inch.		930	....	44.12
	Light	10-inch.		1,852	....	88.42
		10-inch.		5,775	....	197.30
	Heavy	13-inch.		11,500	....	....
Mortars	Stone Mortar	16-inch.	Bronze.	1,500	....	....
	Coehorn	24-pounder.		164	....	....
	Eprouvette	24-pounder.	Iron.	220	....	....

Large columbiads of 12 and 15-inch diameter of bore are exceptional pieces, one of each of which only have been cast for trial. The cannon designated by this name were invented by Col. Bumford, U. S. A., and are recognized by their uniformly decreasing diameter from the breech to the muzzle. They are used for throwing solid shot or shells; and when mounted in barbette, their vertical range is from 5° depression to 39° elevation, around a complete horizontal circle. They are now made with a uniform bore; but were originally chambered. The 15-inch columbiad, now at Fortress Monroe, known as the Union or Rodman gun, was cast by Knapp, Rudd & Co., at Pittsburg, under the directions of Capt. T. J. Rodman, of the Ordnance Corps, who conceived the design of cooling the piece, cast hollow, by the introduction of a current of water flowing through the core, thus securing a uniform texture and maximum strength throughout. The dimensions of this great gun are as follows:

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Total length	190 inches.
Length of calibre of bore	156 "
Length of ellipsoidal chamber	9 "
Total length of bore	165 "
Maximum exterior diameter	48 "
Distance between rimbases	48 "
Diameter at muzzle	25 "
Thickness of metal behind the chamber	25 "
Thickness at junction of bore with chamber	16½ "
Thickness at muzzle	5 "
Diameter of shell	14.9 "
Weight of gun	49,100 lbs.
Weight of shell	320 "
Bursting charge	17 "

This gun has been fired several times at Fortress Monroe, and is manœuvred with great facility, managed by one sergeant and 6 negroes. The mean range at 6° elevation, of ten shots, was 1,936 yards, and the mean lateral deviation 2.2 yards: the charge was 35 lbs. of 0.6-inch grain powder, and the time of flight 7 seconds. At 10° elevation, with 40 lbs. of powder, the range was 2,700 yards, and time of flight 11.48 seconds. At 28° 35′ elevation, the range was 5,730 yards, and time of flight 27 seconds, with very slight lateral deviation, as appeared through a telescope attached to one of the trunnions.

Parrott Gun.—This arm, named for its maker, Mr. R. P. Parrott, agent of the West Point Foundry, at Cold Spring, is perhaps the most effective for its weight as a field-piece and siege gun. The plan of its construction is the same in principle as was proposed by M. Thierry, of France, in 1834, and afterwards somewhat modified by other inventors, as Prof. Treadwell, of Cambridge, Mass., in 1845, Capt. Blakely, of England, in 1855, and others. It first came to be known in 1860, when the State of Virginia was supplied with twelve 10-pounders, and 16 more guns were made in the fall of the same year on an order from the State of Georgia. These, however, were not delivered. During the year 1861 there have been made at this establishment, for the U. S. Government, the following pieces:

Sizes.	No. of pieces.	No. of projectiles.
10-pounders	222	71,000
20-pounders	153	25,000
30-pounders	94	22,000
100-pounders	5	1,000

There were also made 115 smooth-bore guns, as 8 and 10-inch columbiads and Dahlgren navy guns, with 30,000 projectiles for these. The Parrott guns are manufactured of the strongest cast-iron, all of which is tested before use, and is required to bear a pressure of 30,000 lbs. upon a square inch. They are cast upright, with the breech down, which portion is thus rendered most dense by the pressure of the liquid iron above. After the pieces have been turned and bored, the breech is strengthened by a broad ring of wrought iron, which is put over it hot, and thus shrunk on so as to appear as of one piece with the gun. This ring is prepared from a bar of iron, 4 inches square and of any required length, which is brought to a high heat, and is then wrapped around a cylinder of the size of the gun in a continuous coil, the spirals of which are then welded together by hammering. By this method the guns are made of a comparatively cheap material, and by the economical method of casting, while the wrapping of wrought iron secures the additional strength of this material at that portion of the gun only where extreme strength is required. To obtain the same strength with cast iron alone, would greatly increase the thickness and weight of the breech. The Parrott gun weighing 1,100 lbs., is considered stronger than a columbiad or Dahlgren of the same calibre weighing 1,500 lbs. The proportional weight of the powder used to that of the projectile is only $\frac{1}{10}$, while in other heavy guns it is $\frac{1}{5}$ or more. In trials made at Cold Spring with a 100-pounder Parrott gun, using 10 lbs. of powder, a projectile was thrown beyond 6,200 yards, the elevation being 20°; while a columbiad with the same elevation, and using 18 lbs. of powder, threw its projectile only 3,883 yards.

The original projectile for the Parrott gun, known as the Reed projectile, was made with a cast-iron body, furnished with a wrought-iron cup-shaped base opening towards the powder, and secured into the base of the body by being cast in with it. In the explosion the sides of this, being of a malleable material, were pressed out, filling the grooves of the bore. This is now replaced by a projectile entirely of cast iron, around the base of which is a depression of V-shaped section in which a brass ring is loosely fitted. This is forced by the powder, as it explodes, into the grooves, causing the projectile to follow their curve.

Whitworth Gun.—In June, 1861, there arrived in New York, from England, a battery of six Whitworth guns, with 3,000 rounds of ammunition, sent from England as a present to the United States Government, from patriotic Americans in Europe. These guns, which rank among the most efficient in England, are breech-loading, though they may also be loaded from the muzzle. Instead of being rifled the bore is hexagonal, with the angles of the hexagon rounded off, and the effect of rifling is produced by the twist of the sides of the hexagon. The guns are made of what is called homogeneous iron, which is wrought iron melted and cast in moulds, which thus assumes a homogeneous texture and the greatest strength. The projectile is hexagonal, accurately fitted to the bore of the gun with the same twist. It is made of cast iron, unless intended for penetrating hard bodies, as wrought-iron plates, when it is made of homogeneous iron and with a flat head. The charge is $\frac{1}{8}$ the weight of the projectile, and is placed in the bore in a tin cartridge, which remains behind when the gun is fired, and is then removed. The guns sent to the United States are 12-pounders, measuring 7 feet 9 inches in length, with the major axis of the bore 3.1 inches, and minor axis 2.8 inches,

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and weighing 8 cwt. The high pitch of the twist, which is one turn in 5 feet, must present a powerful resistance to the exit of the projectile, especially when this is of an unyielding metal, and requires to overcome it the high charge of powder named above. This would seem to endanger the bursting of the piece, but no accidents of this kind appear to have attended the use of such a projectile. The range of the gun is very great, as is shown by the results obtained in trials with a 12-pounder, at Southport, England. At 2° elevation, with 1¼ lbs. of powder, the projectile was thrown from 1,208 to 1,281 yards; at 5°, from 2,298 to 2,342 yards; and at 10° the average distance was 4,000 yards. The 3-pounder, with 8 oz. charges, threw its projectile at 20°, from 6,300 to 6,800 yards; and at 33°, and 35°, from 9,400 to 9,700 yards, the last exceeding 5½ miles.

Steel Cannon.—The excellent qualities possessed by steel for cannon have long been understood, but the difficulties attending the casting or forging of large masses for this purpose, have been formidable obstacles in the way of this application. Three small pieces were brought to this country during the year, for the city of Philadelphia, made of cast steel at the great works of F. Krupp, at Essen, in Rhenish Prussia. Cast-steel cannon were first manufactured there about 17 years since, and from the trials to which they were subjected, at the arsenal of Vincennes, they were found to be superior to bronze cannon. Three thousand successive shots were made with one of them without any sensible vibration or any degradation in the bore. In the French army it is stated that these guns are now taking the place of the old bronze pieces, which are worth more to melt up than the steel. Other European Governments are also supplying themselves with these guns. The works in which they are produced are of very remarkable character for their extent and appliances. They are situated in close proximity to coal mines, and occupy a space of 1,600 by 1,800 feet. The roofs of the buildings cover 20 acres. The men employed are about 2,500 in number, and the coal consumed is about 200 tons daily. The products, besides cannon, are steamboat and other shafts, railroad axles and tires, and machinery rolls for mints, &c. The steel castings exceed in size any thing of the kind ever known. The largest yet made is of 40 tons weight, but the works are competent to make much heavier ones. A single hammer in use weighs 40 tons. The largest-sized steel cannon, intended for the London exhibition of 1862, was commenced in 1861, and employed in its casting the labor of 1,250 men in pouring the metal into the mould.

Wiard's Steel Cannon.—The first steel cannon produced in the United States was manufactured in June, 1861, from plans devised during the two preceding months, by Mr. Norman Wiard, of New York. It was a 6-pounder, ready for service on the first of July, and on the 3d of the month mounted upon an improved field carriage, also of his invention; it was tested at Camp Scott, Staten Island, in fulfilment of a contract with Gen. D. E. Sickles, who had ordered 8 batteries, to consist of two 12 and four 6-pounders each. The contract being assumed by the War Department, the batteries were completed and delivered to the Government at Washington. Gen. Fremont next ordered 2 batteries for the department of the West, which, however, were afterwards diverted to the Burnside expedition, which at very short notice was supplied with twenty-four 6 and 12-pounders and two other rifled guns, all of which, up to the time of these sheets going to the press, have been of the most efficient service in the various actions engaged in by this expedition. The governor of Ohio, through the U. S. Ordnance Department, ordered and obtained four 6-gun batteries, which have been in active service in the important campaigns at the West. The guns bear a high reputation as being most accurate, substantial, and effective, and at the same time lighter than other pieces of the same calibre. They are forged under heavy steam hammers from puddled steel blooms, specially made for this purpose at the rolling mills at Troy, N. Y., and Trenton, N. J.; the puddling process being stopped at the point where the carbon unexpelled gives to the metal a steely character. The weight of the 6-pounders is 700 lbs., and of the 12-pounders 1,200 lbs. each. They are forged solid at the works of Messrs. Tugnot & Dally, New York, and bored by Messrs. Plass & Co. The trunnion bands are shrunk on, and do not affect the strength of the piece in resisting the explosive action. The 6-pounders are of 2.6 inch bore, and the 12-pounders 3.67 inches. The rifling turns to the left once in 9 feet in the 6-pounders, and once in 12 feet in the 12-pounders, the former having 8 and the latter 12 bands and furrows. The projectile preferred is the Hotchkiss. With a 6-pounder, at an elevation of 39°, a flight of 5¼ miles has been obtained. The carriages, which are made by Messrs. Stephenson, of New York, are peculiar in the construction of the wheels with iron adjustable hubs and felloe wedges, so that by the aid of a small wrench the wheels can be set up or taken down, and the tire be set, and any shrinking of the wood be compensated for at any time. The corresponding parts of all the wheels in any number of batteries are counterparts of each other and interchangeable. The trail is hung under the axle, which admits of a much greater elevation being given to the piece than is practicable on the standard carriage. The forward portions of every part of the carriage are rounded off, so as to render it more secure against harm when struck by shot in action.

Beside the pieces named, Mr. Wiard has furnished to the United States navy several steel howitzers for boat service, of 3.4 inch calibre,

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weighing 860 lbs. each; also 50-pounders of 5.1 inch calibre. These are the largest steel guns yet made in this establishment. Only about one gun in a hundred is found to be defective when tested. The steel is reported by the manufacturers as sustaining a strain of 107,000 to 118,000 lbs. to the square inch, thus showing a tensile strength of 3 to 4 times that of the best iron and bronze.

Mortars are used both for siege and navy service, of several dimensions, as given in the preceding table. The heavy siege mortar, weighing 11,500 lbs., is of 53 inches length, including 13 inches length of chamber, the superior diameter of which is 9.5 inches. When fired at the usual angle of elevation of mortars (45°), its shell weighing 200 lbs., is thrown, with a charge of 20 lbs. of powder, 4,325 yards. The heavy 10-inch mortar, for coast service, throws a 98-lb. shell about the same distance with half the charge of powder. The whole length of this piece is 46 inches, including 10 inches length of chamber. The light 10-inch siege mortar throws a 90-lb. shell, distances varying from 300 to 2,100 yards, according to the charge of powder, which varies from 1 to 4 lbs. The small mortars are also effective at various distances, according to the charge. The stone mortar is used to throw a charge of 120 lbs. of stones with $1\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of powder, to a distance of 150 to 250 yards. Its angle of elevation is 60°.

Shells are hollow shot of cast-iron, charged with sufficient powder to burst them, which is fired by a fuse, introduced through a hole in the shell. They are spherical for mortars and smooth-bore pieces, and generally of elongated form for rifled guns. The spherical-case shot is a thin shell of cast iron, containing, besides the powder for bursting it, a number of musket balls, which are kept in place by pouring in melted sulphur, the powder being in a separate compartment. The leaden balls raise the specific gravity of the shell, till it is about the same as a solid shot, and it will therefore have the same range and velocity. It is intended to be burst by a time fuse, from 50 to 130 yards in front of, and from 15 to 20 feet above the object at which it is fired. Spherical-case shot, thrown from rifled cannon, are said to be effective at over 2,000 yards. The fuse by which shells are fired, is either what is called a time or percussion fuse. The former is a hollow cylinder of paper, wood, or metal, enclosing a burning composition of such length, that the fire shall penetrate to the powder in the required time; or different compositions are used in cases of the same length, and designated by their different colors, as to the time they burn. The fuse is fired by the ignition of the powder by which the shell is thrown. The percussion fuse is a fulminating powder, placed in the cap, which closes the point of the projectile, and it is exploded by the concussion when this strikes the object at which it is thrown. The common safety fuse, such as is used by miners, is not employed in military service except for exploding mines.

A field-battery on the war establishment consists of four 12-pounders or four 6-pounder guns, and two 24-pounders or 12-pounder howitzers, making 6 pieces. Carriages, including caissons, (ammunition wagons,) spare gun carriages, forges and battery wagons, accompany each battery, together with various implements and equipments, definitely specified in the Ordnance Manual. Each battery wagon and 12-pounder gun carriage is drawn by 6 horses, and each of the other carriages by 4 horses, and $\frac{1}{12}$ of the whole number of these horses is added to spare. The foot artillery carry a sword resembling a Roman sword, with a straight 2-edged blade 19 inches long. The swords and sabres used by the army are mostly made by James J. Ames, Chicopee, Mass. Field-artillery is also manufactured at his establishment.

The foundries for cannon are the South Boston, C. Alger & Co., Boston, Mass.; the West Point, R. P. Parrott, Cold Spring, N. Y.; the Tredegar, J. R. Anderson & Co., Richmond, Va.; the Bellona, J. L. Archer, Black Heath, Va.; and the Pennsylvania, Knapp, Rudd & Co., Pittsburg, Pa. The following are the arsenals for construction of carriages, &c., or repair: Kennebec Arsenal, Augusta, Maine; Watertown Arsenal, Watertown, Mass.; Champlain Arsenal, Vergennes, Vermont; Watervliet Arsenal, West Troy, N. Y.; New York Arsenal, New York; Alleghany Arsenal, Pittsburg, Pa.; Frankford Arsenal, Bridesburg, Pa.; Pikesville Arsenal, Pikesville, Md.; Washington Arsenal, Washington, D. C.; Fort Monroe Arsenal, Old Point Comfort, Va.; North Carolina Arsenal, Fayetteville, N. C.; Charleston Arsenal, Charleston, S. C.; Augusta Arsenal, Augusta, Ga.; Mount Vernon Arsenal, Mount Vernon, Ala.; Appalachicola Arsenal, Chattahoochee, Florida; Baton Rouge Arsenal, Baton Rouge, La.; Little Rock Arsenal, Little Rock, Ark.; St. Louis Arsenal, St. Louis, Mo.; Detroit Arsenal, Dearbonville, Mich.; Benicia Arsenal, Benicia, Cal.; Texas Arsenal, San Antonio, Texas. The following are the armories and arsenals that have remained in possession of the U. S. Government:

Armories and Arsenals.	State.	Commanding Officer.
Kennebeck Arsenal	Maine	
Springfield Armory	Mass	Major A. B. Dyer.
Watertown Arsenal	Mass	Capt. T. J. Rodman.
Champlain Arsenal	Vermont	
Watervliet Arsenal	New York	Major W. A. Thornton.
New York Arsenal	New York	Maj. R. H. K. Whiteley.
Alleghany Arsenal	Penn.	Col. J. Symington.
Frankfort Arsenal	Penn.	Lieut. T. J. Treatwell.
Pikesville Arsenal	Maryland	
Washington Arsenal	D. C.	Lt.-Col. G. D. Ramsay.
Fort Monroe Arsenal	Virginia	Lieut. T. G. Baylor.
St. Louis Arsenal	Missouri	Capt. F. D. Callender.
Leavenworth Arsenal	Kansas	Capt. J. McNutt.
Detroit Arsenal	Michigan	
Benicia Arsenal	California	Capt. J. McAllister.

Projectiles.—A variety of projectiles have been devised for rifled guns, and introduced into the service of the army. Those made especially for the Parrott and Whitworth guns have already been noticed. The most promi-

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nent at present are the projectiles of the Messrs. Hotchkiss, of Conn., of Mr. Silvanus Sawyer, of Fitchburg, Mass., of Mr. Schenkl, of Boston, and of Hon. C. T. James, of Providence, R. I.

The Hotchkiss projectile is composed of 3 distinct parts, a cast-iron conical head and base, which are tied together by a ring or zone of lead which forms the middle portion, and extends quite through in a sheet of lead between the two end pieces. The effect of the explosion is to crowd the base forward and cause the lead to bulge out round the middle and fill the grooves. This it does very efficiently, and the projectiles, when recovered, are generally found complete with the lead ridged to the full depth and width of the grooves. Sometimes, however, the pieces of the projectile have been torn apart by the explosion. The Sawyer projectile is a cylindro-conoidal shell of cast iron, with a brass cap screwed into the truncated apex of the cone. By this opening the powder is introduced, of which a 12-pounder shell holds 14 oz. Under the brass cap is the percussion powder. The outer surface of the projectile is first tinned over to cause adhesion of the coating of lead, which is next run on to the cylindrical part in a coating, nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch thick, with 6 ridges upon its surface, adapted to the grooves of the bore of the gun with its same twist. The Schenkl projectile, which is much used by the troops from Mass., is a cast-iron bullet, the greatest diameter of which is about $\frac{1}{3}$ the length from the front end. The posterior portion tapers off, terminating in a truncated apex, and is ridged longitudinally. To bring it up to cylindrical shape, a covering of papier mache is filled in between the ridges and around the cone. The effect of the explosion is to drive this forward and into the grooves of the barrel; and if it should be thrown off soon after it leaves the gun, it does no harm.

James' projectile is a cast-iron cylindrical bullet with a conical head, which may be solid, or for use as a shell, hollow. The cylindrical body, with the exception of a narrow band next the cone and another at the rear end, is $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch, and the bands $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch less than the diameter of the bore, (in the case of a 42-pounder;) and from the depressed portion 10 rectangular openings, like the mortices in the hub of a wheel, connect with a central cavity extending in from the rear end. A cylinder of sheet tin is laid round the central portion, and over the tin and around its edges is laid a wrapping of canvas saturated with tallow, and firmly secured by sewing, making the whole diameter equal to that of the bore of the gun; but there remains an open annular space between the tin and the cast-iron cone, which is filled with melted lead, poured in through the central cavity. This adheres to the tin and forms a compact band around the central portion of the projectile. In the discharge the gases rush into the central cavity and press out this band, forcing the canvas into the grooves, thus preventing the escape of any portion of the gases past the bullet. In practice, the lead band sometimes separates from the iron projectile soon after leaving the gun, seriously disturbing the accuracy and efficiency of the shot; but in general it remains on, and takes such hold of the grooves as to cause the projectile to assume the spinning motion.

Gunpowder.—The gunpowder for the military service is made by private contractors, in mills in various parts of the country. The same proportions of ingredients are used for the several kinds designated musket, mortar, cannon, and mammoth, which differ from each other only in the size of the grain. The proportions of saltpetre are 75 to 76, of charcoal, 14 to 15, and of sulphur 10. The size of the grain is fixed by sieves, the musket powder being 1,100 particles in ten grains Troy weight, and the cannon powder 150 particles. It is packed in barrels of white oak with cedar hoops. Powder barrels made of strong sheet-iron, corrugated with heads formed by turning over the metal, have been made, and are now on trial. The mammoth powder is of coarsest grains, such as pass through a sieve with $\frac{9}{16}$ inch holes, but not through one of $\frac{1}{2}$ inch holes. Capt. Rodman, of the Ordnance Department, has recently invented a new powder, which is found very serviceable. The design of it is to produce the combustion increasing in intensity instead of diminishing from the first ignition, as is the case with ordinary gunpowder. This he effects by making cakes of dust powder, and perforating them with numerous small holes with wires. The ignition spreading through these holes occupies a sensible time, and spreads over an increasing surface of combustion. The effect of this is to exert the strongest impulse upon the projectile after it has once started from its seat and its inertia is overcome. The large-grained powder produces a similar effect. Gun-cotton, though having an explosive force, compared to gunpowder, as 8 to 3, is not approved of for military service for various reasons: as, the danger of preparing and keeping it in large quantities, its too violent action, its changeable character, &c.

Tents.—The military campaigns of 1861 have brought about important changes in the construction of tents for soldiers. Those previously in common use were altogether deficient in proper arrangements for warming and ventilation. They were made of a light sheet of duck, laid over a ridge-pole, which was supported upon two upright poles set in the ground about 6 feet apart. It was pinned down to the ground when stretched out to sufficient width; and the ends were closed by triangular pieces, which were drawn together and tied. Sometimes one end was made entirely close, while the other was furnished with the overlapping flaps, which could be opened or closed as desired. Such were the tents almost universally used by the French in the Crimean war, and called by them *tentes d'abri*, simplified by the

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use of a rope instead of the ridge-pole. They were also made for convenience of transportation, in pieces that buttoned upon each other. When made close, for the sake of warmth in cold weather, these tents soon became filled with impure air, which proved very injurious to the health of those who lived and slept in them. A much better form was obtained from the Comanche lodge, the common tenement of the Indian tribes of the prairies, and of the traders, trappers, and hunters of the far West. These are conical-shaped tents, with hides or cloth laid upon long poles, set around a circle upon the ground, and meeting at a point over the centre, where they are secured together. The apex is left open, and a triangular wing is arranged, so as to take the wind in such manner as to produce an upward draught, thus admitting of the use of a fire in the tent, and securing without it a free circulation of air. The tent introduced by Major H. H. Sibley, and generally known in the army as the "Sibley tent," is the Comanche lodge, with an upright central standard set into an iron tripod, which takes the place of the poles and can be easily transported. This has been used with great satisfaction in exposed encampments, and in severe weather it is made more comfortable by a basement excavated in the ground to the depth of 3 or 4 feet. In the latest improved tents this form is still chiefly preserved, and the principal improvement is in the use of an iron pipe, 3 or 4 inches in diameter, for the central upright, which serves as a smoke-pipe for a small sheet-iron stove.

India-rubber cloth tents, on a plan invented by Mr. John Rider, and termed "tent knapsacks," are also much used. They are formed of separate pieces of the stuff, each 5 feet 3 inches long, and 3 feet 8 inches wide, made to button snugly together to form a tent, and when taken apart each piece makes a tight covering, in which to carry blankets, overcoats, clothes, &c., instead of in a knapsack. The pieces being all alike, any four men carry with them sufficient to form a cover that will shelter 5 to 7 men. Extra pieces are used with great advantage to spread on the ground as a protection against dampness. Various other tents, specially adapted to secure warmth and ventilation, are in use by the American army, and in general they are far superior to those of any other nation.

The sudden and large increase of the army made some modification of the system of organization connected with the supervision of the hygiene and comfort of the troops necessary. A commission of inquiry and advice was accordingly instituted, with the object of acting in coöperation with the Medical Bureau. This commission was appointed on the 9th of June, by the Secretary of War. The following persons accepted the duty assigned to them, viz.: Henry W. Bellows, D. D., New York; Prof. A. D. Bache, Washington; Elisha Harris, M. D., New York; George W. Cullum, Alexander E. Shiras, Robert C. Wood, M. D., U. S. A., Washington; William H. Van Buren, M. D., New York; Wolcott Gibbs, M. D., New York; Samuel G. Howe, M. D., Boston; Cornelius R. Agnew, M. D., New York; J. S. Newberry, M. D., Cleveland.

To these were added by the commission itself others, to wit: George T. Strong, New York; Horace Binney, jr., Philadelphia; Thos M. Clark, D. D., Providence, R. I.; Joseph Holt, Kentucky; R. W. Burnett, Cincinnati; Mark Skinner, Chicago; Frederick Law Olmsted, New York.

The order appointing the committee, vested in them no power beyond that of "inquiry and advice in respect of the sanitary interests of the United States forces." It was directed, especially, to inquire into the principles and practices connected with the inspection of recruits and enlisted men; the sanitary condition of the volunteers; to the means of preserving and restoring the health and of securing the general comfort and efficiency of troops; to the proper provision of cooks, nurses, and hospitals, and to other subjects of like nature. The office of the commission was thus purely auxiliary and advisory, created solely to give voluntary aid to the Department and Medical Bureau, in meeting the pressure of a great and unexpected demand on their resources. The services of competent physicians were secured, and sent into the field, each having a defined portion of the army under his observation.

Among the subjects to which their attention was especially directed, and on which they were required to make detailed written reports, were: the quality of rations and of water, the method of camp cooking, the ventilation of tents and quarters, the drainage of the camp, the healthfulness of its site, the administration of the hospital and the sufficiency of its supplies, the police of the camp, the quality of the tents and of the clothing of the men, the material used for tent flooring, if any, &c., &c. Whatever deficiencies or evils they found to exist by which the health, morale, or efficiency of the men might be endangered, they were instructed to indicate to the proper officer, at the same time offering advice, if it was needed, as to the best method of remedying them.

The results of their investigation, only for the half year since their appointments, have secured some valuable information, and increased the comfort and health of a portion of the army.

After the inspection of each camp or post, the inspector was required to make an elaborate report upon its condition. More than four hundred of these reports were received and compared, and digests prepared. The inspections made in the months of September and October, furnish the principal basis of the conclusions of the commission. Their statistics have been derived from more than two hundred regimental returns, of which thirty-seven were from regiments recruited in New England; one hundred and one from regiments re-

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cruited in the Middle States, including Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware; sixty-two were from regiments recruited in the Western States, including Kentucky, Missouri, Kansas, and Nebraska. The time occupied in recruiting each of these regiments, averaged six weeks; the shortest period being ten days, the longest about three months.

In seventy-six and a half per cent. of the regiments inspected, native Americans were found to constitute the majority. In six and a half per cent. there was a majority of Germans; in five and a half, of Irish; and in five and a half the number of native born and foreign born was about equal. Of one per cent. the returns give no information on this point. It is considered as near the truth to state that about two-thirds of the volunteer soldiers are American born, and nine-tenths citizens, educated under the laws of the Union and in the English tongue. Sufficient investigation has not been made to determine this statement with complete accuracy.

From incomplete returns, the average age of the volunteers is judged to be a little below twenty-five years. Somewhat more than one-half of their number are under twenty-three. The average age of the officers is about thirty-four. The number of men of any age between eighteen and forty is not far from double the number of those five years older. For example, the number of those twenty years old is double the number of those at twenty-five.

It is important that the degree of liability to death from disease in war, at different ages, should be ascertained. Data are accumulating which will serve to determine this. It is still more important to determine the degree of liability to sickness at different ages in army life, especially as this affects the question of the relative efficiency of men, as soldiers, at different ages. For this purpose, no sufficient records are at present made by the surgeons of the army, and it was not practicable for the commission to supply the deficiency.

In fifty-eight per cent. of the regiments, there had been no pretence of a thorough inspection of recruits on enlistment. In only nine per cent. had there been a thorough re-inspection when or after they were mustered in.

In the month of October, 1,620 men were discharged from the army of the Potomac, as unfit for service, of whom three-fifths were thus discharged on account of disabilities that existed at and before enlistment, and which an intelligent surgeon should have discovered on their inspection.

Camp sites have been generally selected for military reasons alone, and with little if any regard to sanitary considerations. The regimental surgeon has seldom been consulted on the subject. In many instances, disease was directly traceable to this omission. One-fourth the regiments were found encamped on sites which had previously been occupied by others.

Except at Cairo and in the prairie region, camps have been generally formed on the tops and sides of hills. During the hot weather nearly one-half were in the shade of woods—an objectionable circumstance.

Water of wholesome quality was found within convenient distance of the camp in all but two cases. The regiments encamped at Cairo were abundantly supplied with ice during the hot weather.

The average occupation of a camp site, up to the date of inspection, had been twenty-one days. In the east this period had generally been largely exceeded, and regiments frequently occupied the same ground much longer than was safe or advisable.

In those cases where the drainage by inclination was the most difficult, the soil and subsoil have been porous and favorable to drainage by filtration. As the immediate inconvenience occasioned by a shower of rain in these flat sites led to the practice of better judgment in artificial drainage than has generally obtained on the hill sites, there has been less prejudice to health from poor drainage in the fixed camps at the west than in those of the armies of the Potomac and Western Virginia, which have generally been upon clay soils or over retentive subsoils. There has been, for instance, not half as much rheumatism at Cairo as in the eastern camps and those of West Virginia.

Until recently, the artificial drainage of camps, when first visited by the inspectors, was found very imperfect—the men of each tent being left in most cases to form drains around it according to their own judgment. In consequence of their ignorance, unskilfulness, or indolence, the drains were often useless, and not unfrequently aggravated the evil they were designed to remedy. As soon, however, as good examples became frequent, the practice of a systematic arrangement began to be generally adopted. The majority of volunteer camps are now at least as well drained as those of the regulars. The average depth of the camp drains is about six inches. In about one-half the camps the drains were found more or less clogged, owing to their crookedness and imperfect construction, and to want of proper attention in keeping them clean.

The consequence of neglecting drainage was frequently apparent on inspection of the sick list.

In general, the plan for laying out a camp supplied in the *Army Regulations*, has been approximately followed; but the tents are placed more closely together than the minimum there prescribed. The difficulty of drainage is thus increased, and the narrow spaces between the tents, difficult to be swept, become half-concealed receptacles for rubbish. Six men are usually provided with lodging in one of the "wedge" tents. In the Sibley tent from twelve to sixteen; of late sometimes twenty.

Tents are seldom tolerably ventilated at night. Of the regiments under consideration occupying the wedge tents, none were found in which the inspectors were satisfied that proper

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attention was paid to ventilation, and it was obvious in some cases that the men suffered in health in consequence. The Sibley tent is more convenient for ventilation, and cannot as well be tightly closed as the wedge form. It is now found that typhus is occurring more frequently in the regiments occupying these tents than in those that have the Sibley—the ratio being 29.5 to 23. The Massachusetts Seventh Volunteers, Colonel Davis, Surgeon Holman, is the only volunteer regiment reported, in which a thorough ventilation of the wedge tent had been generally established. It was here induced by the occurrence of typhoid fever, and by this, prominently among other means employed for the same end, the unusual result of banishing this formidable disease has been obtained. The inspectors have advised the striking of each tent once a week, for the purpose of giving it a perfect cleansing and airing.

Fifty-eight per cent. of the regiments had been provided with the wedge tent, ten with the wall tent, seven with the bell tent, nineteen with the Sibley, others not stated. Ninety per cent. of these were made of good canvas; the remainder were of twilled cotton or drilling, or so old as to be leaky.

Twenty-four per cent. of the regiments were provided with tent flooring of boards, twenty per cent. with india-rubber cloth; in twenty-one per cent. straw or branches were used for this purpose, and in thirty-five per cent. the men slept on the ground.

The following table shows the relative proportion of these several kinds of flooring in the three great divisions of the army.

The important influence it will be doubtless found to exert on the health of the men, justifies especial inquiry into the subject:

	Army of the Potomac.	Western Virginia.	Mississippi Valley.
Board flooring.....	25	20	23
India-rubber cloth..	25	7	10
Straw or fir branches	19	23	23
None	31	50	44
	100	100	100

The following table shows the ratio of sick men per thousand, in regiments which had been supplied respectively with india-rubber blankets; wooden tent-floors; straw, fir boughs, or cedar boughs; and in those which have been sleeping on the bare ground. The data are taken from the returns of 120 regiments, and chiefly in November:

Regiments sleeping on—	Entire Number of Regiments.	Those in Western Virginia excluded.
	Average ratio for 1000.	Average ratio for 1000.
Wood	75.7	61.5
India rubber..	60.9	60.9
Bare ground ...	91.3	69.3
Straw or fir boughs ..	77.5	45.8

As the forces in Western Virginia were, as a rule, unprovided with rubber blankets, and as they have suffered special hardships in other respects, they are excluded from the comparison in the second column.

A limited examination of the diseases of the army indicates that the largest proportion of those of typhoid type occur with regiments sleeping on rubber blankets, the least with those on straw or boughs; the largest proportion of catarrhal with regiments on wooden floors, the least with those on the ground; the largest of rheumatism with those on wood, the smallest with those on straw or boughs; the largest of malarial with those on the ground, the least with those on straw or boughs.

As had been presumed by the commission, it has been proved that the best bed for soldiers in camp can, with a little skill, be formed from fir or cedar spray, whenever it can be obtained in sufficient quantity. It should be frequently removed and burned, after a thorough cleansing of the tent floor, the tents being struck for the purpose.

Experienced officers generally object to the board floors in tents. They are thought to be more damp than the ground itself, and they offer an opportunity for the collection of rubbish and dirt, and make them difficult of removal.

Privies had been established in all the camps inspected, except those of two or three regiments recently mustered in.

In eighty per cent. of the camps, they are reported to be properly arranged and kept in proper order, no offensive odor drifting from them. In twenty per cent. proper attention was not given to them, and the health of the men was more or less seriously endangered in consequence.

In sixty-eight per cent. of the camps, the men seemed to be effectively restricted to the use of privies. In thirty-two per cent. the proper prohibition was found by the inspectors not to be strictly enforced.

In seventy-seven per cent. of the volunteer camps, slops, refuse, and offal are systematically removed to a distance from camp by a daily detail of men.

In twenty-three per cent. this duty was performed irregularly or very imperfectly. In nineteen of these twenty-three camps, the inspectors found odors of decay and putrefaction perceptible in and about the tents and streets.

The shirts used by the men were found to be of poor quality, in twenty-six per cent. of the regiments examined. In seventy-four per cent. they were of the Regulation quality. In ninety-four per cent. the men had been provided with two shirts each. In four and a half per cent. they had but one each, and in the remainder only a part were supplied properly.

Eighty-two per cent. of the regiments were well supplied with overcoats, and seven per

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cent. partly so. In eleven per cent. there were none at the time of the inspection. In only three per cent. of the regiments were the overcoats of poor quality. Seventy-five per cent. of the regiments were provided with good cloth body coats; the remainder with flannel sack coats or cloth jackets.

Of two hundred regiments, all were provided with pantaloons—one hundred and seventy-five sufficiently, eight indifferently, seventeen very poorly.

Men have been frequently seen during the summer on duty and on parade in their drawers alone.

In seventy-five per cent. of the regiments, one good blanket had been issued to each soldier. In twenty per cent. two had been provided; these being, however, in most cases, of inferior quality. In five per cent. the men had never all received each a blanket.

In the army of the Potomac the average constant number of sick, per one thousand men, has been sixty-three; in the department of Western Virginia, one hundred and sixty-two; in the Valley of the Mississippi, one hundred and sixteen.

The average constant number of sick during the months of August, September, and October, in the regiments east and west, so far as visited, has been seventy-seven per thousand. In this number all relieved from duty, from any sort of physical indisposition, however slight, are included.

The average number of men constantly sick in the regiments, from several of the States respectively, is nearly as follows:

New York,	(per thousand strong)		55
Pennsylvania,	"	"	57
Massachusetts,	"	"	52
Connecticut,	"	"	49
Vermont,	"	"	88
Maine,	"	"	124
New Jersey	"	"	36
Wisconsin,	"	"	76
Indiana,	"	"	42
Michigan,	"	"	76
Illinois,	"	"	156
Ohio,	"	"	162

The forces from Ohio and some other States have been, to a considerable extent, subject to unusual privations and exposure, during the campaign among the mountains of Western Virginia. A similar remark applies to those of Illinois, in Missouri. There is reason to think that the most sickness has occurred where regiments, raised in far northern and highland districts, have been removed to lowland, fluvial, and seaboard districts; those, for instance, from Maine and Vermont, the ridge counties of New York, and from Minnesota, being more subject to distinct disease, as well as to demoralization, or ill-defined nostalgia, than others in the army of the Potomac. The healthiest regiments, physically and morally, have been those from the seaboards, as of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Jersey; those from Rhode Island being probably the most fortunate in this respect, which fact, however, is chiefly due to their superior discipline early in the campaign.

It is difficult to compare the rate of sickness of foreign armies with that of the volunteers, because it is uncertain what degree of sickness in them places a man upon the sick list. Our volunteer surgeons are, undoubtedly, very accommodating in this respect, probably more so than the surgeons of the regular army or of foreign armies. It has happened in more than one instance that upon an order to advance against the enemy being given, every man of a regiment then on the sick list immediately reported himself well, was discharged, and shouldered his musket in the line of battle. It is probable that at least one-half those returned as sick by the surgeons of volunteers would do the same, under similar circumstances; that proportion being excused from duty on account of a cold in the head, severe fatigue, or a slight indigestion.

In the whole British army, in time of peace, 6.5 per cent. of the force otherwise available, is reported constantly "in hospital." Of the British army in the Peninsula under the Duke of Wellington, 1808–1814, twenty-one per cent. (or 9,300 of an average force of 44,500 men) was constantly "sick in hospital." The number of sick ranged from nine to thirty-three per cent. of the whole force at different periods.

These rates were exceeded in the British army of the Crimea. To maintain 100 effective soldiers in the field, it there became necessary to provide for 26.6 sick men. The annual rate of mortality was three per cent. by wounds, and twenty per cent. by disease.

The annual rate of mortality in the British army, at home and in time of peace, was from one and a tenth to two per cent. in ten years preceding 1847.

The average mortality of the army of the Potomac has been, during the summer, at the rate of three and a half per cent., (allowance being made for those who die after their discharge, from causes connected with army life.) Imperfect data received from the West, indicate a considerably larger rate for the whole army; probably it will not be far from five per cent. if sweeping epidemics should be escaped.

The following is a statistical classification of the diseases and casualties of forty-seven regiments of volunteers and two of regulars, during periods averaging forty days for each regiment, between July 1st and October 1st, 1861.

The classification adopted is that used in the British army, and for civil registration in England, Australia, and several of the States of the Union.

The data are taken from the consolidated returns of the regimental surgeons to the medical directors of the military departments of the Potomac and of the West:

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DISEASES, ETC.	NUMBER OF CASES TREATED. Army of Potomac.	Army of the West.	Aggregate.
ALL CASES	15,489	12,215	27,654
SPECIFIED CASES	15,489	12,087	27,526
(Classes.)			
I.—ZYMOTIC DISEASES	9,437	9,228	18,665
II.—CONSTITUTIONAL DISEASES	193	77	270
III.—LOCAL DISEASES	4,737	2,086	6,823
IV.—DEVELOPMENTAL DISEASES	520	427	947
V.—VIOLENCE	552	269	821
(Orders.)			
I.—1. *Miasmatic*	8,821	9,065	17,886
2. *Enthetic*	551	132	683
3. *Dietic*	58	30	88
4. *Parasitic*	12	1	13
II.—1. *Diathetic*	86	25	111
2. *Tubercular*	107	52	159
III.—1. *Nervous System*	1,122	276	1,398
2. *Organs of Circulation*	51	9	60
3. *Respiratory Organs*	817	276	1,093
4. *Digestive Organs*	1,757	1,237	2,994
5. *Urinary Organs*	107	33	140
6. *Generative Organs*	97	23	120
7. *Organs of Locomotion*	149	27	176
8. *Integumentary System*	637	205	842
IV.—1-3. Not occurring in the army	....	....	....
4. *Diseases of Nutrition*	520	427	947
V.—1. *Accident* and 2. *Battle*	551	268	819
3. *Homicide*	....	....	....
4. *Suicide*	....	1	1
5. *Punishment* and *Execution*	1	....	1
Causes not specified	....	128	128
(Diseases.)			
CLASS I.—ZYMOTIC.			
ORDER 1.—*Miasmatic.*			
Small-pox	....	....	....
Varioloid	....	....	....
Measles	224	482	706
Scarlet fever	....	1	1
Quinsy	183	20	203
Mumps	127	54	181
Influenza	17	....	17
Catarrh	626	171	797
Ophthalmia	97	140	237
Typhoid fever	156	131	287
Typhus	1	14	15
Congestive fever	....	18	18
Continued fever	....	39	39
Erysipelas	37	16	53
Carbuncle	81	4	85
Dysentery	618	527	1,145
Diarrhœa	3,667	3,362	7,029
Cholera morbus	259	23	282
Cholera Asiatica	1	....	1
Intermittent fever	1,178	2,868	4,046
Remittent fever	589	889	1,478
Yellow fever	....	....	....
Rheumatism	720	168	888
All other fevers	190	193	383
ORDER 2.—*Enthetic.*			
Gonorrhœa	308	63	371
Syphilis	159	57	216
Bubo	54	6	60
Stricture of urethra	29	3	32
Cachexia	1	3	4
ORDER 3.—*Dietic.*			
Scurvy	4	21	25
Alcoholism	49	9	58
ORDER 4.—*Parasitic.*			
Worms	12	1	13

DISEASES, ETC.	NUMBER OF CASES TREATED. Army of Potomac.	Army of the West.	Aggregate.
CLASS II.—CONSTITUTIONAL.			
ORDER 1.—*Diathetic.*			
Gout	1	....	1
Lumbago	73	19	92
Anasarca	10	6	16
Cancer	....	....	....
All other diseases of this order	2	....	2
ORDER 2.—*Tubercular.*			
Scrofula	14	7	21
Phthisis, (consumption of lungs)	51	19	70
Hæmoptysis	21	11	32
Anæmia	21	15	36
CLASS III.—LOCAL.			
ORDER 1.—*Nervous System.*			
Apoplexy	3	....	3
Headache	281	51	332
Inflammation of Brain	7	....	7
Chorea, (St. Vitus' dance)	3	....	3
Epilepsy	29	7	36
Sun-stroke	31	7	38
Spinal irritation	9	....	9
Mania	3	....	3
Melancholy	7	5	12
Neuralgia	120	73	193
Paralysis	4	1	5
Nyctalopia	1	....	1
Hemeralopia	....	1	1
Retinitis, (inflammation of retina)	97	....	97
Iritis	5	1	6
Amaurosis	....	1	1
Cataract	4	....	4
Earache	105	6	111
Otitis, (inflammation of ear)	67	8	75
Otorrhœa, (discharge from ear)	75	1	76
Deafness	10	2	12
Delirium tremens	12	8	20
Nostalgia, (home sickness)	....	....	....
Toothache	185	73	258
Tetanus	....	2	2
All other diseases of this order	61	32	93
ORDER 2.—*Organs of Circulation.*			
Aneurism	....	....	....
Angina pectoris	2	2	4
Carditis	9	....	9
Endocarditis	1	1	2
Pericarditis	3	....	3
Inflammation of Vein	....	1	1
Varix	19	4	23
Hæmatocele	2	....	2
All other diseases of the organs of circulation	15	1	16
ORDER 3.—*Respiratory Organs.*			
Asthma	20	3	23
Bronchitis acute	340	140	480
" chronic	65	14	79
Laryngitis	22	2	24
Pleurisy	112	29	141
Pneumonia, (inflammation of lungs)	43	41	86
Hydrothorax	....	....	....
Epistaxis, (bleeding at the nose)	27	....	27
All other diseases of respiratory organs	176	47	223
ORDER 4.—*Digestive Organs.*			
Constipation	629	505	1,134
Colic	334	82	416
Dyspepsia	158	19	177
Enteritis, (inflammation of bowels)	19	2	21
Gastritis, (inflammation of stomach)	39	18	57
Hæmateimesis	8	2	10
Inflammation of liver, acute	38	218	256
" " chronic	32	42	74
Fistula	55	....	55
Jaundice	33	50	83
Peritonitis	15	....	15
Splenitis, (inflammation of spleen)	2	30	32
Hernia	97	9	106

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DISEASES, Etc.	NUMBER OF CASES TREATED. Army of Potomac.	Army of the West.	Aggregate.
Hæmorrhoids	141	33	174
Prolapsus ani	12	....	12
Ascites	1	....	1
Other diseases of digestive organs	164	227	391
ORDER 5.—*Urinary Organs.*			
Calculus	10	....	10
Inflammation of bladder	6	1	7
Diabetes	6	....	6
Enuresis	7	5	12
Ischuria et Dysuria	23	10	33
Inflammation of kidney	25	8	33
Ulcus penis non syphilitticum	19	1	20
Other diseases of the urinary organs	11	8	19
ORDER 6.—*Generative Organs.*			
Varicocele	27	2	29
Orchitis	63	19	82
Sarcocele	2	....	2
Hydrocele	5	2	7
ORDER 7.—*Organs of Locomotion.*			
Hydrarthrus	17	2	19
Anchylosis	13	....	13
Exostosis	4	1	5
Necrosis	3	....	3
Other diseases of this order.	112	24	136
ORDER 8.—*Integumentary System.*			
Abscess	133	51	184
Whitlow, or felon	79	6	85
Phlegmon	63	20	83
Ulcer	116	50	166
Tumor	7	....	7
Other diseases of the integumentary system	239	78	317
CLASS IV.—DEVELOPMENTAL.			
ORDER 1-3.—(Not applicable to the Army.)			
ORDER 4.—*Diseases of Nutrition.*			
Atrophy and debility	520	427	947
CLASS V.—VIOLENCE.			
Burn, scald	20	5	25
Concussion of brain	5	....	5
Compression	1	2	3
Contusion	135	102	237
Fracture	15	6	21
Frost	1	1	2
Dislocation	21	14	35
Partial Dislocation	51	33	84
Lacerated or contused wound	84	24	108
Wound by puncture	23	8	31
Gunshot wound	50	18	68
Poison	6	5	11
Wound by incision	65	36	99
Bite of Serpent	....	....	....
Other injuries of this class	79	14	93
SUICIDE	....	1	1
PUNISHMENT AND EXECUTION	1	....	1
Diseases not specified	....	128	128

Diseases of a malarial type, which till recently have given most occasion for anxiety, are now beginning somewhat to decline. On the other hand, there is a slight but appreciable increase in cases of disease appropriate to the winter months, as severe colds, inflammations, pulmonary affections, and acute rheumatism.

To this must unfortunately be added a decided increase of typhus fever. This term is used to indicate not the typhoidal aspect occasionally assumed by other forms of disease, but the formidable and infectious disorder, known, according to the conditions that produce it, as "camp fever," "ship fever," "hospital fever," &c. Its appearance is traceable to the natural disposition of soldiers to shut themselves up in their tents or huts as much and as closely as possible in cold weather. In many camps they have already been allowed to commence a system of suicide by excavating the ground within their lodgings, and throwing up banks of earth against their walls or curtains. This practice, which, as is well known, occasioned a great loss of life in the British army during the Crimean war, should be at once forbidden, and full ventilation of tents at night made compulsory, even at some real or imaginary expense of comfort.

Measles and small-pox are also common, the latter sufficiently so to justify uneasiness.

The following table shows the distribution, according to statistical classes, of the diseases and casualties of the same portion of the forces of the United States, (1861,) which may be compared with those of the British army when in the Crimea:

Number of Diseases and Casualties of each Class and Order to 1,000 cases treated.

DISEASES, Etc.	Army of Potomac.	Army of the West.	Total.	Army of the Crimea, April 10, 1854, to June 30, 1856.
ALL SPECIFIED CASES	1000	1000	1000	1000
I.—ZYMOTIC DISEASES	611	764	678	698
II.—CONSTITUTIONAL DISEASES	12	6	10	5
III.—LOCAL DISEASES	307	173	248	156
IV.—DEVELOPMENTAL DISEASES	34	35	34	1
V.—VIOLENCE	36	22	30	140
(Orders.)				
I.—1. *Miasmatic*	571	750	650	673
2. *Enthetic*	36	11	25	28
3. *Dietic*	3	3	3	2
4. *Parasitic*	1	..	..	..
II.—1. *Diathetic*	5	2	4	3
2. *Tubercular*	7	4	6	2
III.—1. *Nervous System*	73	23	51	25
2. *Organs of Circulation*	3	1	2	2
3. *Respiratory Organs*	58	23	40	16
4. *Digestive Organs*	114	102	109	29
5. *Urinary Organs*	7	8	7	1
6. *Generative Organs*	6	2	4	..
7. *Organs of Locomotion*	10	2	6	1
8. *Integumentary System*	41	17	31	82
IV.—4. *Diseases of Nutrition*	34	35	34	1
V.—1. *Accident* and 2. *Battle*	36	22	30	15 / 114
3. *Homicide*	..	..	..	..
4. *Suicide*	..	..	..	11
5. *Punishment* and *Execution*	..	..	..	..

NOTE.—This table may be read thus: Of every 1,000 cases of disease and casualty occurring in the army of the Potomac, 611 were of the class called the Zymotic, (comprising epidemic, endemic, and contagious diseases.)

571 of these Zymotic diseases were of the Miasmatic order.

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ARTESIAN WELL AT PASSY. The town of Passy is now one of the western suburbs of the city of Paris, France. It is in the department of the Seine, and enclosed within the new fortifications. The artesian well here was completed in 1861. It is the largest in the world, and, as such, the difficulties with which the engineer, M. Kind, had to contend are worthy of notice. These were brought before the attention of the Academy of Sciences by M. Dumas.

The idea of boring this well originated with the necessity of providing pure and wholesome water for the population of Paris, which in a short time had increased from 1,200,000 souls to 1,700,000, thus materially augmenting the causes of infection to which the waters of the Seine are necessarily subject. Paris rests upon a stratum of chalk about 1,500 feet in depth, covered with about 150 feet of various strata of tertiary soil, and itself resting on nearly 150 feet of marl or clay, which is in contact with the green sands from which the well of Grenelle derives its supply. The successful boring of the latter had established the fact that the water which these sands received from localities at a distance from Paris might be made to rise to the surface, and even to 100 and 130 feet above. But the experiment had only been tried for bores not exceeding a diameter of from 8 inches to 1 foot, yielding a supply of from 2,000 to 4,000 cubic metres of water per day. M. Kind came forward with an offer to bore a well of a diameter of 2 feet, yielding 400,000 cubic feet at an altitude of 80 feet above the highest point of the Bois de Boulogne. Though limiting his promises to the yield above stated, he declared his conviction that it would reach 1,200,000 cubic feet, an assertion which most engineers considered exaggerated, deeming it highly improbable that an increase in the diameter would increase the supply.

On the 23d of December, 1854, the works were resolved on, and the spot chosen in the neighborhood of the Bois de Boulogne, where the high temperature of the expected column of water might be turned to account. But the enterprise was fraught with difficulties which it required the unflinching perseverance of M. Kind to overcome.

On March 31, 1857, the bore had already reached 1,737 feet, and water was hourly expected, when suddenly the tube of sheet iron which supported the clay was crushed by its pressure at a depth of only 96 feet from the top. This accident it took nearly three years to repair; a shaft of the depth of 1,760 feet had to be dug close to the bore, through all the most dangerous strata, and lined partly with sheet, and partly with cast-iron and masonry. Its diameter was about 10 feet throughout the two-thirds of its depth and 1·70 for the rest. It was a work of extreme difficulty. Cast-iron tubes, of the thickness of four-fifths of an inch, were starred or cracked in all directions, as if they were mere glass. More than once the workmen refused to risk their lives in this work, and the city engineers had to set the example of personal courage.

This stupendous labor was not brought to an end before the 13th of December, 1859. The old orifice was then cleared, and the boring recommenced, and continued without any further accident to the depth of 1,810 feet, when the tube, composed of wood strongly hooped with iron, and ending in a bronze pipe, 6½ feet of which were fitted into the wood, the remaining 39½ feet being free, stuck fast in such a way as to render all further progress nearly hopeless. However, M. Elie de Beaumont having, upon a mature examination of the specimens brought up by the borer, declared water to be close at hand, it was resolved that the bore should be continued with a small diameter, to be afterwards enlarged, if necessary. Water was found for the first time at 1,900 feet, but, as we know, remained a few feet below the level of the orifice. A second tube of sheet iron, 2¾ inches in diameter, ¾ in thickness, and 171 feet in length, 40 of which were loopholed in order to let the water pass, was sunk, and soon stopped in the clay. The boring was now resumed, to attain the largest diameter, until the 24th of September last, when M. Kind saw not only his promise fulfilled, but even his hopes to a certain extent realized. The bronze tube has remained where it was, but the concentric one of sheet iron has sunk to 1,250 feet. M. Dumas here quotes M. Michal, Inspector-General of the Works of the City, who has arranged in a table the relative variations experienced in the yield of the two wells of Passy and Grenelle; but on this score we have a later account, stating that the decrease in the latter does not exceed one-fourth of its prior yield. That of the well of Passy was 5,660,000 New York gallons in 24 hours. M. Dumas attributes the diminution of the yield at Grenelle to a diminution of pressure, and is inclined to believe that when the tube at Passy shall have been brought to its normal altitude of 256 feet above the level of the sea, the yield at Grenelle will again rise to its former figure, or nearly so. M. Elie de Beaumont has ascertained that the strata traversed at Passy are nearly the same as those met with at Grenelle. As to the chemical nature of the water at Passy, it seems, until further analysis, to be nearly the same as that of Grenelle; the temperature is also the same,—viz., 28 degrees centigrade. Whether other wells may be bored elsewhere in Paris without injury to the two existing ones is a question which experience alone can decide. The well at Passy has cost nearly $200,000.

ASTRONOMICAL PHENOMENA. The year 1861 will be remembered in astronomical science for the brilliant comet which appeared in the month of July. It had been preceded by a smaller one which was discovered by A. E. Thatcher, of New York, on the night of April 4th. This was a telescopic object showing no tail, but with more than usual brightness. Its right ascension on the 10th, as calcu-

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lated at Harvard University, was 17 hours, 7 minutes, 47.76 seconds, and its declination X 59 degrees, 30 minutes, 13.8 seconds.

The brilliant comet of July was first noticed at New Haven, Connecticut, on Sunday evening the 30th of June, between eight and nine o'clock, in the northern part of the heavens, in an opening between the clouds and at an elevation of about ten degrees. Its appearance, as described in the *American Journal of Science*, was similar to that of the planet Jupiter shining through a thin mist; and it was nearly as conspicuous an object in the heavens as Jupiter, although this was due not only to the intensity of its light, but partly to its extent of surface, its apparent diameter being about equal to that of the full moon. It was at once suspected that this body was a comet; but this conclusion was adopted with some reserve, on account of the unusual brilliancy and sudden apparition of the meteor. This light was soon concealed by a cloud; but about half an hour later, a larger opening in the clouds disclosed the tail of the comet, in the form of a bright streamer, with sides nearly straight and parallel, and pretty sharply defined. The head of the comet was now invisible; but a little later both head and tail were seen simultaneously, forming together one of the most brilliant comets of the last fifty years, and astonishing every one by the suddenness of its development.

On Monday it was ascertained that on Saturday evening several individuals had noticed in the north a bright streamer, rising to a great height above the horizon, and it was at once concluded that this was the tail of the same comet. The daily newspapers report, that the head of the comet was seen on Saturday evening at Columbus, in Ohio; but it is not known that any one made any accurate determination of its place.

On Monday evening, July 1st, it was observed at the Coast Survey Office, in Washington, and its appearance is thus described by Mr. W. P. Trowbridge:

"At eleven o'clock last night, while some gentlemen of the Coast Survey were engaged at the office, they observed a broad beam of light stretching up towards the zenith from behind a dark cloud extending over the northwestern sky. It was supposed at first to be an auroral beam, and but little further attention was given to it till just before one o'clock, when, the clouds having blown off, a comet of extraordinary brilliance was observed in the northwest, the nucleus brighter than a star of the first magnitude, at an altitude of about six degrees above the horizon, and the tail extending towards the stars of the Little Bear, and stretching over an area of at least eighty degrees, the line of the tail making an angle with the horizon of between seventy and eighty degrees. The tail was without sensible curvature, but in brilliancy and magnitude this comet rivals the great comet of 1858."

Professor Bond, at the Observatory of Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass., says:

"The suddenness of the apparition of the comet in northern latitudes was one of the most impressive of its characteristics. On the 2d of July, after the twilight had disappeared, the head, to the naked eye, was much brighter than a star of the first magnitude, if only the effective impression be taken into account, although as to intensity it was far inferior to *a* Lyræ, or even to *a* Ursæ Majoris. I should describe the head as nearly equal in brightness to that of the great comet of 1858, between the 30th of September and the 5th of October; it should be considered however that the present comet was better situated, from its higher position above the horizon at the end of twilight.

"The aspect of the tail suggested a resemblance to the comet of March, 1843. It was a narrow, straight ray projected to a distance of one hundred and six degrees (106°) from the nucleus, being easily distinguishable quite up to the borders of the milky way."

This comet was first seen in Europe on Sunday evening, June 30th, about ten o'clock, appearing with extraordinary splendor. At the same hour it became visible at Rome, Lisbon, Paris, and London. Its appearance in London is thus described:

"The comet is, in fact, a very small body—the diameter of the nucleus, according to Mr. Hind's measurement, being no more than four hundred miles. Its excessive brilliancy is due to its nearness to the earth. When first seen, it was no more than thirteen millions of miles from this planet—and this evening (Saturday, July 6) it will be under twenty-three millions from us. The rate at which it is moving from our point of vision is nearly thirty miles a second—more than a hundred thousand miles an hour. So small an object will very soon get beyond our view. French papers say that this is the comet of Charles the Fifth, which has been expected about this period; but this, it appears, is a mistake. Mr. Hind states that 'the comet arrived at its least distance from the sun about one o'clock on the morning of June 10, in heliocentric longitude 244° 35′, being then separated from him by 76,000,000 miles. It crossed the plane of the Earth's orbit from the south to the north side in longitude 279° 1′ on June 28, in a path inclined 85° 58′ to the ecliptic. The true orbital motion is direct.'"

The following communication on the subject was also published:

"CRANFORD, *July* 4, 1861.

"Although I watched diligently for a break in the clouds, on Monday, the 1st instant, I did not get a sight of the comet, and it was on the 2d, at 7 minutes past nine o'clock, that I first perceived the comet. The head of the comet was then as bright as a star of the second magnitude, but appeared to the naked eye fully as large as Jupiter, which was visible near the western horizon; the head was almost ver-

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tically over Omicron, in the Great Bear's nose, and during the night retreated almost in the apparent direction of the tail. At about 11 o'clock the tail could be traced for fully ninety degrees; it consisted of a curved brush of light bending over to the direction of the two pointers. The light of this short brush was extremely diffuse on the western side; towards the eastern side a long narrow ray shot out, extended over the zenith, and passed through Draconis, where it again enlarged, and became very faint, but could be traced several degrees beyond an imaginary line, which would join α Lyræ and Arcturus. The appearance of the comet in my second Newton's reflector was on the 2d inst. very like a broken fan, supposing the two lower ribs to be considerably curved, and the height of the fan small in comparison with its width. The nucleus, which was situated at the joint of the ribs, was extremely small and elliptical, the longer axis of the ellipse being in the direction of the length of the tail. Last night the fan-shape of the coma was much more distinct and more generally filled with light; but there were several irregular brighter rays within it. The light of the coma and envelope is much more diffuse and less brilliant than Donati's comet of 1858. I made an attempt on the 2d to obtain a photograph of the comet in the focus of my reflector; but not the slightest impression was produced by an exposure of two minutes, although a fixed star was clearly depicted. Yesterday, the 3d, I made several attempts to photograph the comet by means of Rosse's No. 3 portrait lens mounted on the top of my telescope, and carried round by clockwork—not the slightest trace of the comet was depicted in fifteen minutes, although the fixed stars were depicted. As Donati's comet was photographed by similar means in seven seconds, (not by myself,) it follows that the present comet is considerably less actinic than Donati's. WARREN DE LA RUE."

Other attempts were made to photograph the comet, but without success. The contiguous stars left a strong impression on the prepared glass, but the comet itself left no trace of its presence.

M. Le Verrier, of Paris, addressed the Academy of Sciences, as follows, respecting this comet:

"We do not know this comet; it is the first time it visits us, and those who have endeavored to predict its course, determine its distance from the earth, and measure its tail, have either deceived themselves or the public. Three elements are necessary to calculate the orbit of a comet: first, the exact position of the star; then its velocity; and, lastly, the variation of velocity produced by the mass of the sun. I caused the comet to be observed on the 30th of June, and then on the night of the 1st and the morning of the 2d inst., in order to determine the variation of velocity. These three observations would have followed too closely upon each other for the calculation to be attempted, were it not that the comet moves very rapidly. On the 3d, at 10 A. M., M. Lévy brought me the result of his calculations, and we then obtained an insight into the orbit of the comet. Mr. Hind has since sent me the orbit calculated by the English astronomers, which perfectly agrees, in all but two minutes, with our results. It is now positive that this is not Charles V.'s comet; and, moreover, it resembles none of those already observed. This circumstance will contribute not a little to throw confusion upon the little we know of these erratic bodies. I cannot yet say whether this comet is periodical or not; its orbit up to this day has been too cursorily determined to enable us to pronounce it elliptical, parabolical, or even hyperbolical. At any rate, appearances are against its return, for the orbit is nearly perpendicular to the plane of the ecliptic, while those of periodical comets usually form a very small angle with that plane. It is only now we can determine the distance of the comet from the earth, and the length of its tail. On the 30th of June the line joining the centre of the sun with that of the comet made an angle of four degrees with that joining the centres of the sun and earth, the length of which is known. The angle which this line formed with the visual ray, drawn from the eye of the observer to the centre of the comet, was 24°. The triangle thus formed may, therefore, be calculated, and it gives us the distance of the comet from the earth, amounting to between 6,000,000 and 7,000,000 of leagues, (about 17,000,000 of miles English.) The length of the tail might be similarly calculated. The comet is rapidly moving away from us, and it is therefore not surprising that its brilliancy has diminished. On the 10th it will be equally distant from the sun and earth; we shall soon lose sight of it, and astronomers only will be able to follow it for a month longer. It presents a singular peculiarity. M. Chacornac has studied the nucleus with one of M. Foucault's telescopes of a diameter of forty centimetres; instead of its being hollow like the half of an egg-shell, like most of the comets already observed, it presents the appearance of a sun composed of fireworks, the bent rays of which burn in the same sense. Moreover, the comet has not drawn nearer to the sun. These are all circumstances calculated to introduce great complications into the theory of comets."

The comet as seen at Rome is described by Father Secchi in a communication to the French Academy. The most interesting fact which he relates is that on the 30th of June the polarization of the light of the tail and of the rays near the nucleus was very strong, and could be distinguished by the polariscope in bands, while the nucleus itself presented no traces of polarization, even with Arago's polariscope with a double colored image. But, however, on July 3d, and the following days, until the 7th, the nucleus, in spite of its extreme diminution, exhibited sensible indications of polarization. Father Secchi considers this fact of great im-

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portance, since it thereby appears that the nucleus in the first days transmitted its own light, perhaps on account of the incandescence to which it was raised by its near proximity to the sun. M. Poey, the meteorological observer at the Havannah, Cuba, states that he has hundreds of times proved by his experiments that the polarization of luminous bodies in the celestial space is more or less combined with atmospheric polarization, especially so with the polarization of the clouds, except when they are black or stormy. This may combine with the light of a comet by reflection, but it is easy to eliminate it by means of Nicol's prism or a tourmaline.

At Peru a local paper, the *Bolsa*, thus speaks of it:

On the 9th of June there appeared within the horizon of this city a beautiful comet, with a nucleus of the size of a star of the second magnitude, a very distinct coma, and a tail about 2 degrees wide, extending diagonally across the heavens over a space of about 30 degrees. By observations taken on the 14th and 15th, it rose the first day at 4.26 A. M., the second at 4.24, the first appearance of the tail taking place 40 minutes previously. On the 14th its position was in 24 degrees south, i. e., outside the ecliptic, and close to the Tropic of Capricorn, occupying the constellation "River Eridanus," the tail extending as far as the star of the first magnitude, "Achernar." On the 16th it first appeared in 22 degrees, showing that its course is toward perihelion. This comet bears a great resemblance to that of 1680, the return of which was predicted by Newton for 2255, and its position is identical with that occupied by the great comet which was visible in this city in March, 1843.

AREQUIPA, *June* 17.

Professor Bond further remarks:

"It is obvious from the elements computed by Professor Hubbard, of the U. S. Naval Observatory, Washington, that this comet is not the same as the comet of 1556, (called Charles the Fifth's comet,) whose return has been anticipated for several years; nor do these elements bear any resemblance to those of any comet in the published catalogues. We must conclude, then, that this comet is a new one, whose orbit has never before been computed.

"The nucleus admitted of very precise observations; indeed, it is a curious fact, that it would be quite possible, by means of proper comparisons with neighboring stars, to obtain the differences of terrestrial longitudes of the principal points at which it was observed with a degree of precision only surpassed by the more refined methods known in astronomy.

"The near approach of the present comet to the earth, and the sharply defined points of its nucleus, illustrate the practicability of a method of determining the solar parallax with perhaps greater exactness than can be attained by any other means. Many comets have stellar points for their nuclei, visible in the larger telescopes, which admit of as accurate comparisons with neighboring stars as is practicable in measurements among the stars themselves. Many such have appeared within the last fifteen years. Suppose such a comet to be suitably placed so as to be observed simultaneously in different quarters of the globe, when at a distance from the earth of less than one-twentieth of the sun's distance; under favorable circumstances it would not be hazarding too much to say, that in the course of its apparition the probable error of the solar parallax could be reduced within smaller limits than is possible by means of transits of Venus or of any other method. Such an opportunity might possibly afford an improved value of the mass of the earth.

"From the elements computed at the observatory, by Messrs. Safford and Hall, the diameter of the nucleus may be variously estimated at from 150 to 300 or 400 miles. On July 2d, the breadth of the head at the nucleus was 156,000 miles, the height of the inner envelope 11,500 miles, and the length of the tail about 15,000,000 miles."

The discovery of Asteroid No. 66, (Maia,) on the 10th of April, was made at Harvard College Observatory. On April 17th, No. 67 was discovered at Madras, India, by Mr. W. R. Payson, lately appointed Director of that Observatory. It was then of the 11th magnitude, and has been named Asia. On April 29th, No. 68 was first seen by Luther, at Bilk, Germany, and named Lato; on the same day No. 69 was discovered at Milan, by Sr. Schiaparelli; and on May 5th, No. 70, at Paris, by Goldschmidt, and named Hesperia.

The display of meteors in August was quite brilliant. On the night of the 10th as many as twenty-nine were observed at Newark, New Jersey. Several of them were of unusual brilliancy. On the same evening the display was noticed at Providence, Rhode Island, of which an eye-witness remarks that they were visible at times in all parts of the heavens, being most numerous, however, in the southwest. Those observed in that quarter radiated from a point about ten degrees south of the zenith. Between eleven and twelve they were most numerous, appearing in rapid succession, and frequently two and three being visible at a time. One was very large and brilliant; the head or nucleus was about five times the apparent size of Venus, and emitted a very bright light. It was followed by a trail about five yards in length, which was visible nearly a minute. Others appeared like stars of the first magnitude, and were also followed by trails which were visible from ten to thirty seconds. Those which were smaller were not followed by any trails. At intervals throughout the night the portion of the heavens near the zenith described above continued to send off meteors. In other portions of the heavens they were not so numerous, and appeared at less regular intervals. Some were very small, and were visible only for a moment. Most of them shot downward, in different directions and at various angles.

ATHENS, a small village of Clarke County, in the extreme northeast of Missouri, on the Des Moines River, where a severe skirmish took

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place on the 5th of August, between a body of Missouri Home Guards from 300 to 400 in number under command of Col. Moore, and a Confederate force of 1,200 to 1,500, commanded by Martin Green, brother of ex-Senator Green of Missouri. Green had been marauding through Clarke and Knox counties, and had finally expressed his determination to annihilate the little body of Home Guards at Athens. Col. Moore had at first about 400 men posted on the hill, on the slope of which the village stands, and with wings extending to the river, and on the opposite side of the river were about 70 Iowa soldiers from Keokuk; but he had no artillery. Col. Green had one eight-pounder, and two imitation cannon, and came on very confidently. About 100 of Moore's men were panic-struck, including a cavalry company, and fled; but the remainder stood their ground, and after a fight of an hour and a half, charged upon the Confederates, who broke and ran. They were mostly mounted, but they leaped from their horses and fled on foot. The result of the battle was a loss of 12 Unionists killed and 8 wounded; while the Confederate loss was 23 killed and 44 wounded. The Federal troops also captured forty horses, 5 wagon loads of supplies, the mock cannon, and a quantity of arms. They pursued the Confederates for several miles.

ATKINSON, Thomas Witlam, an English traveller and artist, born in Yorkshire, March 6, 1799, died at Lower Walmer in Kent, Aug. 13, 1861. He was early left an orphan, and compelled to obtain his education where and how he could. He was apprentice for some years to an architect, and acquired some distinction by his architectural designs; but his earnest love of high art led him to devote his whole time to landscape painting, in which he soon attained a high reputation. Humboldt's description of the sublime and majestic scenery of Higher Asia, impelled him to seek among the mountains and unexplored regions of Siberia and Chinese Tartary, landscapes hitherto unknown to the artist, and in 1846, having secured the approval and protection of the Czar, he set forth alone on a tour of exploration in regions unknown to civilized men. Seven years were spent in his wanderings in those distant and inclement lands; years of toil, privation, and danger, but replete with interest in the incidents which came under his observation, and the insight they afforded of human life and character under circumstances entirely diverse from those of civilized lands. After many perilous adventures, and hair-breadth escapes, he returned in 1854, with impaired health, but with a rich collection of sketches of the country he had visited, which he gave to the public four years later, in connection with his "Oriental and Western Siberia: a narrative of seven years' exploration," London, 1858; a work of highly fascinating character, though marked by a most provoking absence of dates.

In 1860, he published "Travels in the regions of the Upper and Lower Amoor," a work of less merit, though containing many fine descriptive passages. From the time of his return from the East, his health had been steadily though gradually declining. His exposures and exertions had impaired his naturally vigorous constitution, and he succumbed to disease at the age of 62.

AUSTRIA, an empire of Central Europe, bounded north by Poland, Silesia, and the Kingdom of Saxony; west by Bavaria, Switzerland, and Sardinia; south by the Pontifical States, the Adriatic, and Turkey; east by Moldavia and Russia. It is 670 miles long by 420 broad, without reckoning its extreme prolongations; reckoning them, it is 800 miles in extreme length from east to west, and 690 in extreme breadth; area, 249,943 square miles; pop. in 1860, 36,401,864. It is divided into nine German, one Polish, one Italian, and six Hungarian provinces. The German provinces are Bohemia, Austrian Silesia, Moravia, Lower and Upper Austria, Salzburg, Styria, Illyria, and Tyrol and Vorarlberg. The Polish province is Galicia and Bukowina. The Italian, Venetia. The six Hungarian are Hungary proper, (divided into the five districts of Pesth, Odenburg, Presburg, Kaschau, and Grosswardein,) Transylvania, the Banat and Servia, Croatia and Sclavonia, Dalmatia, and the Military Frontier.

At the beginning of the year 1861, war seemed imminent. Victor Emanuel had not only succeeded in conquering and attracting to his sway all of Italy except Venetia and the small remnant of the States of the Church which still owned allegiance to the Pope, but he had assumed the title of "King of Italy," which was especially offensive to the Emperor of Austria, who had till lately exerted so large an influence in the affairs of Italy. Garibaldi, too, was believed to be only waiting for the opening of the spring to attack Austria in its weakest point, by assisting Hungary. Meantime, the Magyar race, who had for thirteen years been restive under the Austrian yoke, gave unmistakable signs of their determination to throw it off, and by their passive but determined resistance to all the measures of the Austrian Government seemed fast approaching a crisis in their history; and Venetia, though powerless to act alone, was ready at the slightest sign of aid from other quarters to revolt.

The Austrian emperor, with such probabilities of war before him, and the imperial finances in a condition which would make a long and expensive war inevitable ruin, was induced to take measures which have had the effect of postponing, if not of averting the conflict. On the 20th of October, 1860, he had issued a decree which conferred jointly upon the provincial diets and the Council of the Empire the power of making, modifying, and repealing laws; while it reserved to the Council alone the decision of all questions concerning the administration of the laws, finances, banks, posts, telegraphs, railways, military affairs, taxes, the management of the national debt, and the sale

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or renting of the national estates. By this decree he had also reëstablished with some modifications the ancient constitutions of Hungary, Croatia, and Transylvania; and restricted the action of the Council of the Empire to the other countries of the empire, in regard to many of those matters in which it had hitherto extended its power over these constitutional states.

On the 26th February, 1861, he issued a further decree, declaring the ordinance of October the fundamental law of the empire, and restricting the Council of the Empire, in its regulation of all matters of legislation, to the non-Hungarian provinces. This decree not only established provincial diets organized after a uniform model in each of the provinces of Austria proper, but provided for the organization of an elective legislative assembly or *Reichsrath* for the empire, in two Chambers; the first to be composed of the older princes of the imperial family, the heads of the principal families of nobles, and members named for life by the Government, among whom were to be included men who had been distinguished in science or literature. The Chamber of Deputies was composed of 340 members elected by the provincial diets.

He had already, on the 9th of Jan., 1861, published an amnesty for offences committed in Hungary, Transylvania, Croatia, and Sclavonia, as an evidence of his intention to modify his former course toward those States. On the 16th of January, he addressed an imperial manifesto to all the county assemblies and civil magistrates of Hungary, rebuking them for the revolutionary measures they had adopted, such as the election of political refugees, the refusal to pay taxes, the suspension of existing courts of justice, &c., &c. This manifesto produced great irritation throughout Hungary, and each county assembly for itself (that of Gran, under the presidency of the Cardinal Primate of Hungary, leading in the movement) sent a solemn written protest to the emperor in reply. The Cardinal Primate himself counselled mild measures, and the confiding to the diet the regulation of the affairs of Hungary, but the people were too strongly incensed to listen to counsels of moderation. A change of the Austrian ministry followed on the 4th of February; and the new ministers were known or believed to sympathize more fully with Hungary.

On the 11th of February, the Court Chancellor for Transylvania, Baron Kemeny, opened a conference of the prominent men of the country at Karlsburg, Transylvania, to deliberate upon the introduction of a constitutional organization into Transylvania. The result of their deliberations was, that a majority declared for the validity of the laws of 1848, which could only be modified by the re-united diet. By this movement Transylvania was detached from the Hungarian movement.

On the 14th of February, the Court Chancellor for Hungary, Baron de Vay, held a conference with the president of the County Assembly of Pesth. The Assembly were cautious, but firm; they declared their regard for the chancellor, but averred that it was contrary to their consciences and the national law, to render the payment of the taxes of the empire obligatory on Hungary. The same day the Hungarian diet was convoked to meet on the 2d of April at Buda-Pesth.

On the 26th of February, the emperor published the statutes of the new constitution of the Austrian monarchy, to which we have already referred.

On the 2d of March, the Austrian emperor, through his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Rechberg, protested, in a circular to the nations of Europe, against the adoption of the title of "King of Italy," by Victor Emanuel.

A national Servian congress was called for the 1st of April, to express the wishes of the people concerning the maintenance of their old privileges relative to their nationality and language.

On the 24th of March, the emperor by a decree gave his consent to the administration and political re-organization of the government of Transylvania.

On the 29th of the same month, the laws regulating the discussion of public affairs in the communes were relaxed in severity, independent provincial authority in minor matters re-established, and the ancient tribunals invested again with their former powers.

On the 8th of April, the emperor issued a decree that his Protestant subjects of the sects heretofore recognized, should enjoy the same civil and political rights with the Catholics. From this provision Hungary and its dependencies, and Venetia were excepted; previous regulations on this subject having been made for them in 1859, and rejected by the Protestant congregations of Hungary. Against this decree the diet of Tyrol protested, and demanded that it should not be applied to that government, in which a large majority were Catholics.

On the 29th of April, the Reichsrath met, and was formally opened by the emperor in person on the 1st of May; but no deputies were present from Hungary, Croatia, Transylvania, Venetia, or Istria.

In Hungary, at the session of the diet in May, the relations of the kingdom of Hungary to the empire were fully discussed, and an address representing to the emperor the demands of the nation was voted on the 5th of June, 155 yeas to 152 nays. Meantime, the dissatisfaction which had long existed between the Slovacks of Upper Hungary and the Magyars was becoming more and more intense, and on the 6th of June a Slovack congress was convened at St. Martin, which, in the latter part of the month, decided against any fusion with the Magyars, even for the purpose of maintaining their national rights.

The Minister of State announced, on the 19th of June, that the emperor refused his consent to the petition or demand of the Tyrolese diet.

The address of the two Chambers of the Hungarian diet to the emperor offered by the

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presidents of the Chambers, was refused recognition by the emperor, because it addressed him merely as monarch, and did not confer on him his legitimate title of "King of Hungary." The condition of excitement in Hungary still continued, and on the 30th of September, the Assembly of the Comitat or district of Pesth were prevented from meeting on their authorized day of assembling; a body of Austrian soldiers having taken possession of their hall.

B

BAKER, Edward D., an American Senator and soldier, born in England about the beginning of the present century, and killed at the head of his column, at the battle of Ball's Bluff, Va., Oct. 21, 1861. He came to this country when five years of age, and found a home in Philadelphia, to which place his father, who was a member of the Society of Friends, was attracted by the large number of Friends in that vicinity. Before he reached the age of early manhood his father died, and left Edward and a younger brother with no near relatives in this country and portionless. Stout-hearted and self-reliant, the boy found work by which he could support his brother and himself, as a weaver, in a small establishment in South street, Philadelphia. His leisure moments were earnestly occupied with reading, and most of his reading was of an instructive character. The West was then a region of romance, and its broad prairies and fertile soil presented attractions to those who looked forward to fortune in the future. Young Baker resolved to go thither, and taking his brother with him, the two youthful emigrants started westward with their packs upon their shoulders, with light hearts and purses as light. Crossing the then new States of Ohio and Indiana, they finally reached Springfield, Illinois, which Edward deemed the place for their future home. Here he soon commenced the study and the practice of law, and having a natural gift of oratory, to which his extensive reading had added a large vocabulary, he soon became one of the most popular advocates in the State. Uniting his fortunes with those of the Whig party, he soon won his way to political honors, and in 1846-'7 was elected to Congress from his district, and was fast becoming recognized as one of the leaders of his party, when the commencement of the Mexican war attracted his ardent spirit, and returning to Illinois, he raised a regiment, and took it to the Rio Grande. Availing himself of a brief furlough, he resumed his place in Congress long enough to press his views and give his vote in behalf of the war, and hastened back to his regiment, which he overtook on the march from Vera Cruz. He distinguished himself at every action on the route to Mexico, and when Gen. Shields was wounded at Cerro Gordo, he succeeded to the command of the brigade, and led it through all the subsequent conflicts of the war. Returning to Illinois, he was again elected to Congress, and served his district there till 1850, when he visited Panama on business, and though attacked by the Chagres fever and compelled to return, he had learned too much of the new Eldorado of the West, California, to be contented to remain east of the Rocky Mountains, and in 1851 he removed to San Francisco, where he soon took rank as the leader of the California bar, and the most eloquent speaker in the golden State.

His impressive and touching oration over the body of his friend Broderick, will never be forgotten by those who heard it. He soon after removed to Oregon, where in 1860 he was elected to the U. S. Senate. He there distinguished himself as one of the firmest and loftiest patriots of the Senate, and in debate proved himself the most effective orator of that body. The taking of Fort Sumter fired his soul anew with military ardor, and on the 20th of April, at the mass meeting in Union Park, New York City, he delivered an address which thrilled the souls of all who heard it. He there pledged his personal services to the country as a soldier, and closed his speech with these impressive and eloquent words, which were greeted with a thunder of applause:

"And if, from the far Pacific, a voice feebler than the feeblest murmur upon its shore may be heard to give you courage and hope in the contest, that voice is yours to-day; and if a man whose hair is gray, who is well-nigh worn out in the battle and toil of life, may pledge himself on such an occasion and in such an audience, let me say, as my last word, that when, amid sheeted fire and flame, I saw and led the hosts of New York as they charged in contest upon a foreign soil for the honor of your flag; so again, if Providence shall will it, this feeble hand shall draw a sword, never yet dishonored—not to fight for distant honor in a foreign land, but to fight for country, for home, for law, for government, for constitution, for right, for freedom, for humanity, and in the hope that the banner of my country may advance, and wheresoever that banner waves, there glory may pursue and freedom be established."

The pledge thus made was speedily fulfilled. Though having a strong presentiment that he should fall in battle, he raised a fine regiment, called the California Regiment, which he led into the war, and had been nominated Brigadier-General, when the disastrous battle of Ball's Bluff occurred. He commanded a brigade in that battle, and after exhibiting the most heroic bravery and daring, exposing himself for some hours in the hottest of the fight, he fell pierced with six wounds. His colleague in the Senate, and Senators Latham and MacDougal of California, and Sumner of Mass., pronounced touching and eloquent eulogiums on his memory.

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BALL'S BLUFF, OR, LEESBURG HEIGHTS, is the name given to a part of the bank of the Potomac River, on the Virginia side, east of Leesburg and opposite Harrison's Island. The height of the bluff is variable, in some parts being one hundred and fifty feet. It is steep, with brush, trees, rocks, and logs on its front, and at the point of ascent was, on the day of the battle there, rendered soft and muddy by the passage of the troops. Opposite the bluff and about one hundred yards distant is Harrison's Island, a long narrow tract of four hundred acres, between which and the Virginia shore the river runs with a rapid current. On the other side of the island, which is one hundred and fifty yards broad, the distance to the Maryland shore is two hundred yards, and the stream not quite so rapid. At the head of the island passes Conrad's Ferry from the Maryland to the Virginia shore. Six miles below is Edwards' Ferry, which is on the direct road from Poolesville to Leesburg.

On the opposite banks of the Potomac the hostile forces of the North and South had confronted each other for many months. The distance thus occupied extended from Great Falls up the river beyond Harper's Ferry. It was here that the Confederate Government contemplated an advance into the State of Maryland, and an opportunity to flank the force on the Virginia shore opposite Washington, placed for the defence of that city. The Federal Government, anticipating such intentions, had stationed a strong force to prevent them. This was in several divisions: the first under General Banks was stationed from Great Falls nearly to Edwards' Ferry. From that point to Conrad's Ferry was the division under General Stone; next was Colonel Lander's force and that of Colonel Geary. The principal points occupied by the Confederate troops on the Virginia borders of the Potomac were Dranesville, Leesburg, and Charlestown. It became an object to learn with what strength the former of these positions was then held. For this purpose a reconnoissance was ordered by the Commander-in-Chief, General McClellan, to be made toward Dranesville, and the duty was assigned to General McCall, who was in command of a division on the extreme right of the force beyond the Potomac opposite Washington. These orders were successfully executed on the 19th of October, and on the forenoon of the 20th he returned to his former position, in compliance with orders received the afternoon previous. At the same time notice was given to General Stone of this movement on the part of General McCall in the following despatch:

To Brigadier-General Stone, Pooleville:

General McClellan desires me to inform you that General McCall occupied Dranesville yesterday, and is still there. Will send out heavy reconnoissances today in all directions from that point. The General desires that you keep a good look-out upon Leesburg to see if this movement has the effect to drive them away. Perhaps a slight demonstration on your part would have the effect to move them. A. V. COLBURN,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

Later in the day General Stone replied to this despatch as follows:

OCTOBER 20, 1861.

To Major-General McClellan:

Made a feint of crossing at this place this afternoon, and at the same time started a reconnoitring party toward Leesburg from Harrison's Island. The enemy's pickets retired to intrenchments. Report of reconnoitring party not yet received. I have means of crossing one hundred and twenty-five men once in ten minutes at each of two points. River falling slowly.
C. P. STONE, Brigadier-General.

On communicating General Stone's report of the battle to the Secretary of War, General McClellan, in a note, said: "My despatch did not contemplate the making an attack upon the enemy or the crossing of the river in force by any portion of General Stone's command."

Immediately upon the receipt of these instructions, General Stone went to Edwards' Ferry with General Gorman's brigade, the Seventh Michigan, two troops of the Van Alen cavalry, and the Putnam Rangers. This was at one o'clock P.M. At the same time he ordered four companies of the Fifteenth Massachusetts to proceed to Harrison's Island, under Colonel Devens, who already had one company on the island. To Conrad's Ferry above, which was in his department, he also ordered Colonel Lee with a battalion of the Massachusetts Twentieth, a section of the Rhode Island battery, and the Tammany Regiment. These three movements of troops were ordered—one to Edwards' Ferry, one to Harrison's Island, and one to Conrad's Ferry above. General Stone says that at this time General McCall's movement on Dranesville had evidently attracted the attention of the enemy, as a regiment appeared from the direction of Leesburg, and took shelter behind a hill about one mile and a half from his position at Edwards' Ferry. This day is Sunday, and at half-past four P. M. Van Alen's battery of two twelve-pound Parrott guns opens with shell upon the Confederate force upon the Virginia side. Their explosion can be distinctly heard. Seven are thrown within ten minutes, and no response comes across the water. The direction given to the shells is varied so as to find out the location of the force, which is supposed to be concealed in a thick wood to the southwest, on the hill. At five o'clock P. M. the battery in charge of Lieut. Frink, a quarter of a mile from the ferry, also opens with shell, and the two batteries keep up the fire with rapidity. Just as the sun is going down the First Minnesota and Second New York come down over the hill and take the road to the ferry. The sun sets gloriously, his rays reflecting from the thousands of bayonets which line the road.

Gen. Gorman is ordered to deploy his forces in view of the enemy, making a feint to cross the river with a view of trying what effect the movement may have upon the enemy. The troops evince by their cheering that they are all ready, and determined to fight gallantly when the opportunity is presented. Three flat-boats are ordered, and at the same time shell and

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spherical-case shot are thrown into the place of the enemy's concealment. Elsewhere all around the air is perfectly still, and the close of the pleasant Sabbath is impressively beautiful, while the view of the Virginia hills is almost enchanting. Soon something resembling the sound of a drum corps is distinctly heard, and the shelling and the launching of the boats induces the quick retirement of the Confederate force. Three boat-loads of thirty-five men each from the First Minnesota crossed and recrossed the river, each trip occupying about six or seven minutes. At dusk Gen. Gorman's brigade and the Seventh Michigan returned to camp. The other forces at Harrison's Island and Conrad's Ferry remained in position.

Here the movement should have stopped. The orders of Gen. McClellan had been obeyed, and their object had been accomplished. The subsequent orders were not authorized by any superior authority to Gen. Stone, and the responsibility for their consequences must rest upon him. Had a brilliant achievement ensued, the honor of it would likewise have belonged to him.

Previous to one o'clock P. M. four companies of the Massachusetts Fifteenth, as above stated, had been ordered to Harrison's Island, which had for some time been guarded by one company of the same regiment. At night Col. Devens ordered Capt. Philbrick of Company H, and Quartermaster Howe of his staff, with a detachment of twenty men, to cross from Harrison's Island to the Virginia shore, and follow a bridle path which had been discovered, to the vicinity of Leesburg, and report what was seen. The party executed the order by approaching within three-fourths of a mile of Leesburg, and returned to the starting-point by 10 o'clock at night, after having discovered, as they supposed, a small Confederate camp one mile from Leesburg. There appeared to be about thirty tents. No pickets were out any distance, and the party approached within twenty-five rods without being challenged.

Upon receiving this report, Gen. Stone instantly ordered Col. Devens to cross over with four companies to the Virginia shore, and march silently under cover of night to the position of the camp, and to attack and destroy it at daybreak, pursue the enemy lodged there as far as would be prudent, and return immediately to the island—his return to be covered by a company of the Massachusetts Twentieth, to be posted over the landing-place. Col. Devens was ordered to make close observation of the position, strength, and movements of the enemy, and, in the event of there being no enemy there visible, to hold on in a secure position until he could be strengthened sufficiently to make a valuable reconnoissance. At this time orders were sent to Col. Baker to send the First California Regiment to Conrad's Ferry, to arrive there at sunrise, and to have the remainder of his brigade ready to move early. Lieut.-Col. Wood, of the Fifteenth Massachusetts, was also ordered to move with a battalion to the river bank opposite Harrison's Island by daybreak. Two mounted howitzers, in charge of Lieut. French, of Ricketts' battery, were ordered to the tow-path of the canal opposite Harrison's Island.

Col. Devens, in pursuance of his orders, crossed the river and advanced to the point indicated, while one company of the Massachusetts Twentieth, of one hundred men, took position at the landing-place on the bluff, to cover the return of Col. Devens, as ordered. Upon arrival at the point indicated as the position of the enemy's camp, Col. Devens found that the scouts had been deceived by the uncertain light, and had mistaken openings in the trees for a row of tents. He found, however, a wood in which he concealed his force, and proceeded to examine the space between that and Leesburg, sending back at the same time a report that thus far he could see no enemy.

In order to distract the attention of the enemy, during this movement of Col. Devens, and also to make a reconnoissance in the direction of Leesburg from Edwards' Ferry, Gen. Stone now directed Gen. Gorman to throw across the river at Edwards' Ferry two companies of the First Minnesota, under cover of a fire from Ricketts' battery, and send out a party of thirty-one Van Alen cavalry under Major Mix, with orders to advance along the Leesburg road westwardly until they should come to the vicinity of a battery which was known to be on that road, and then turn to the left and examine the heights between that and Goose Creek, and see if any of the enemy were posted in the vicinity, find out their numbers as nearly as possible, their disposition, examine the country with reference to the passage of troops to the Leesburg and Georgetown turnpike, and return rapidly to cover behind the skirmishers of the Minnesota First. This reconnoissance was most gallantly conducted, and the party proceeded along the Leesburg road nearly two miles from the ferry; and when near the position of the hidden battery came suddenly upon a Mississippi regiment, about thirty-five yards distant, received its fire and returned it with their pistols. The fire of the enemy killed one horse, but Lieut. Gouraud seized the dismounted man, and, drawing him on his horse behind him, carried him unhurt from the field. One private of the Fourth Virginia cavalry was brought off by the party a prisoner, who, being well mounted and armed, his mount replaced the one lost by the fire of the enemy.

While this was going on, Gen. Stone received the report of Col. Devens that no enemy could be seen. On the reception of this information, he immediately ordered a non-commissioned officer and ten cavalry to join Col. Devens, for the purpose of scouring the country near him while he was engaged in his reconnoissance, and to give due notice of the approach of any force. At the same time Col. Ward was ordered, with his battalion of the

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Massachusetts Fifteenth, to cross over and move half a mile to the right of the landing-place of Col. Devens, and in a strong position to watch and protect the flank of the latter on his return, and secure a good crossing more favorable than the first and connected by a good road with Leesburg. Neither of these orders were carried out to their full extent, for which no reason has been given. The squad of cavalry crossed over to the Virginia side, but were sent back without having left the shore to go inland; thus Col. Devens was deprived of the means of obtaining warning of the approach of any hostile force. The battalion under Col. Ward was detained on the bluff instead of being directed to the right.

At an early hour, Col. Baker, in pursuance of the orders sent at ten o'clock at night, arrived at Conrad's Ferry with the First California Regiment. Leaving his regiment he went to Edwards' Ferry below, and reported to Gen. Stone that his regiment was at Conrad's Ferry, and the three other regiments of his brigade were ready to march.

The orders now given to Col. Baker are thus related in the words of Gen. Stone: "I directed him to Harrison's Island to assume the command, and in a full conversation explained to him the position as it then stood. I told him that Gen. McCall had advanced his troops to Dranesville, and that I was extremely desirous of ascertaining the exact position and force of the enemy in our front, and of exploring as far as it was safe on the right toward Leesburg, and on the left toward the Leesburg and Gum Spring road. I also informed Col. Baker that Gen. Gorman, opposite Edwards' Ferry, should be reinforced, and that I would make every effort to push Gorman's troops carefully forward to discover the best line from that ferry to the Leesburg and Gum Spring road already mentioned; and the position of the breastworks and hidden battery, which prevented the movement of troops directly from the left to right, were also pointed out to him. The means of transportation across, of the sufficiency of which he (Baker) was to be judge, was detailed, and authority given him to make use of the guns of a section each of Vaughan's and Bunting's batteries, together with French's mountain howitzers, all the troops of his Brigade and the Tammany Regiment, beside the Nineteenth and part of the Twentieth Regiments of Massachusetts Volunteers; and I left it to his discretion, after viewing the ground, to retire from the Virginia shore under the cover of his guns and the fire of the large infantry force, or to pass over reinforcements in case he found it practicable and the position on the other side favorable. I stated that I wished no advance made unless the enemy were of inferior force, and under no circumstance to pass beyond Leesburg, or a strong position between it and Goose Creek, on the Gum Spring, *i. e.*, the Manassas road. Col. Baker was cautioned in reference to passing artillery across the river, and I begged if he did do so to see it well supported by good infantry. I pointed out to him the position of some bluffs on this side of the river, from which artillery could act with effect on the other; and leaving the matter of crossing more troops or retiring what where already over to his discretion, gave him entire control of operations on the right. This gallant and energetic officer left me about nine A. M., or half-past nine, and galloped off quickly to his command."

The following orders have been received as true copies of the orders given to Col. Baker, the originals of which were found in his hat after his death. The first is of such date as to have been delivered to him on Sunday night, and the second was delivered to him on the battle-field by Col. Coggswell, who, perceiving that it had no bearing upon the then condition of affairs, said so to Col. Baker, who put it in his hat without reading. Some other order, it may be presumed, preceded these two.

H. Q. CORPS OF [Here the bullet struck and a word is missing.] EDWARDS' FERRY, *October* 21, 1861.

Colonel E. D. Baker, Com. of Brigade:

COLONEL: In case of heavy firing in front of Harrison's Island, you will advance the California Regiment of your brigade, or retire the regiments under Colonels Lee and Devens, now on the [almost rendered illegible by blood] Virginia side of the river, at your discretion —assuming command on arrival.

Very respectfully, Colonel, your most obt. servt.,
CHAS. P. STONE, Brig.-Gen. Commanding.

The second order which follows, was delivered on the battle-field by Col. Coggswell, who said to Col. Baker, in reply to a question what it meant, "All right, go ahead." Thereupon Col. Baker put it in his hat without reading. An hour afterward he fell:

HEAD-QUARTERS CORPS OF OBSERVATION, EDWARDS' FERRY, *October* 22—11.50.

E. D. Baker, Commanding Brigade:

COLONEL: I am informed that the force of the enemy is about four thousand, all told. If you can push them, you may do so as far as to have a strong position near Leesburg, if you can keep them before you, avoiding their batteries. If they pass Leesburg and take the Gum Springs road, you will not follow far, but seize the first good position to cover that road.

Their design is to draw us on, if they are obliged to retreat, as far as Goose Creek, where they can be reinforced from Manassas, and have a strong position.

Report frequently, so that when they are pushed, Gorman can come up on their flank.

Yours respectfully and truly,
CHARLES P. STONE,
Brigadier-General Commanding.

The following are the copies said to have been made by General Beauregard's order and sent to General Stone, of the orders given to Devens and Baker at Ball's Bluff and found on the field by the Confederates.

HEAD-QUARTERS CORPS OF OBSERVATION, POOLESVILLE, *October* 20, 1861—about 11 A. M.

COLONEL: You will please send orders to the canal to have the two new flat-boats now there, opposite the island, transferred at once to the river, and will at 2 o'clock P. M. have the island reinforced by all of your regiments now on duty at the canal and at the New

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York battery. The pickets will be replaced by the companies of the Nineteenth Massachusetts there.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
CHARLES P. STONE, Brigadier-General.

Col. CHARLES DEVENS, Commanding Fifteenth Regiment Mass. Vols.

A true copy.
WM. R. HYSLOP, Lieut. and A. D. C.

HEAD-QUARTERS CORPS OF OBSERVATION,
POOLESVILLE, *Oct.* 20, 1861—10½ P. M.

SPECIAL ORDERS, NO. —. Colonel Devens will land opposite Harrison's Island with four companies of his regiment, and proceed to surprise the camp of the enemy discovered by Captain Philbrick in the direction of Leesburg. The landing and march will be effected with silence and rapidity.

Colonel Lee, Twentieth Massachusetts Volunteers, will immediately after Colonel Devens' departure occupy Harrison's Island with four companies of his regiment, and will cause the four-oared boat to be taken across the island to the point of departure of Colonel Devens.

One company will be thrown across to occupy the heights on the Virginia shore, after Colonel Devens' departure to cover his return.

Two mountain howitzers will be taken silently up the tow-path, and carried to the opposite side of the island, under the orders of Colonel Lee.

Colonel Devens will attack the camp of the enemy at daybreak, and having routed, will pursue as far as he deems prudent, and will destroy the camp, if practicable, before returning.

He will make all the observations possible on the country, will under all circumstances keep his command well in hand, and not sacrifice this to any supposed advantage of rapid pursuit.

Having accomplished this duty, Colonel Devens will return to his present position, unless he shall see one on the Virginia side, near the river, which he can undoubtedly hold until reinforced, and one which can be successfully held against largely superior numbers. In such case he will hold on and report.

CHARLES P. STONE, Brigadier-General.

Great care will be used by Colonel Devens to prevent any unnecessary injury of private property, and any officer or soldier straggling from the commaud for curiosity or plunder will be instantly shot.

CHARLES P. STONE, Brigadier-General.

A true copy.
WM. R. HYSLOP, Lieut. and A. D. C.

The following is given as the last order to Col. Baker. It could never have reached him. It shows what report he sent to Gen Stone, and indicates under what orders he was acting:

HEAD-QUARTERS CORPS OF OBSERVATION,
EDWARDS' FERRY, *Oct.* 21—3.45 P. M.

Colonel E. D. Baker, Commanding Right Wing:

COLONEL: Yours of 2.30 is received. I am glad you find your position tenable. If satisfied with it, hold on, and don't let the troops get fatigued or starved while waiting.

Please detail plenty of officers to attend to the *food* of the men. Do you need more artillery than the eight pieces now at your disposition?

Respectfully, your obedient servant,
CHAS. P. STONE, Brig.-Gen. Com'g.

A true copy.
WILLIAM R. HYSLOP, Lieut. and A. D. C.

In the morning a skirmish took place between the command of Col. Lee, of the Massachusetts Twentieth, who had been ordered to cover Col. Devens' retreat, and about one hundred Mississippi riflemen. Col. Devens then fell back in good order on Col. Lee's position. Presently he again advanced, his men behaving admirably, fighting, retiring, and advancing in perfect order, and exhibiting every proof of high courage and good discipline. Had the cavalry scouting party sent to him in the morning been with him, then he could have had timely warning of the approach of the superior force which afterward overwhelmed his regiment.

Between twelve and one P. M. the enemy appeared in force in front of Col. Devens, and a sharp skirmish ensued, and was maintained for some time by the Fifteenth Massachusetts, unsupported; and finding he would be outflanked, Col. Devens retired a short distance, and took up a position near the wood, half a mile in front of Col. Lee, where he remained until two o'clock, when he again fell back, with the approval of Col. Baker, and took his place with the portions of the Twentieth Massachusetts and First California which had arrived.

The movement of troops now to the Virginia side was constant—until 700 of the Fifteenth and three companies of the Twentieth Massachusetts, the First California battalion, and some companies of the Tammany Regiment had crossed, and four pieces of artillery.

At one o'clock the order had been given to the right battery detached from the New York Ninth to report to Gen. Baker at the Maryland side of the Potomac, opposite Harrison's Island. In half an hour the four pieces arrived at the spot, in command of Lieut. Bramhall. At this time but little firing was heard upon the opposite shore, and that only desultory.

At about half-past two P. M., however, the firing of musketry suddenly became very brisk, accompanied by occasional discharges of artillery. At this time Col. Baker, who had been actively engaged in superintending the despatch of reinforcements, crossed himself, accompanied by but one officer, Major Young, of his command, leaving word to forward the artillery with all despatch. The means provided for this purpose consisted of two scows, manned by poles, and which, owing to the swiftness of the current, consumed a great deal of time in the trip from the mainland to the island.

Lieut. Bramhall thus describes the crossing in his report: "I took command, and ordered the immediate embarkation of the pieces. I crossed with the first piece, (which happened to be a Rhode Island piece,) accompanied by Col. Coggswell, of the Tammany Regiment, arriving upon the island after a half hour's hard labor to keep the boat from floating down the stream. We ascended the steep bank, made soft and sloppy by the passage of the troops, and at a rapid gait crossed the island to the second crossing. At this point we found only a scow, on which we did not dare to cross the piece and the horses together, and thus lost further time by being obliged to make two crossings. Upon arriving on the Virginia shore we were compelled to dismount the piece and carriage, and haul the former up by the prolonge, the infantry assisting in carrying the parts of the latter to a point about thirty feet up a precipitous ascent, rendered almost impassable with soft mud,

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where we remounted the piece, and, hitching up the horses, dragged it through a perfect thicket up to the open gronnd above, where the fighting was going on.

"During all this time the firing had continued with great briskness, and that the enemy's fire was very effectual was evident from the large number of wounded and dead who were being borne to the boats. But a few moments previous to coming into position the firing had ceased, and when I arrived I found that our men were resting, many with arms stacked in front of them. The ground upon which was such of the fight as I engaged in was an open space, forming a parallelogram, enclosed entirely in woods. Our men were disposed in a semicircle, the right and left termini of which rested upon the woods, with, as near as I conld discern, skirmishers thrown out upon each flank, while the convexity of our lines skirted the cliff overhanging the river. The ground sloped from a point about forty yards from the cliff sufficiently to afford a very tolerable cover for our men."

The field was abont seventy-five yards in breadth by two hnndred in length. At the distant front and down the right and left, a thick dark forest skirted its sides. Behind, the bluff fell steeply off to the river. A winding spnr of the field extended a few rods into the woods on the left, half way between the opposing lines. Directly on the left, and near where a crooked path led the Federal force to the fight, a ravine fell slightly off, its opposite bank ascending to the thicket of woods which thns totally surrounded the field. About four o'clock P. M., Col. Baker formed his line for action. At this time no enemy was anywhere visible in rank, but from the woods in the extreme front a galling irregular fire ponred out upon his men. They were then ranged, in no very exact order, from right to left, the wings partially covered by the thicket—portions of the centre lying close to the edge of the hill—while others boldly stepped forward, delivered their fire at the woods, returned to load, and advance again and again. The men of the Fifteenth and Twentieth Massachusetts were placed on the right, the Californians on the left, while the artillery, with the Tammany companies, were posted in the centre. A quick consultation was held. Intimations of a large hostile force near were received. No retreat could be effected in safety. The fire was growing hot. A retrograde movement would only bring seventeen hundred men to the river's brink, with two boats, capable of carrying sixty persons each, to transport them over a swift channel, while it would cause a rush of the enemy upon them. Their only hope was in maintaining their ground until troops by the Edwards' Ferry could force a way to their aid. The enemy had evidently concentrated here under the apprehension that the principal attack would come from this quarter. The battle now commenced in earnest on the left, and was brought on by pushing two companies forward to feel the enemy in the wood. They advanced half the distance, and were met by a murderous fire from the enemy, which was followed by a terrific volley along their whole front. They still kept their cover, but the bullets rattled against the whole Federal line, which gave a quick reply. Instantly both ends of the field were clouded in smoke, and the contest raged hotly for an hour. Feeling their strength, the enemy pressed down the sides of the field, and the fight grew close until Col. Baker fell while cheering his men, and by his own example sustaining them in the obstinate resistance they were making. The command soon devolved on Col. Coggswell, who saw that the day was lost, and that the time for retreat had come.

The enemy pursued to the edge of the bluff, over the landing-place, and poured in a heavy fire as the Federal force were endeavoring to cross to the island. The retreat was rapid, but according to orders. The men formed near the river, maintaining for nearly half an hour the hopeless contest rather than surrender.

The smaller boat had disappeared, no one knew where. The larger boat, rapidly and too heavily loaded, swamped at fifteen feet from the shore, and nothing was left to the soldiers but to swim, surrender, or die. With a devotion worthy of the cause they were serving, officers and men, while quarter was being offered to such as would lay down their arms, stripped themselves of their swords and muskets and hurled them out into the river to prevent them falling into the hands of the foe, and saved themselves as they could, by swimming, floating on logs, and concealing themselves in the bushes of the forest, and to make their way up and down the river bank to a place of crossing.

The fate of the piece of artillery which had been so effective, is thns described by Lieut. Bramhall, who commanded it:

"Finding that the battle was lost to us, and with but one man left to aid me, (Booth, of the California regiment,) and growing weak and stiff from my wounds, of which I received three, none dangerous, I caused the piece to be drawn down to the edge of the cliff, whence it was afterward thrown down, lodging in the rocks and logs, with which the descent was cumbered, and, assisted by two privates of the Fifteenth Massachusetts Regiment, made my way to the boat and over to the island. Here I found my own section and the other piece belonging to the Rhode Island section, one of which I had had; and leaving directions to command the ford at the upper end of the island with two pieces, and to hold the other in reserve to act where circumstances might reqnire aid to cover the retreat of our own infantry, I crossed to the mainland. I had first despatched a messenger for Lieut. Clark, of our battery, who soon after arrived and took command. The only projectile with which the ammunition chest was provided was the James

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shell, I have been told by those from the right and left who could correctly observe their effect, that they burst, and with great effect. The short range at which they were fired would of course hardly admit of any very appreciable deviation from a direct course, such as has been remarked of the projectile. The piece, I have since learned, was taken by the enemy; with it there were but eight or ten rounds of shell, and about twenty blanks. I do not think it was possible to have saved the piece from capture, for it would have required a full half hour to have gotten it down to the river, when if it were shipped upon the boat it would have been necessarily to the exclusion of the wounded, who were being conveyed to the opposite shore. Indeed, I very much doubt if it could have crossed at all, for the scow sunk with its weight of men the next trip after I returned in it. The horses belonging to the piece were all shot; and I learn from Capt. Vaughan, who has since been over to bury the dead, that five of them lay dead in one heap. I regretted that the canister which was to be sent over to us did not reach us, as with it I might have at least kept the enemy sufficiently in check to have given time to many of the wounded who were left on the Virginia side to have escaped."

The report of the Confederate General Evans states his killed and wounded at three hundred. He speaks of his force as twenty-five hundred men, without artillery, engaged against ten thousand with five batteries. The force to which he was opposed was about twenty-one hundred, with one piece of artillery that was served effectively, the other three being fired only at intervals. The Confederate forces engaged were the Eighth Virginia, and Seventeenth and Eighteenth Mississippi Regiments. The First Mississippi was held in reserve.

The Massachusetts Fifteenth lost, in killed, wounded, and missing, three hundred and twenty-two, including a Lieut-Colonel and fourteen out of twenty-eight line officers who crossed. The Massachusetts Twentieth lost, in all, one hundred and fifty-nine. The Tammany companies lost one hundred and sixty-three. The First California Regiment lost three hundred, killed, wounded, and missing.

Meantime at Edwards' Ferry, where the facilities for transportation consisted of two scows and a yawl boat, Gen. Stone was preparing to push forward to the road by which the enemy's retreat would be cut off, if driven. He says:—"The additional artillery had already been sent, and when the messenger, who did not leave the field until after three o'clock, was questioned as to Colonel Baker's position, he informed me that the Colonel, when he left, seemed to feel perfectly secure, and could doubtless hold his position in case he should not advance. The same statement was made by another messenger half an hour later, and I watched anxiously for a sign of advance on the right, in order to push forward Gen. Gorman. It was, as had been explained to Colonel Baker, impracticable to throw Gen. Gorman's brigade directly to the right by reason of the battery in the woods, between which we had never been able to reconnoitre.

"At four P. M., or thereabouts, I telegraphed to General Banks for a brigade of his division, intending it to occupy the ground on this side of the river near Harrison's Island, which would be abandoned in case of a rapid advance; and shortly after, as the fire slackened, a messenger was waited for, on whose tidings should be given orders either for the advance of General Gorman to cut off the retreat of the enemy, or for the disposition for the night in the position then held.

"At five P. M. Captain Candy arrived from the field and announced the melancholy tidings of Colonel Baker's death, but with no intelligence of any further disaster. I immediately apprised General Banks of Col. Baker's death, and I rode quickly to the right to assume command. Before arriving opposite the island, men who had crossed the river plainly gave evidence of the disaster, and on reaching the same I was satisfied of it by the conduct of the men then landing in boats.

"Orders were then given to hold the island and establish a patrol on the tow-path from opposite the island to the line of pickets near the Monocacy, and I returned to the left to secure the troops there from disaster, and make preparations for moving them as rapidly as possible.

"Orders arrived from Gen. McClellan to hold the island and Virginia shore at Edwards' Ferry at all risks, indicating at the same time that reinforcements would be sent, and immediately additional means of intrenchments were forwarded, and Gen. Gorman was furnished with particular directions to hold out against any and every force of the enemy."

The crossing was ultimately continued, and by Tuesday morning four thousand infantry, a section of Ricketts' battery, and Van Alen's cavalry detachment were safely on the Virginia shore. Five hundred feet of intrenchment was thrown up. At 3 A. M. on Tuesday, Gen. Banks arrived and took command.

All Tuesday night the whistles of the locomotives bringing Confederate reinforcements to Leesburg were distinctly heard. On Tuesday morning Gen. McClellan was disposed to hold the position on the Virginia side, but further information caused a change of purpose. A bridge of boats taken from the canal, together with others passing up and down which were stopped, was formed, and on Wednesday the entire force returned to the Maryland shore.

The first cause of failure consisted in the lack of suitable means of transportation. The Federal force at Ball's Bluff was evidently outnumbered and overpowered. The crossing was at an exceedingly unfavorable spot; it was the same as crossing two ferries at a point where the current being narrow, becomes swifter. The movement should have ceased with what had been done on Sunday night. No suitable preparations were made for that afterward undertaken.

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BALTIMORE is the principal city of Maryland, having in 1860 a population of 212,418. It is situated on a small bay or estuary which extends about two and a half miles inland from the north side of Patapsco river, about twelve miles from its entrance into Chesapeake Bay. It is about two hundred miles by ship channel from the ocean, and thirty-eight miles by railroad northeast from Washington, and ninety-eight miles southwest from Philadelphia. Its central position and admirable situation has made it a place of large trade with the Northern and Southern States. Possessing slaves like the Southern States, the citizens were nevertheless quiet spectators of the agitations in the extreme North and South. A handful of votes were cast in favor of Mr. Lincoln for President, but the sentiment of the people assimilated rather with that of Virginia, on the South, than with Pennsylvania, on the North.

A public meeting was held on the evening of the 19th of December to listen to an address from A. H. Handy, the Commissioner sent to Maryland by the State of Mississippi. His view of the object of the seceding States was thus presented to the meeting: "Secession is not intended to break up the present Government, but to perpetuate it. Our plan is for the Southern States to withdraw from the Union for the present, to allow amendments to the Constitution to be made, guaranteeing our just rights; and if the Northern States will not make these amendments, by which these rights shall be secured to us, then we must secure them the best way we can. This question of slavery must be settled now or never. Many remedies have failed, we must try amputation to bring it to a healthy state. We must have amendments to the Constitution, and if we cannot get them we must set up for ourselves." This was followed in a few days by movements for a Union meeting. At the preliminary meeting, for completing the arrangements, Archibald Sterling, upon taking the chair, made this pithy address: "Gentlemen, I thank you for the honor you have done me. I cannot hesitate when my countrymen call on me at such a time as this, for I hold every thing I possess, property, family, and life, of slight value when compared with country; and I consider the maintenance of its Union as our only safeguard." The meeting which ensued upon the completion of these arrangements, was one of the most impressive and influential assemblages convened in Baltimore for political purposes. The Union and Major Anderson were greatly cheered, and the word "secession" appeared to be very repugnant to the feelings of the assemblage.

The following, one of a large number of resolutions passed, is expressive of the position of those present:

Resolved, That the present condition of our country demands of all who love her a spirit of fairness, of candor, of conciliation, of concession, and of self-sacrifice; and that we hail with thankful and hopeful hearts the patriotic efforts now being made in Congress for the settlement, as we trust forever, of the dangerous questions at issue, on some constitutional, just, and equitable principle; and that such of our statesmen and States, whether of the North or of the South, as may contribute most to this holy end, will challenge the highest place in the affections of our country; and those who may refuse to lend their aid to this holy purpose may justly expect, as they will be sure to receive, the condemnation and reprobation of the present, as well as of future ages.

The city, however, remained an inactive spectator of the progress of events, until the attack upon Fort Sumter. The excitement then aroused was most intense, and efforts were made by the friends of the seceded States to turn it to their benefit, and even, if possible, secure the secession of Maryland.

Through Baltimore passed the only line of railway from the North and East to Washington. New England, New York, New Jersey, and Eastern Pennsylvania, in response to the President's proclamation, might arm every man for the defence of Washington; but, as the only line of communication by land was through Baltimore and Maryland, an obstruction here might delay their progress until forces from the South seized the National city. Apprehensions of disturbance upon the passage of troops through the city for Washington were excited. On the 18th of April the Marshal of Police issued his orders to cause a vigilant eye to be kept on all persons attempting to incite riot or disorder, and to have them followed and arrested. He also received from the officers of the "State-Right Association" the most solemn pledge that no demonstration would be made against the Federal troops expected to pass through the city. He said, "the peace of Baltimore will be maintained at all hazards."

The Mayor of the city issued a proclamation invoking all good citizens to uphold and maintain the peace and good order of the city, and to refrain from the expression of sentiments that might have an irritating effect.

On the 19th, a body of troops from the North were expected to arrive by the Philadelphia and Baltimore Railroad. At the depot a crowd of two or three thousand persons gathered. Soon after 11 o'clock in the forenoon, the train from Philadelphia, comprising twenty-nine cars, arrived. Without disembarking the soldiers from the train, horses were attached to the several cars, which were drawn along Pratt street to the Camden station. Six cars were permitted to pass without any particular disturbance except hooting and yelling. The horses attached to the seventh car becoming restive, were detached, and the car moved without their aid nearly to Gay street, where a body of laborers were engaged in repairing the bed of the street, and for this purpose removing the cobble stones.

Some thirty or forty men assembled at this point, having followed the car from the depot, and with cheers for President Davis and the Southern Confederacy, hurled bitter taunts at the Northern Black Republicans, as they termed them. The troops remained in perfect silence.

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This continued for several minutes, when, as the horses were again attached and the car moved off, it was proposed to stone it. Before the car had gone twenty yards, almost every window therein was broken to pieces, and a portion of the crowd followed a considerable distance hurling paving-stones. The eighth car was treated in the same manner, but the ninth car, apparently being empty, or at least no person being visible except the driver of the team, escaped with only one stone thrown.

The tenth car was observed approaching from Pratt street bridge, when a number of persons, seizing the picks in the hands of the laborers, made an ineffectual effort to tear up the track. Finding that they could not succeed, as a last resort they took up the paving-stones, and threw them on the track, almost covering it from observation. They also dumped a cart-load of sand on the bed of the track, placing also four or five large anchors thereon, having bodily removed them from the sidewalk. This being accomplished, they, with loud hurrahs, dared the troops to come on; but the latter, observing the posture of affairs, deemed it more prudent to turn back to the President street depot.

Mayor Brown hastened to the President street depot, and endeavored to prevent any disturbance. At this point there still remained upwards of twenty cars filled with the troops, and five or six cars which had been used for the reception of ammunition, baggage, &c.

After the lapse of a quarter of an hour, the command was given for the troops to disembark and form on the outside. While forming, they were surrounded by a dense mass of people, who impeded their march, up President street by every possible means. Stones were thrown in great numbers. At Fawn street two of the soldiers were knocked down by stones and greatly injured.

After the cars had been checked and returned to the depot, as above stated, the military formed and prepared to march through the city.

From the President street depot to Pratt street bridge they were pursued by the excited crowd, who continued to hurl stones, and, it is stated, fired at them with muskets, &c. Mayor Brown had put himself at the head of the column, with a strong body of police. The soldiers continued on up Pratt street over the bridge, where several more were badly injured by the stones thrown at the rear ranks. They came along at a brisk pace, and when they reached Market Space, an immense concourse of people closed in behind them and commenced stoning them.

When they reached Gay street, where the track had been torn up, a large crowd of men armed with paving-stones showered them on their heads with such force that several of them were knocked down in the ranks. These, after lying a few moments crawled on their hands and knees into some of the stores on Pratt street. After they fell there was no further attack made on them, and those thus wounded were taken to apothecary stores for medical attendance.

At the corner of South and Pratt streets a man fired a pistol into the ranks of the military, when those in the rear ranks immediately wheeled and fired upon their assailants, and several were wounded. The guns of the soldiers that had fallen wounded were seized, and fired upon the ranks with fatal effect in two instances.

After they reached Calvert street they succeeded in checking their pursuers by a rapid fire, which brought down two or three, and they were not much molested until they reached Howard street, where another large crowd was assembled. Some stones were thrown at them, but their guns were not loaded, and they passed on through the dense crowd down Howard street towards the depot.

The scene on Pratt street, as stated, was of a startling character. The wounded soldiers, three in number, were taken up carefully and carried to places of safety by the citizens along the street.

The rear portion of the troops received the brunt of the attack of the assailants. The paving-stones were dashed with great force against their backs and heads, and marching thus in close ranks, they were unable to effectually defend themselves. When they did turn and fire, it was without halt, and being thus massed together, their shots took effect mostly on innocent spectators who were standing on the pavement. They stood the assault with stones without resistance, the entire distance from the President street depot until they reached the vicinity of South street, and then fired obliquely on to the pavements, rather than turning on their assailants. The police did their utmost to protect the troops from assault, and partially succeeded until they reached Gay street, where the crowd, armed with paving-stones, were collected. They rushed in between the police and the rear ranks, driving them back, and separating them from the military. After the firing commenced, the assaulting party dispersed, and for the balance of the route there was no attack upon them. The four soldiers who fell wounded in the street, were struck down between Gay and Calvert streets, where the fiercest of the attack was made on them. The troops composed the Sixth regiment of Massachusetts Infantry, commanded by Colonel E. F. Jones, in all eleven companies, with an aggregate of eight hundred and sixty men, rank and file.

It was about half-past twelve o'clock when the train left the Camden station. A few minutes afterwards, a discharge of firearms attracted the attention of the crowd to the corner of Pratt and Howard streets, where a body of infantry from one of the Northern States, about one hundred and fifty strong, were seen rapidly approaching the depot, and no doubt anxious to reach the cars.

The excitement now was beyond description, and a man displaying the flag of the Confeder-

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ate States seemed to be the rallying point of the disaffected people. Some of these assaulted the command with stones, when a number of the latter discharged their muskets. At least twenty shots were fired, but it happily proved that no person was injured. There seemed to be but little discipline among the troops, especially as they rushed along pell-mell. Whilst they were entering the cars a crowd of young men gave them several volleys of bricks and stones, some of which demolished the windows of the cars, whereupon three or four of the privates pointed their muskets through the car windows and fired, but no one was injured.

The baggage and munitions, in two cars, were seized by the crowd, but rescued by the police. Other troops were sent back to the borders of the State by orders of Gov. Hicks. The military of the city were called out, and quiet was restored at evening. Among the killed was Robert W. Davis, a member of a mercantile firm, and a person held in high esteem by a large circle of friends and acquaintances. Nine citizens of Baltimore were killed, and many wounded. Twenty-five of the wounded Massachusetts troops were sent to the Washington hospital.

During the night following a report prevailed that more Northern troops were approaching by the Northern Central Railway. It was immediately resolved to destroy the bridges nearest the city, on both the Northern roads ending in Baltimore. The bridge at Canton was thus destroyed, and two bridges between Cockeysville and Ashland; also the bridges over Little Gunpowder and Bush rivers. This was ordered to be done by the authorities of Baltimore. Upon a representation of the events to President Lincoln, he ordered that "no more troops should be brought through Baltimore, if, in a military point of view, and without interruption or opposition, they can be marched around Baltimore."

The public mind continued in a feverish state from the excitement of Friday, when unfounded reports that Northern troops were approaching the city, aroused a most indescribable tumult, like ten thousand people bereft of reason. The error of the rumors becoming finally known, peace and order were restored.

The transmission of the mails, and the removal of provisions from the city, however, were suspended by the orders of the Mayor and Board of Police. Four car loads of military stores, clothing, tents, and other army equipments, sufficient for the accommodation of a thousand men, and the property of the Government, were thus detained. On the 24th, the city presented much the appearance of a military camp. The number of volunteers there enlisted, was put as high as 25,000. Large quantities of provisions were seized, and its departure from the city stopped. About four hundred picked men left the city for the Relay House, on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, for the purpose of seizing and holding that important strategic point. They were followed by a force of about two hundred men, having with them four field-pieces and an abundance of ammunition. It was the intention of the military authorities to concentrate there about 1,200 men. The object of the seizure was to cut off the communication of the Pennsylvanians with Washington by that route.

The troops at Cockeysville were removed to York, Pennsylvania.

Immediately upon the departure of the train, the authorities of Baltimore County despatched a body of armed men to follow in the rear, and destroy the bridges, which they did; burning all the bridges, large and small, from Ashland to the Maryland line, with one exception, the "Big Gunpowder Bridge."

The turnpike from Ashland to York was literally black with vehicles of every description, containing whole families from Baltimore, who were hurrying to the country. A great many strangers were also proceeding to Pennsylvania, for the purpose of getting into the more Northern States.

Unparalleled as was the excitement in Baltimore, after one week quiet was not only restored, but a counter-revolution took place, which by its mere moral force reëstablished the control of reason and judgment.

On the 5th of May, the volunteer militia were dismissed by the authorities.

On the 10th of May, thirteen hundred troops landed near Fort McHenry from transports, and were thence transferred by trains to Washington.

The Board of Police Commissioners had at noon detailed a large police force, who were present at Locust Point, and acted with great efficiency, under the direction of Marshal Kane. The Board of Commissioners were present in person, as also the Mayor. Few spectators were present at Locust Point, but the wharves on the city side were filled with persons, who quietly looked on the scene of the disembarkation, which was very tedious, and was not concluded until between six and seven o'clock in the evening.

The troops were Sherman's Battery, five companies of the Third Infantry from Texas, and a Pennsylvania Regiment.

On the 5th of May, the United States Volunteers under the command of General Butler, had taken possession of the Relay House on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and proceeded to fortify their position. Subsequently, on the 13th, he moved a portion of his troops to Baltimore. It soon became known in the city, and a number of people went to the Camden station to witness the arrival.

About half-past seven o'clock a long train came, containing a portion of the troops. They disembarked in good order, and marched from the depot down Lee street and other streets to Federal Hill, and, moving to the high ground surrounding the Observatory, stacked arms, and made preparations for a long rest.

The force under command of General Butler was composed of a portion of the Boston Light Artillery, Major Cook; a strong detachment

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of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, Colonel Jones, and about five hundred of the Eighth New York Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Waltenburg.

On the route to the Hill the streets were thronged with people, who greeted the military with cheers at every step, the ladies at the windows and the doors joining in the applause by waving their handkerchiefs.

Thus quietly was military possession taken of the city of Baltimore. On the next day considerable reënforcements arrived.

On the same day, the commanding General issued a proclamation to the citizens. He thus states his object in marching troops within the city:

DEPARTMENT OF ANNAPOLIS,
FEDERAL HILL, BALTIMORE, *May* 14, 1861.

A detachment of the forces of the Federal Government under my command have occupied the city of Baltimore for the purpose, among other things, of enforcing respect and obedience to laws as well of the State, if requested thereto by the civil authorities, as of the United States—laws which are being violated within its limits by some malignant and traitorous men—and in order to testify the acceptance by the Federal Government of the fact that the city and all the well-intentioned portion of its inhabitants are loyal to the Union and the Constitution, and are to be so regarded and treated by all. To the end, therefore, that all misunderstanding of the purposes of the Government may be prevented, and to set at rest all unfounded, false, and seditious rumors, to relieve all apprehensions, if any are felt by the well-disposed portion of the community, and to make it thoroughly understood by all traitors, their aiders and abettors, that their rebellious acts must cease, I hereby, by the authority vested in me as commander of the department of Annapolis, of which the city of Baltimore forms a part, do now command and make known that no loyal and well-disposed citizen will be disturbed in his lawful occupation or business; that private property will not be interfered with by the men under my command, or allowed to be interfered with by others, except in so far as it may be used or be in course of preparation to be used to afford aid and comfort to those in rebellion against the Government, whether here or elsewhere; all which property, munitions of war, and that fitted to aid and support the rebellion, will be seized and held subject to confiscation; and therefore all manufacturers of arms and munitions of war are hereby requested to report to me forthwith, so that the lawfulness of their occupations may be known and understood, and all misconstruction of their doings avoided.

Other suggestions and requests were contained in the proclamation, which were of inferior importance. The first assertion of military authority over the city authorities took place soon after.

General Butler detailed Colonel Hare, of Ellicott's Mills, with a force of thirty-five soldiers of the Massachusetts Regiment, to demand a surrender of the arms which were stored by the city authorities in the warehouse corner of Gay and Second streets. The Colonel with his command marched from Federal Hill through various streets, and reached the warehouse at about a quarter of four o'clock. Three policemen were on guard at the corner, and were immediately accosted by Colonel Hare, who demanded possession of the warehouse and its contents in the name of the General Government. The appearance of the military at that point attracted at first but a small crowd, but in the course of a few minutes, it rapidly increased in numbers. The policemen stated that they had no authority to yield to the demand of Col. Hare, until ordered to do so by Marshal Kane, who was immediately informed of the demand. The Marshal, accompanied by Deputy Marshal Gifford, and Captain Bowen and several policemen, repaired to the warehouse, where the same demand, in the name of Gen. Butler, acting by order of the President, was made. The Marshal stated that without the orders of the Police Commissioners possession could not be given. A lengthy conversation ensued between him and Colonel Hare, while Mr. John W. Davis, one of the Commissioners, hastened to the office of the Board, where, after consideration of the demand, it was determined to surrender the arms under a protest. The military force was during this time drawn up in double file on the pavement in front of the warehouse. Charles D. Hinks, Esq., one of the Commissioners, after a delay of a half-hour, drove in his carriage to the corner, and, after alighting, gave Marshal Kane a note, informing him of the result of the action of the Board, and which was communicated to Colonel Hare, who wrote on the envelope an acceptance of the terms.

The doors of the warehouse were then opened, and immediately thereupon a number of furniture wagons and drays were drawn to the front, and laborers commenced the work of loading them with boxes containing arms. After being loaded, the vehicles passed along Second street, until that street from South to Gay was nearly filled, when they were driven over to Federal Hill and thence to Fort McHenry. In all there were thirty-five wagons and drays thus loaded with 110 boxes, containing 2,200 muskets, and sixty-seven boxes, each containing 60 pikes or spears, making a total of 4,020 spears. While the vehicles were loaded, the crowd was increased by persons who, on hearing the seizure, were somewhat desirous of provoking a collision, but fortunately wiser counsels prevailed, and but little disorder was manifested.

On the 16th of May, the regular passenger trains between Baltimore and Washington resumed their usual trips. Baltimore subsided into one of the most quiet cities of the Union. The military encampment was, however, maintained.

Subsequently, on the 27th of June, a military force was sent to the house of the Marshal of Police, Kane, by whom he was arrested and escorted to Fort McHenry. A Provost Marshal was appointed by Gen. Banks, now in command of this military department, and a proclamation issued, in which the commanding General thus stated his designs:

It is not my purpose, neither is it in consonance with my instructions, to interfere, in any manner whatever, with the legitimate government of the people of Balti-

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more or Maryland. I desire to support the public authorities in all appropriate duties; in preserving peace, protecting property and the rights of persons, in obeying and upholding every municipal regulation and public statute consistent with the Constitution and laws of the United States and of Maryland.

But unlawful combinations of men, organized for resistance to such laws, that provide hidden deposits of arms and ammunition, encourage contraband traffic with men at war with the Government, and, while enjoying its protection and privileges, stealthily wait opportunity to combine their means and force with those in rebellion against its authority, are not among the recognized or legal rights of any class of men, and cannot be permitted under any form of government whatever.

Such combinations are well known to exist in this department. The mass of citizens of Baltimore and of Maryland, loyal to the Constitution and the Union, are neither parties to, nor responsible for them. But the Chief of Police is not only believed to be cognizant of these facts, but, in contravention of his duty, and in violation of law, he is, by direction or indirection, both witness and protector to the transactions and the parties engaged therein. Under such circumstances the Government cannot regard him otherwise than as the head of an armed force hostile to its authority and acting in concert with its avowed enemies.

This arrest was made for the reason stated in the proclamation: "Under such circumstances the Government cannot regard him otherwise than as the head of an armed force hostile to its authority, and acting in concert with its avowed enemies." If the opinion of the Government was correct, the arrest was doubtless justly made. But how shall the opinion of the Government be decided to be correct? By the Government itself who makes the arrest, or by an impartial tribunal? These questions excited much discussion at the time, but the public acquiesced in the proceedings of the Government, not only in this instance, but in many others.

The captains of the different police stations were directed to report themselves to the Provost Marshal, and, upon obeying the summons, they were notified that they and their officers would be continued in service, while the strictest injunction was imposed upon them to arrest every one who might attempt to disturb the peace.

The functions of the Board of Police were suspended as soon as Colonel Kenly entered upon his duties as Provost Marshal.

In the mean time, however, a meeting was held by the Police Commissioners and the Mayor —consisting of Chas. Howard, Wm. H. Gatchell, Charles D. Hinks, John W. Davis, and George Wm. Brown, Esqs.—who, after agreeing upon a protest against the suspension of their functions, adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, That whilst the Board, yielding to the force of circumstances, will do nothing to increase the present excitement, or obstruct the execution of such measures as Major-General Banks may deem proper to take on his own responsibility for the preservation of the peace of the city and of public order, they cannot, consistently with their views of official duty, and of the obligations of their oaths of office, recognize the right of any of the officers and men of the police force, as such, to receive orders or directions from any other authority than from this Board.

The Commissioners further resolved that the suspension of their own functions, suspended at the same time the active operation of the police law and relieved the officers and men from duty; and, in pursuance of this decision, they issued a notice to the police captains of the several stations announcing that they had determined upon the disbanding of the force, and directing them to carry out the provisions of that resolve. The men were accordingly summoned to the station-houses and notified that their services as police officers were suspended for the present, though it was intimated that their pay would continue, and that they were to hold themselves in readiness to resume their duties at a moment's notice.

Notwithstanding a notice issued by Colonel Kenly, that every man would be continued on duty, the force was disbanded, and a temporary police force of about four hundred men, immediately enrolled and placed on duty. Munitions of war in considerable quantities were found secreted in the city. In some instances they were the property of the city, in a few others they belonged to citizens.

On the 1st of July, the Commissioners of Police were arrested. The reasons for this arrest are thus stated by the commanding officer, General Banks, who ordered it:

In pursuance of orders issued from the Headquarters of the Army at Washington for the preservation of the public peace in this department, I have arrested and do now detain in custody of the United States the late members of the Board of Police—Messrs. Charles Howard, William H. Gatchell, Charles D. Hinks, and John W. Davis.

The incidents of the past week afforded full justification for this order. The head-quarters under the charge of the Board, when abandoned by the officers, resembled in some respects a concealed arsenal. After public recognition and protest against the "suspension of their functions" they continued their sessions daily. Upon a forced and unwarrantable construction of my proclamation of the 28th ultimo, they declared that the police law was suspended, and the police officers and men put off duty for the present, intending to leave the city without any police protection whatever. They refused to recognize the officers or men necessarily selected by the Provost Marshal for its protection, and hold subject to their orders, now and hereafter, the old police force, a large body of armed men, for some purpose not known to the Government, and inconsistent with its peace or security.

On the 19th of July, General Dix was ordered to the command of the troops stationed at Baltimore, and the city thenceforth remained peaceful and tranquil. The troops have continued there throughout the year. The usual election in October for city officers was very quietly conducted. The vote was 9,587. This exceeded the vote at the previous election for members of the Legislature by 338. Except a few scattering votes there was no opposition to the Union candidates. The State election took place in November, in a quiet and peaceable manner. In Baltimore a number of arrests were made on the charge of disloyalty, which prevented a full vote for the opposition party. The total vote polled was 21,069, of which the Union candidates received 17,722.

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BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILROAD. This costly and important railway, extending from Baltimore to the Ohio River at Wheeling, and by its connection with Western roads forming one of the four great trunk roads between the Atlantic and the Mississippi, has suffered severely from the destruction of its track, bridges, locomotives, and cars by order of the Confederate Generals, who seemed determined to so far destroy it as to prevent its being used during the war for the transportation of Union troops or stores. On the 16th of May several bridges on the road were destroyed, and portions of the tracks torn up; on the 14th of June the village of Harper's Ferry was burned and the costly railroad bridge there destroyed; on the 23d of the same month, by order of General J. E. Johnston, then in command of the Confederate forces in that section, 46 locomotives and 305 cars were gathered at Martinsburg, Va., and wood from the Railroad Company's supplies piled around them and set on fire, thus ensuring their complete destruction. The property thus burned was valued at $400,000 or $450,000. Still later, orders were issued, about the 20th of October, by the Confederate General commanding, directing the destruction of bridges and tunnels as far as the south branch of the road. A part of these orders were executed, but the mischief intended was checked before its full consummation by the capture of the colonel who was directed to superintend it at Romney, Va., Oct. 25. In Dec., after the occupation of the line of the railroad by the Federal troops, and the commencement of its repair by the Railroad Company under their protection, efforts were again made to obstruct the work and destroy some of the bridges and tunnels yet remaining. These efforts were unsuccessful, and on the 31st of December only 50 miles of its entire length (379 miles) remained unrepaired.

BANKS, U. S. The general stagnation that overtook the business of the country in 1861, produced a great change in the condition and operations of the banks through which that business is for the most part conducted. The banking business had been very prosperous for a period running back to the close of the Mexican war. When the famine in Ireland and Western Europe caused an unprecedented demand for breadstuffs and provisions, the activity imparted to trade by that occurrence was attended by a demand for currency and banking facilities, which manifested itself in the increased profits of the existing institutions, and in a rapid multiplication of new banks, following the law of trade by which profitable employment attracts capital.

The settlement of California was, in 1849, followed by the gold discoveries which powerfully excited all civilized countries, sent a crowd of emigrants to the new mines, and imparted a new impulse to trade in the United States. Raw products and merchandise were largely shipped to profit by the gold production, and the spirit of enterprise was not slow in affecting the banks. They soon showed signs of a greater degree of prosperity than ever before. New York City, as the financial centre of the Union, added rapidly to the number of its banks, and all of the States, to a greater or less extent, followed in the same direction. The banking system underwent a change, however. In 1838, when all the banks of the country were involved in a common disaster and the system became very unpopular, the State of New York projected the "free banking system," by which all banks of circulation in the State were required to deposit with the State Comptroller security in the public stocks to an amount equal to their circulation. In case they failed to redeem their notes in specie, the stocks were to be sold and the redemption made good. The law was from time to time amended until it approached as near perfection as was possible. The principle of it was embodied in the State Constitution of 1846, which required "ample security" from all banks of circulation. It seems to be a misnomer to call that "free banking," where restrictions were imposed where there had been none before; but the ingenuity of legislators had been taxed to make banking secure by legislation, and the chartered banks had been restricted in the amount of their loans and liabilities in proportion to their capitals, while there was no restriction upon the circulation. That plan failed. It was now thought if the circulation should be made entirely secure, the associations might organize under a general law without a charter, and be unlimited as to the amount of capital or loans. This system working well in New York, became popular, and under the favor with which it was received banks began to multiply in the Western States. The law was adopted by several States at the following dates:

	Year of adoption.	Stocks held 1860.	Circulation.
New York	1838	$26,897,874	$29,959,506
Michigan	1849	192,881	222,197
New Jersey	1850	962,911	4,811,882
Virginia	1851	8,584,078	9,812,197
Illinois	1851	9,826,691	8,941,723
Ohio	1851	2,158,352	7,983,889
Indiana	1852	1,849,466	5,390,246
Wisconsin	1854	5,081,504	4,429,855
Missouri	1856	725,620	7,854,855
Tennessee	1852	1,233,482	5,538,878
Louisiana	1853	5,842,096	11,579,313
Iowa	1858	101,849	568,806
Minnesota	1858	50,000	50,000
		$57,951,954	$97,212,827

The multiplication of banks was thus rapid in the Northern and Southwestern States during a period when railroad expenditure in those sections was very great, and their operations became extended, but apparently not more so than the general increase of population and business warranted. The following table will show the general state of affairs at various periods:

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BANKS OF THE UNITED STATES—FOREIGN TRADE—POPULATION.

	No. of Banks.	Capital.	Loans.	Specie.	Circulation.	Imports and Exports.	Population.
1830	330	145,192,268	200,451,214	22,114,917	61,323,898	144,726,428	12,866,020
1840	901	358,444,692	462,896,527	33,105,155	106,966,572	239,227,465	17,069,453
1843	691	228,861,948	254,544,937	33,515,806	58,563,608	149,070,279	....
1850	872	227,469,074	412,607,653	48,671,133	155,012,911	330,037,668	23,191,876
1860	1,562	421,880,095	691,945,580	83,594,537	207,102,477	762,288,550	31,676,267

The great speculative expansion during the decade ending with 1840 had increased the number of banks by 571, and their aggregate capital by $213,000,000, or a far larger amount than the increase of business as indicated in the sum of imports and exports. The collapse which then took place reduced the capital by $130,000,000, and from that time recovery commenced. The increase of business was considerable up to 1850, and following that increase the bank loans rose $158,000,000, without any increase in capital, thus affording large profits. An interest of 7 per cent. on the loans of 1843 would give 8 per cent. on the capital employed in that year. 7 per cent. on the loans of 1850 would give 13½ per cent. on the capital employed in that year, showing an increase of 70 per cent. in bank profits. It is therefore not surprising that the banks began rapidly to multiply, not only to partake of existing business, but to compete for the large increase indicated in the sum of the external trade in 1860.

The following table indicates the increase of loans and circulation according to geographical divisions.

States	No. of Banks.		Loans.		Circulation.	
	1851.	1861.	1851.	1861.	1851.	1861.
Eastern	313	506	$108,504,955	$194,866,619	$32,229,921	$44,991,285
Middle	309	488	169,879,769	304,227,203	45,628,009	52,878,851
Southern	90	147	50,487,459	79,282,290	36,176,977	39,352,760
South-Western	83	138	51,011,473	89,069,505	25,607,465	34,600,785
Western	77	288	22,778,997	29,332,804	15,379,509	29,987,086
	871	1,567	$412,607,653	$696,788,421	$155,012,911	$202,005,767

There is no doubt but that, notwithstanding the apparently large increase of banking up to 1861, it was not generally unsound in its operations. At that time, through political causes, the vast trade on which it was based suddenly ceased. The Southern States were producers of an annual value of $400,000,000 of cotton, tobacco, rice, sugar, naval stores, lumber, &c.; all raw products which they exported and sold. They were not manufacturers or importers to any considerable extent, and the proceeds of their sales were appropriated to the payment of the articles that were purchased at the North. The produce of the West, the manufactures of the East, and the imports of the Middle States, all found their way south for sale to an extent equal to the production of that region. This vast interchange, with all the ramifications, of raw materials into the hands of manufacturers, and of the completed goods to the consumers, hinged upon bank credits. The political events at the close of 1860 annihilated that exchange of commodities and with it the functions of the banks. The condition of all the banks, Jan. 1, 1861, was as is shown in table, p. 62.

It was inevitable that when the business which called this banking movement into action ceased, the bank credits should rapidly diminish. Where the institutions were based simply upon credit as were those banks of circulation that had sprung up at the West under the new laws, they were swept out of existence by the revulsion, and those which were possessed of real capital found their means returning upon their hands in great volume and without any regular opening for its employment. This was the case with the Atlantic cities. Their loans were, as the merchants collected in their accounts, paid off without the usual amount of new business paper being created. Hence the discount line ran down while the deposits increased. The above table indicates that while the Western and Interior bank circulation increased the most rapidly, the loans or actual deposits advanced to commerce increased, in the three cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, $150,000,000 out of an aggregate increase of $284,000,000, for all the banks in the Union. Of an increase of $47,000,000 in circulation, 24,000,000, or one-half, was south and west. When, through the cessation of business, new paper ceased to be created and old was paid as it matured, the advances of the eastern banks returned into their vaults.

The tables of the official weekly returns of the banks of the cities of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, throughout the year 1861, showing the weekly clearings in New York, are shown in pp. 63, 64, 65.

Notwithstanding the large subscription made to the Federal and State loans, amounting to nearly $50,000,000, the loans of all the banks up to August had decreased some $26,000,000, and the deposits had increased nearly $5,000,000, up to the 17th August, when the institutions came forward to assist the Government. Con-

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GENERAL STATEMENT OF THE CONDITION OF THE BANKS OF THE UNITED STATES ACCORDING TO RETURNS DATED NEAREST TO JANUARY 1, 1861.

Name of State or Territory.	Number of banks.	Number of branches.	Date of returns.	Capital.	Loans and discounts.	Stocks.	Real estate.	Other investments.	Due by other banks.	Notes of other banks.	Cash items.	Specie.	Circulation.	Deposits.	Due to other banks.	Other liabilities.
Maine	71	...	Jan. 5, 1861	$7,656,250	$13,406,294	.....	$235,531	.....	$995,649	$508,706	.....	$653,334	$4,313,005	$2,475,111	$151,437	$394,760
New Hampshire	51	...	Dec. 3, 1860	4,881,000	8,704,948	.....	75,646	.....	756,200	157,985	.....	243,719	3,332,610	1,234,637	.....	.....
Vermont	44	...	August, 1860	3,872,642	6,748,500	$190,372	174,756	168,962	1,296,595	58,558	$163,537	185,670	3,784,673	814,623	15,042	.....
Massachusetts	176	...	Oct. 27, 1860	64,519,200	107,417,323	.....	1,091,072	.....	7,212,531	5,158,549	.....	7,532,647	22,086,926	27,804,099	6,937,042	1,[illegible],338
Rhode Island	90	...	Nov. 16, 1860	21,070,619	27,980,865	195,234	613,747	140,548	846,333	966,079	.....	475,881	3,772,241	2,986,956	1,396,184	818,714
Connecticut	73	1	April, 1860	21,606,997	30,518,689	1,104,343	922,817	832,228	2,904,993	373,853	292,065	950,753	7,702,426	5,566,567	1,166,778	153,916
New York	306	...	Dec. 29, 1860	111,821,957	200,721,800	29,605,318	8,827,531	459,449	13,992,096	2,287,843	16,044,322	26,427,234	28,229,950	114,845,572	29,492,678	9,572,789
New Jersey	50	...	Jan. 1, 1861	8,246,944	13,864,045	899,831	469,724	2,253,669	1,853,151	533,669	.....	1,049,600	4,164,799	5,137,817	559,579	.....
Pennsylvania	89	...	Nov. 1, 1860	25,808,553	55,327,472	2,577,774	1,765,255	1,045,641	4,548,839	.....	4,912,286	7,818,769	15,830,633	27,052,164	4,118,025	1,073,159
Delaware*	5	3	Jan., &c., 1861	1,088,175	1,970,205	.....	40,685	.....	213,515	43,918	67,421	120,614	675,278	516,595	40,246	.....
Maryland	31	...	Jan. 1, 1861	12,567,121	22,299,233	635,685	539,329	.....	1,874,439	1,524,228	.....	2,267,158	3,558,247	9,086,162	2,168,920	426,454
Virginia*	25	41	Jan. 1, 1861	19,486,240	25,866,282	3,685,135	1,979,669	340,791	1,893,416	2,963,763	32,939	3,017,359	19,817,148	7,157,270	1,316,068	317,905
North Carolina	14	17	Jan'ry, 1861	7,863,466	14,080,746	537,714	239,456	28,912	630,355	513,183	45,820	1,059,715	5,218,508	2,634,391	165,631	291,466
South Carolina	18	2	Sept'ber, 1860	14,952,486	22,230,759	2,969,872	684,144	2,388,994	587,645	277,649	.....	1,628,336	6,089,036	3,324,637	1,312,659	2,868,100
Georgia*	14	4	Jan. 1, 1861	10,357,200	12,046,173	1,644,597	4,696,243	592,512	1,244,391	768,151	26,721	1,631,997	6,046,775	2,764,407	871,999	272,402
Florida*	2	...	Jan'ry, 1861	425,000	424,262	125,000	.....	12,302	40,118	18,412	774	55,071	116,250	108,666	.....	.....
Alabama*	5	...	Jan'ry, 1861	3,676,000	7,248,658	460,407	116,300	539	921,010	528,847	84,986	1,891,463	2,604,221	2,809,746	1,650,408	155,685
Louisiana	12	1	Dec. 28, 1860	24,631,844	26,364,513	5,783,687	2,128,413	1,293,840	.....	.....	6,073,419	13,656,058	6,181,374	17,050,860	753,359	1,012,115
Tennessee	16	19	Jan., &c., 1861	8,466,543	11,942,288	464,372	577,014	1,662,408	855,676	422,969	1,021,420	1,541,289	4,285,714	2,998,063	335,920	1,501,922
Kentucky	10	33	Jan. 1, 1861	13,729,725	22,455,178	467,357	523,382	308,147	4,354,229	763,683	149,167	4,466,996	10,873,630	3,768,828	3,073,919	.....
Missouri	9	33	Jan. 1, 1861	11,133,869	17,373,409	970,550	321,754	.....	1,281,748	1,531,816	97,559	3,820,520	8,204,845	3,266,284	1,247,353	.....
Illinois	94	...	Oct. 1, 1860	6,750,743	546,876	12,264,580	116,551	2,035,756	3,793,753	287,411	37,920	302,905	11,010,837	807,763	64,200	422,220
Indiana	19	20	Jan. 1-7, 1861	4,744,570	8,158,638	1,297,828	316,024	77,293	1,198,961	355,025	105,875	2,296,648	5,755,201	1,841,051	117,868	152,650
Ohio	55	...	Feb. 4, 1861	7,151,639	10,913,007	2,089,819	671,590	842,325	3,296,580	841,682	110,987	2,377,466	8,143,611	4,046,811	3,206,580	101,696
Michigan	2	...	Dec. 1, 1860	250,000	578,043	79,973	39,200	.....	133,796	52,372	1,879	28,389	47,510	436,837	4,777	139,878
Wisconsin	110	...	Jan. 7, 1861	6,782,600	7,725,287	4,949,686	.....	1,722,779	745,063	1,162,936	.....	372,518	4,310,175	4,083,131	.....	1,632,201
Iowa	13	...	Jan. 7, 1861	589,130	1,169,870	.....	222,453	281,008	522,695	.....	.....	378,030	689,600	1,154,925	50,504	92,898
Minnesota	3	...	Jan. 1, 1861	156,000	123,163	71,967	.....	1,894	18,285	9,802	14,671	2,228	8,702	54,065	10	16,292
Kansas	2	...	Jan. 1, 1861	93,130	48,014	40,000	6,533	.....	6,696	4,414	.....	4,350	5,443	14,783	24	422
Nebraska	1	...	Nov. 2, 1860	60,000	72,496	.....	7,885	404	4,443	2,209	.....	5,627	16,007	16,717	.....	5,590
Total of returns nearest to January 1, 1861	1,410	174	Jan. 1, 1861	421,541,843	687,414,583	72,911,101	26,781,631	16,442,006	57,667,484	21,459,744	29,186,768	86,063,584	196,878,299	255,220,040	60,072,095	22,867,369
Delaware (additional)	1	...	Jan'ry, 1861	1,000,000	1,044,348	3,250	43,278	.....	173,252	60,505	26,584	90,649	405,544	301,866	65,792	.....
Georgia (additional)	10	...	October, 1859	6,198,200	4,634,088	985,109	3,869,018	187,269	742,754	291,899	73,726	726,558	2,270,953	1,081,769	517,012	385,295
Alabama (additional)	3	...	Jan. 1, 1860	1,300,000	3,685,402	105,419	55,000	28,296	210,520	155,754	20,800	823,716	2,451,001	625,945	620,447	5,237
Aggregate	1,427	174	.....	429,502,713	696,778,421	74,004,879	30,748,927	16,657,511	58,793,990	21,903,920	29,297,878	87,674,507	202,005,767	257,229,562	61,275,256	23,258,004

* Not in full.

In the States and Territories not embraced in this table there were, it is believed, no banks of issue in operation on or near January 1, 1861, with the exception of one or two small ones in Mississippi.

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NEW YORK.

54 Banks—Capital, August, 1861, $69,907,000.

1861.	Loans.	Specie.	Circulation.	Deposits.	Weekly Clearings.	Sub-Treasury.
Jan. 5	$129,625,465	$24,839,475	$8,698,283	$86,454,430	$95,994,868	$3,645,500
Jan. 12	129,125,515	26,460,988	8,357,198	88,148,883	123,308,183	2,584,400
Jan. 19	126,034,520	29,598,783	8,067,570	89,688,696	121,218,732	2,166,000
Jan. 26	123,935,153	28,968,941	7,920,298	87,386,046	123,070,934	5,751,300
Feb. 2	121,907,024	31,054,509	8,099,376	87,879,743	122,138,525	4,328,000
Feb. 9	120,368,050	34,655,645	8,361,305	88,988,631	121,525,631	3,664,900
Feb. 16	119,880,371	37,119,000	8,273,840	91,547,158	111,387,663	3,356,000
Feb. 23	119,236,290	38,044,229	8,128,792	91,628,626	118,142,167	3,336,700
M'ch 2	121,893,963	34,480,407	8,290,755	89,635,298	126,728,832	9,166,030
M'ch 9	122,705,094	33,892,768	8,535,733	88,711,448	129,303,550	7,524,000
M'ch 16	122,609,925	36,219,676	8,392,347	90,520,779	119,500,573	6,720,000
M'ch 23	120,750,455	39,480,734	8,345,011	91,940,223	120,133,015	6,240,510
M'ch 30	120,953,165	41,408,308	8,434,344	93,611,898	119,040,819	6,092,841
April 6	122,113,496	41,705,558	8,930,141	94,859,810	123,277,671	8,486,494
April 13	123,108,885	41,764,748	8,801,429	96,626,078	134,284,307	10,441,278
April 20	124,701,259	40,620,720	8,825,057	97,304,762	124,020,087	11,058,653
April 27	124,817,154	38,991,683	8,840,476	96,788,759	106,948,819	10,773,106
May 4	124,610,166	38,054,254	9,296,399	94,977,381	106,413,316	9,761,752
May 11	123,132,298	38,801,545	9,304,241	94,879,967	104,163,420	8,588,902
May 18	120,007,806	39,537,980	9,061,131	93,179,526	98,102,519	7,867,542
May 25	118,141,356	39,622,791	8,793,882	91,334,877	94,155,277	6,886,003
June 1	118,290,181	37,502,402	8,683,780	90,197,459	88,847,249	11,468,789
June 8	117,509,075	36,837,026	8,963,007	87,656,760	95,465,614	10,753,608
June 15	115,494,821	38,280,211	8,707,318	87,992,791	86,467,176	9,488,884
June 22	113,667,640	39,480,189	8,444,830	87,602,343	88,183,062	8,004,656
June 29	112,404,012	42,078,011	8,338,559	88,721,752	83,279,416	6,094,283
July 6	112,134,668	45,630,025	8,862,799	90,579,753	88,313,230	4,616,620
July 13	112,445,542	45,016,836	8,499,699	91,805,937	86,393,087	7,055,543
July 20	112,086,108	46,602,295	8,354,192	93,298,195	96,566,821	6,573,193
July 27	112,311,832	46,900,721	8,324,368	93,687,933	85,965,067	7,359,272
Aug. 3	111,719,111	46,226,181	8,585,574	92,229,384	81,415,525	6,738,059
Aug. 10	109,983,942	48,630,116	8,730,482	92,016,057	80,417,332	5,629,641
Aug. 17	108,717,434	49,733,990	8,521,426	92,046,308	80,172,670	4,380,239
Aug. 24	137,668,938	47,119,481	8,489,714	118,456,307	82,946,028	6,993,296
Aug. 31	141,081,474	45,098,113	8,440,155	120,436,010	83,446,771	8,851,608
Sept. 7	139,158,230	41,887,230	8,890,581	114,091,061	89,058,896	13,094,909
Sept. 14	136,565,624	37,529,412	8,792,620	106,760,876	95,611,078	14,293,222
Sept. 21	130,192,258	36,805,177	8,707,693	99,316,831	97,104,420	15,541,307
Sept. 28	126,128,326	38,123,552	8,638,780	96,551,898	85,685,514	13,103,484
Oct. 5	148,545,488	39,809,901	8,884,056	120,607,549	110,687,377	10,629,098
Oct. 12	156,318,914	41,139,606	8,733,090	129,188,487	113,981,352	10,802,803
Oct. 19	151,828,438	42,282,884	8,585,673	126,433,063	122,803,544	9,508,649
Oct. 26	147,268,646	42,260,616	8,415,643	121,716,954	111,175,226	7,330,763
Nov. 2	144,021,620	41,271,080	8,571,946	117,933,529	113,762,469	9,082,835
Nov. 9	140,627,660	41,213,998	8,948,897	113,425,895	116,656,518	7,820,914
Nov. 16	137,308,635	41,461,833	8,798,675	110,214,604	117,541,065	7,386,266
Nov. 23	158,460,376	41,609,063	8,605,895	134,359,354	121,633,410	7,945,939
Nov. 30	162,790,302	41,607,558	8,537,176	136,304,548	104,673,805	6,961,127
Dec. 7	159,793,593	42,318,610	8,826,700	133,618,787	119,999,820	6,688,370
Dec. 14	157,647,702	39,435,478	8,590,764	129,379,545	114,702,356	7,776,661
Dec. 21	155,784,230	36,813,369	8,559,361	124,897,534	125,306,344	2,765,479
Dec. 28	154,756,318	29,357,712	8,439,363	116,471,931	91,147,587	4,016,255

gress had passed a law authorizing a loan of $250,000,000 in 6 per cent. 20 years' stock, or three-year bonds at $7\frac{3}{10}$ per cent. per annum interest, or in notes to be issued on demand, to circulate as money to the extent of $50,000,000, of denominations of not less than $5. The banks of the three cities, after various consultations, agreed to take $50,000,000 of the three-year $7\frac{3}{10}$ bonds, not as an absolute purchase but to re-sell to the public; to have the privilege of taking $50,000,000 more Oct. 15, and a third amount of $50,000,000 Dec. 1—the Secretary in the mean time to appeal to the people, and open agencies for the sale of the notes on

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BOSTON.

42 Banks—Capital, January, 1859, $35,125,433; June, 1861, $38,231,700.

1861.	Loans.	Specie.	Circulation.	Deposits.	Due to Banks.	Due from Banks.
Jan. 5.....	$62,025,734	$4,204,610	$7,032,018	$18,719,190	$7,668,862	$8,371,304
Jan. 12.....	62,720,067	4,199,155	6,825,325	18,422,650	8,082,942	7,605,680
Jan. 19.....	63,275,167	4,425,256	6,706,045	18,366,511	8,346 141	7,094,433
Jan. 26.....	63,237,796	4,532,019	6,374,476	18,185,128	8,477,340	6,714,029
Feb. 2.....	63,264,318	4,629,068	6,247,643	18,184,009	8,485,630	6,563,176
Feb. 9.....	63,434,332	4,573,614	6,387,552	18,074,898	8,318,692	6,299,117
Feb. 16.....	63,118,532	4,651,803	6,216,299	17,795,444	8,312,101	6,791,101
Feb. 23.....	62,765,038	4,788,981	6,384,383	17,833,065	8,451,939	6,822,815
Mar. 2.....	62,725,101	4,781,291	6,372,201	17,981,201	8,111,201	6,921,107
Mar. 9.....	62,649,600	4,836,600	6,345,600	18,132,000	7,978,000	7,082,600
Mar. 16.....	62,511,727	5,367,722	6,166,253	18,126,034	8,269,601	6,550,262
Mar. 23.....	62,359,922	5,601,871	6,059,548	17,811,827	8,611,882	6,450,362
Mar. 30.....	62,666,800	5,605,400	6,108,600	18,629,000	8,845,500	7,269,900
Apr. 6.....	62,861,820	5,809,425	6,996,996	19,918,855	9,193,022	8,596,667
Apr. 13.....	62,734,600	5,875,600	6,900,500	19,697,500	9,383,000	8,167,000
Apr. 20.....	62,396,500	5,780,700	6,733,000	19,440,700	9,482,000	8,210,500
Apr. 27.....	61,807,897	5,638,790	6,610,860	18,571,856	9,040,246	8,131,220
May 4.....	61,884,400	5,832,000	6,875,000	18,846,700	9,223,000	8,168,400
May 11.....	61,156,500	5,997,800	6,746,000	18,309,600	8,660,000	7,625,600
May 18.....	61,206,000	6,172,800	6,746,000	18,646,600	8,381,000	7,299,800
May 25.....	60,525,000	6,402,700	6,280,800	18,586,000	8,300,800	7,144,500
June 1.....	60,213,500	6,461,800	6,139,700	18,536,800	8,206,000	7,135,800
June 8.....	60,625,800	6,013,800	6,460,800	18,204,500	8,093,000	7,198,000
June 15.....	60,074,100	5,483,700	6,452,500	18,293,000	8,000,000	7,208,000
June 22.....	60,180,500	5,831,000	6,322,800	18,240,300	7,758,600	7,428,000
June 29.....	60,095,675	5,874,353	6,106,524	18,264,875	7,609,614	7,093,610
July 6.....	60,251,122	6,090,012	6,881,142	18,521,267	7,965,908	8,178,089
July 13.....	60,324,993	6,395,797	6,607,102	18,267,317	8,173,713	7,627,458
July 20.....	60,252,940	6,662,661	6,735,623	18,541,111	8,530,619	8,071,750
July 27.....	60,276,822	6,528,420	6,304,533	17,968,553	8,324,698	7,013,454
Aug. 3.....	61,268,745	6,199,104	6,381,199	18,111,086	8,423,709	6,553,756
Aug. 10.....	61,138,351	6,412,156	6,450,374	18,044,728	8,558,647	6,606,025
Aug. 17.....	60,898,110	6,665,929	6,366,466	18,235,061	8,523,538	6,801,296
Aug. 24.....	61,775,707	6,734,426	6,153,273	19,505,417	8,376,735	6,870,252
Aug. 31.....	64,530,296	6,434,053	6,160,153	22,396,635	8,459,272	7,497,482
Sept. 7.....	64,341,908	7,078,145	6,500,354	22,661,619	7,916,574	7,369,914
Sept. 14.....	64,292,297	6,670,849	6,445,849	22,161,256	8,011,214	7,171,901
Sept. 28.....	63,262,728	5,719,294	6,338,929	20,042,678	7,843,290	7,634,684
Oct. 5.....	63,684,238	6,415,856	6,707,701	23,171,040	7,991,759	8,594,042
Oct. 12.....	65,568,464	7,153,836	6,749,511	25,460,093	8,300,750	8,600,928
Oct. 19.....	65,058,662	7,002,863	6,558,701	25,541,241	7,896,697	8,432,453
Oct. 26.....	64,375,312	7,241,137	6,341,922	25,082,618	8,101,298	8,310,207
Nov. 2.....	67,528,747	7,028,007	6,214,166	24,760,563	7,801,204	8,191,200
Nov. 9	63,314,343	7,312,929	6,572,711	24,351,931	7,991,201	8,001,207
Nov. 16.....	65,201,208	7,491,201	6,351,001	25,291,381	8,214,207	7,921,300
Nov. 23.....	66,301,204	7,598,307	6,111,901	26,702,291	8,131,901	7,852,781
Nov. 30.....	66,949,582	7,741,059	6,002,583	27,885,864	8,354,310	7,655,201
Dec. 7.....	66,169,153	8,457,228	6,324,616	27,758,007	8,601,211	7,721,301
Dec. 14.....	65,988,009	9,687,279	6,284,162	27,829,682	8,918,518	7,812,810
Dec. 21.....	65,618,112	10,089,412	6,112,201	28,060,201	8,435,600	7,246,121
Dec. 28.....	65,645,851	9,038,732	6,057,500	27,626,238	8,321,702	7,171,004

account of the banks. The bonds were to draw interest from Aug. 19, and the Secretary to draw for the money no faster than he wanted it. The amount to be divided among the banks of the three cities according to their capitals; New York $30,000,000, Boston, $15,000,000, and Philadelphia $5,000,000. Boston subsequently refused to take more than the proportion of $10,000,000, and New York therefore took $35,000,000. Accordingly, the bank returns of Aug. 24 show the increase of the loans to the Government, and the corresponding increase of deposits against which the Department drew, at the rate of about 10 per cent.

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PHILADELPHIA.

19 Banks—Capital, September, 1861, $11,811,485.

1861.	Loans.	Specie.	Circulation.	Deposits.	Due Banks.
Jan. 5	$26,891,280	$4,020,266	$2,689,812	$15,261,925	$3,593,785
Jan. 12	26,555,986	4,151,824	2,694,217	15,001,591	3,464,167
Jan. 19	26,172,473	4,263,105	2,754,315	14,750,382	3,416,292
Jan. 26	25,892,265	4,443,781	2,737,638	14,891,200	3,143,795
Feb. 2	25,801,981	4,588,054	2,778,318	15,295,453	2,699,627
Feb. 16	25,344,076	4,831,426	2,809,865	14,904,783	2,864,874
Feb. 23	25,146,864	4,901,704	2,795,113	14,335,806	2,873,996
March 2	25,085,310	5,006,938	2,811,491	14,868,736	2,811,491
March 9	24,626,583	5,295,314	2,396,492	14,501,214	2,788,978
March 16	24,627,504	5,533,320	2,802,414	15,018,566	2,897,500
March 23	24,603,908	6,059,320	2,764,090	15,464,754	2,776,645
March 30	24,973,496	5,200,063	2,811,263	15,800,147	3,010,776
April 6	25,413,186	6,452,093	3,070,220	16,006,115	3,135,734
April 13	25,415,942	6,675,122	2,820,813	16,458,833	3,543,153
April 20	25,309,955	6,796,011	2,641,055	16,633,231	3,332,073
April 27	25,296,942	6,250,137	2,546,305	15,749,282	3,273,704
May 4	25,438,065	5,898,802	2,716,602	15,671,997	3,107,893
May 11	25,715,318	5,738,048	2,607,421	15,528,151	3,017,655
May 18	25,496,530	5,558,551	2,435,552	15,549,797	2,798,670
May 25	25,091,226	5,643,220	2,408,518	15,410,522	2,554,383
June 1	24,671,294	5,718,826	2,317,067	15,306,666	2,491,024
June 8	24,585,244	5,767,994	2,294,862	15,267,675	2,543,406
June 15	24,282,443	5,927,466	2,198,037	15,379,559	2,477,029
June 22	24,240,983	6,336,744	2,147,212	15,740,675	2,460,557
June 29	23,967,200	6,688,393	2,101,812	15,997,943	2,412,862
July 6	24,127,173	6,956,112	2,190,035	15,851,924	2,610,189
July 13	23,996,328	7,225,798	2,154,812	16,129,765	2,789,490
July 20	23,942,341	7,477,298	2,128,922	19,190,876	2,881,735
July 27	23,927,433	7,159,969	2,091,770	16,026,267	2,788,565
Aug. 3	24,211,527	6,743,321	2,058,574	15,941,861	2,719,439
Aug. 10	24,064,070	6,796,140	2,074,009	15,568,024	2,767,679
Aug. 17	24,011,084	6,765,120	2,076,857	15,385,838	2,886,426
Aug. 24	27,457,117	6,487,587	2,046,614	18,217,914	2,988,213
Aug. 31	28,557,264	6,179,482	2,074,048	19,030,712	3,132,796
Sept. 7	28,328,496	5,617,370	2,111,439	18,326,837	3,064,097
Sept. 14	27,871,497	5,046,536	2,148,865	16,976,017	2,981,495
Sept. 21	27,459,472	4,697,284	2,202,773	16,498,788	3,060,448
Sept. 28	26,713,917	5,222,672	2,194,491	16,344,113	3,105,779
Oct. 5	30,499,119	5,383,287	2,230,739	20,831,970	3,104,160
Oct. 12	30,281,157	5,943,503	2,249,731	20,929,931	2,900,474
Oct. 19	29,705,244	6,375,750	2,250,365	21,100,095	2,837,338
Oct. 26	28,805,509	6,544,683	2,234,542	20,326,329	2,833,005
Nov. 2	28,431,735	7,764,779	2,272,063	20,350,941	2,778,236
Nov. 9	27,871,443	6,917,769	2,298,181	20,032,613	2,837,484
Nov. 16	27,629,734	7,066,809	2,226,422	19,591,141	1,323,695
Nov. 23	29,498,431	7,407,108	2,234,594	22,260,001	1,233,931
Nov. 30	30,048,052	7,404,530	2,243,828	23,037,431	3,624,251
Dec. 7	31,280,101	7,266,912	2,237,499	22,991,035	3,625,010
Dec. 14	31,160,503	7,354,112	2,187,424	22,926,402	3,671,204
Dec. 21	30,991,101	6,243,101	2,093,131	21,748,204	3,691,291
Dec. 28	30,864,281	5,493,181	2,011,179	21,048,610	3,701,206

per week. The loan, being offered to the public, went off slowly, and when the time to take the second instalment came round a large portion of the first remained on hand. The second $50,000,000 was, however, placed to the credit of the Government. When, however, the 1st of December approached, and the Government wanted the third amount of $50,000,000, the banks began to hesitate. The three-year bonds did not sell, and they hoped, by changing the shape to 6 per cent. twenty years' stock at a rate 89·32 per cent. equal to par for a 7 per cent. stock, to be able to sell some of it in Europe or England. Accordingly they took

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$50,000,000 of the stock. There remained then $100,000,000 of the authorized loan, but the Secretary had issued $25,000,000 in demand notes, and the banks claimed the right to take $50,000,000 more three-year bonds in Jan. if they should then elect to do so. In all this time there had been no steps taken to place the Government finances on a sound and permanent footing; the arrangements with the banks were justly regarded as mere makeshifts. The institutions had advanced the money of their depositors for Government securities, in the hope of being able to get the money back by selling them to the public. The public had not purchased them, however, and they had depreciated on the hands of the banks, while capitalists stood aloof. The meeting of Congress was anxiously looked forward to for a means of relief. It was supposed that the annual report of the Secretary would present some practical and well-digested plan of finance that would restore confidence. When the document appeared, however, public expectation was disappointed at a moment when the greatest anxiety prevailed in respect to the relations with England, growing out of the capture of the Trent. The Secretary had no plan, a foreign war threatened, and the banks were loaded with securities they could not sell. The effect of this state of things upon the banks is manifest in the following figures:

The depositors made rapid drafts on the specie,

Date.	Loans.	Specie.	Weekly Decrease.	Deposits.	Weekly Decrease.
Dec. 7	$159,798,958	$42,818,610	.....	$133,618,787	.....
" 14	157,647,702	39,435,478	$2,888,132	129,379,060	$4,239,727
" 21	155,784,290	36,818,369	2,622,409	124,897,534	4,481,526
" 28	154,756,818	29,357,712	7,455,657	116,471,981	8,425,603
Jan. 4	154,321,658	23,983,878	5,373,834	111,789,283	4,682,698

which ran down $18,334,732 in four weeks, and the banks suspended Dec. 30. They were followed by those of other cities. The condition of the banks in respect to the loan was as follows:

Banks of	Capital.	Subscribed.	Sold to the Public.	Balance in Bank.
N. York..	$69,907,000	$102,056,835	$35,000,000	$67,056,835
Boston ..	88,231,700	29,159,095	10,000,000	19,159,095
Phila....	11,811,485	14,579,548	5,000,000	9,579,548
Total..	$119,950,185	$145,795,478	$50,000,000	$95,795,478

These figures not only indicate the immense increase of transactions in a series of years, but show also the violent fluctuations which take place in business from year to year. The largest amount was in the year of panic 1857, and it fell off nearly one-half in the next year as a consequence of the panic.

In November, 1860, the banks agreed to lodge with the clearing-house committee a portion of the loans, on which each was to receive 75 per cent. of the amount in a "loan certificate" bearing 7 per cent. interest, which certificates were to be used in the payment of balances. When the institutions had taken the Government loan, the $7\frac{3}{10}$ Treasury notes were deposited for certificates, and subsequently when the demand notes of the Government became currency, the banks under the law of Congress deposited these with the assistant treasurer, and received 5 per cent. certificates of deposits, which were used in place of the loan certificates, for the adjustment of clearing-house balances.

While the growth of bank facilities had been very rapid at the East, it was for the most part actual capital to be loaned or advanced upon actual business paper, or such as represented commodities in *transitu*. The increase at the West, however, represented credits, and took the shape rather of circulation than loans. The basis of the circulation was Western and Southern stocks, and they kept afloat as long as exchange remained in favor of the section. The political events changed the current of exchange and greatly depreciated the value of the stocks held, which were as follows (p. 67) in three Western States.

Such was the magnitude of free banking in three States only. The effect of the war panic was to drive the circulation in faster than the banks could redeem it, under which circumstance it became the duty of the State officers to close up the banks and sell the securities. This was done at the moment the expedition

When the number of banks in the city of New York began to multiply in the years 1852–'3, and from 31 soon reached 55 in number, the labor of keeping the mutual accounts was immensely increased; it was requisite for each institution to keep as many as there were banks, and to settle daily. It became apparent that the work might be simplified, and the clearing-house system was adopted. By this each bank sends every morning to the clearing-house all the checks, drafts, and demands that it may have received the day previous in the course of business; all these are mutually exchanged, and those institutions against which there are balances pay the amount. This was adopted in 1853, and has since been in successful operation. The banks of Boston and Philadelphia adopted subsequently the same plan. The settlement in balances was effected by each bank making a proportionate deposit of specie in a common fund, and receiving for it certificates of convenient size, and these were used in the payment of balances. The amount of these clearings was annually as follows in New York:

	Clearings.	Balances.
1854	$5,750,455,987 06	$297,411,493
1855	5,862,912,098 87	289,694,137
1856	6,906,218,928 47	334,714,489
1857	8,933,226,718 06	365,313,901
1858	4,756,664,856 09	314,238,910
1859	6,448,005,956 01	363,984,682
1860	7,231,143,056 69	308,698,438
1861	5,915,742,758 05	358,383,944
Total eight years	$50,704,364,288 80	$2,627,434,994

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	Illinois, 94 banks.	Wisconsin, 110 banks.	Indiana, 19 banks.	Total other States, 222 banks.
Missouri Sixes...	$3,026,000	$1,397,000	$265,000	$4,688,000
Tennessee Sixes..	3,321,000	856,000	17,000	4,194,000
Virginia Sixes...	1,284,000	184,600	10,000	1,478,600
Louisiana Sixes..	507,560	175,500	162,500	845,560
S. Carolina Sixes	100,000	.....	.....	100,000
N. Carolina Sixes	888,000	708,500	7,000	1,603,500
Georgia Sixes....	325,000	64,000	42,000	441,000
Kentucky Sixes..	66,000	32,000	14,500	112,500
Ohio Sixes	284,854	173,000	6,000	463,854
Michigan Sixes..	442,000	205,500	3,000	650,500
" Sevens	50,000	.....	.....	50,000
Minnesota Eights	140,000	73,000	.....	213,000
New York Sixes..	282,000	.....	.....	282,000
Illinois Sixes....	2,273,856	508,280	.....	2,782,136
U. States Fives..	827,000	.....	.....	827,000
" Sixes ..	19,900	.....	.....	19,900
Iowa Sevens.....	91,000	18,000	.....	109,000
Indiana Fives....	.....	90,700	780,681	871,381
Wisconsin Sixes..	.....	82,700	.....	82,700
California Sevens	.....	462,000	89,500	551,500
Total stocks....	$13,968,170	$5,030,780	$1,397,181	$20,366,131
" circulation	11,010,387	4,580,632	1,160,851	16,752,320

to Fort Sumter, by making war inevitable, ruined the value of the securities, and prices fell heavily: Missouri, from 70 to 36; Tennessee, 78 to 34; Virginia, 78 to 40; Louisiana, 80 to 51; N. Carolina, 80 to 44; Georgia, 100 to 53; and other stocks to a greater or less extent. It is no doubt the case that a large portion of the decline was due to the forced sales of the stocks, since it was the duty of the State officers to sell the stocks and redeem the circulation as far as the proceeds would do it. It is a vice of the free banking system that it requires the sales of stock at the moment when the market is the least able to bear them. Hence, unless the margin is very large, the circulation cannot be paid in full. At the close of the year the banks stood as follows:

	Illinois.	Wisc'n.	Indiana.	TOTAL. Jan. 1862.	TOTAL. Jan. 1861.
Stocks.....	599,975	2,153,270	1,370,036	4,123,281	20,374,371
Circulation.	508,719	1,654,262	879,164	3,469,783	16,752,320

In Illinois the circulation of 3 of the closed banks was redeemed at par, and that of 57 at from 50 to 80 cents on the dollar. In Wisconsin 23 were redeemed at par, and others at 46 to 80 cents on the dollar. The result has been sales of $16,251,090 of State stocks upon the Eastern market throughout a year, during which the Government and the several States were also sellers of stocks for war purposes. This operation, originating in the war panic, inflicted a loss of nearly $5,000,000 upon the holders of notes in those three States.

The State Bank of Indiana, an old chartered institution, did not suspend its payments.

Most of the Southern banks had suspended soon after the election of Nov., 1860, and reliable returns of their movements have not been received.

New York.—March 15, a meeting of bank officers was held, and the resolution of non-intercourse adopted in Nov. against the Chemical Bank was rescinded.

March 19, James M. Cook resigned as superintendent of the Banking Department at Albany.

April 25, the banks of the city renewed the measure of making the specie a common fund.

On the 11th of May the Bank of Albany, having lost a large portion of its capital in unauthorized loans, suspended; it was followed on the 18th by the Bank of the Capital and the Bank of the Interior; and on the 23d the National Bank suspended. In Nov. Mr. Van Alen, receiver of the Bank of Albany, paid a dividend of 46½ per cent. on the liabilities of the bank.

The bankers of Albany addressed a circular to the various banks in the State, to organize an association for the detection of counterfeiting; one means proposed was to offer a standing reward of $250 for instrumentality in bringing counterfeiters to punishment.

Vermont.—There were many applications for re-charters before the Legislature.

Pennsylvania.—The banks of Pennsylvania had suspended Nov. 19, 1860, and in Jan., 1861, a bill was introduced into the Legislature to relieve the banks from the penalties incurred by that act.

The auditor-general reported that the exact amount of relief notes issued at the general suspension in 1837 was $2,243,015; of these there were still outstanding $102,336.

The Legislature discussed a bill requiring the banks west of the Alleghany Mountains to redeem in Pittsburg, and those east, in Philadelphia.

May 16, a bill was passed supplementary to the act for equalizing the currency of the State. It required all banks to receive the notes of all other banks that had paid specie Nov. 19, and to pay theirs out. The resumption of specie payments was fixed for Feb., 1862; the bank notes to be taken for taxes and tolls; the banks were required to redeem in specie as much of their circulation as is required to meet the August interest of the State debt.

Minnesota.—March 8, an act was passed allowing United States stocks, bearing not less than 5 per cent. to be taken as security for bank circulation.

New Jersey.—The Legislature, which was in session in Jan., 1861, had bills before it for the creation of new banks.

Wisconsin.—By the law the banks were exempted from paying specie until after Dec. In Sept. the bankers held a convention at Millwaukie, and resolved to commence the redemption of Wisconsin currency at that city and Madison, Oct. 15, thus anticipating the action of the Legislature. Some of the banks failed to comply with these resolutions, and in Nov. the convention again assembled and resolved that such banks as failed to resume, according to law, December 1, should be wound up. If it was found necessary to make a temporary reduction in the currency of the State, the bankers' committee were authorized to make a requisition on the banks for the purpose.

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Illinois.—A bill was introduced into the Legislature in Jan. to create a new banking system for the State. It was to consist of a mother bank at Springfield, with 30 branches in different parts of the State, on a specie basis. This plan was submitted to the people in Nov. and voted down by a large majority.

The bank commissioners notified the auditor of the failure of 17 banks, and that they must be placed in liquidation.

The Legislature passed a bill that no checks or paper of any kind payable at sight, should be allowed grace. All new banks were required to redeem their notes in Chicago or Springfield, at not more than ¼ of 1 per cent. discount.

Virginia.—The Governor in January sent a Message to the Legislature on the subject of the banks refusing to supply sufficient specie circulation to meet the July interest on the State debt in specie. The circulation of all the banks was stated at $9,476,355, and he advised measures to compel them to furnish the required means; the banks, however, subsequently met the requirement of the Governor. The Legislature legalized suspension until March 1st, 1862, on condition of their furnishing specie funds, $1,024,440, to meet the interest of the State debt, and $1,284,567 for the January interest.

April 18, the city of Richmond issued small notes, and a great many corporations, towns, and villages pursued the same course.

Louisiana.—The Board of Currency, in January, urged upon the Legislature the propriety of suppressing all notes under $10. This proposal was approved by the Governor in his Messsage to the Assembly.

Kentucky.—There were various schemes before the Legislature to increase the bank capital of the State. One, by Senator Andrew Johnson, proposed to the State to start a bank, "the State Bank," with a capital of $15,000,000, to be made up from stock owned by the State in existing banks, the issues from $1 to $100. The profits to go to increase the capital until the fifteen millions should be paid. The bank to *keep* 33 per cent. of the circulation on hand, and if, by any cause, the amount should fall below, the institution might suspend payments until the quota is recovered.

S. Carolina.—The State Bank issued notice that the bonds of the State authorized for the war of independence, were ready for sale by the institution.

Missouri.—Governor Jackson, in March, signed the bill legalizing suspension of the Missouri banks, and made some important changes in the banking law.

August 16, the 11 banks of St. Louis made a loan of $250,000 on behalf of the Federal Government.

Ohio.—May, a petition to the Legislature to legalize suspension was reported against unanimously in the Senate Committee. The Board of Control of the State Bank agreed to take $300,000 of the war loan at par.

Massachusetts.—April 18, the Boston banks addressed the Governor of the State offering 10 per cent. of their capital in aid of the Commonwealth. A law was passed, to take effect June 1, 1861, requiring all banks out of Boston to keep on hand 15 per cent. of their circulation, and deposit balances due a bank in specie in Boston and New York shall be deemed specie after July in each succeeding year; each bank is to add 1 per cent. to its specie, until the aggregate reaches 20 per cent. of the circulation and deposits.

Georgia.—The Bank Convention met at Atlanta, June 3d, and recommended to all banks to receive as currency the Treasury notes of the Confederacy, and to advance their own notes to the Treasury until the Treasury notes could be prepared. The convention adjourned to meet at Richmond, July 24, when they passed resolutions to support the Government.

BARBOURSVILLE, the county seat of Cabell County, in the extreme west of Virginia, situated on the Guyandotte River, a tributary of the Ohio, was the scene of a brilliant skirmish on the 13th July, 1861, which resulted in the expulsion of the Confederate forces from the village. Five companies of Colonel Woodruff's Regiment, belonging to General Cox's division of Federal troops on the Great Kanawha River, started at midnight, on the 12th, from their camp, and marched silently but rapidly upon Barboursville, which, however, they did not reach till two hours after sunrise. On coming in sight of the town they found the Confederate troops drawn up in order of battle, in a very strong, and apparently inaccessible position, commanding their route for two miles. Between them and the Federal troops was a covered bridge, which must be crossed, and which was commanded by the enemy's cannon. The Federal troops entered the bridge at double-quick-step, but found that the planks had been removed from the farther end, and after a moment's delay, were compelled to cross it in single file on the string pieces, subjected to a galling fire. Though necessarily disordered by this movement, they rallied at once, and under a succession of volleys from the Confederate troops, charged bayonets up the precipitous side of the hill, pulling themselves up by the bushes and jutting turf, and rushed, yelling at the top of their voices, upon the enemy, who fled panic-stricken, without attempting any further resistance. The Federal forces occupied the town at once, and fired upon the retreating foe, wounding one or two, but were too much exhausted to pursue them.

BAUR, FERDINAND CHRISTIAN, a German professor of theology, born June 21, 1792, at Tubingen, died in the same city Jan. 4, 1861. He became professor ordinarius of evangelical theology at Tubingen in 1826. He early distinguished himself as a theological writer, and was regarded as the founder of the Tubingen school of theology, a modified rationalism.

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His eloquence and power of vivid illustration attracted numerous pupils to his lectures, and many of the eminent scholars of Germany embraced his views—among them, Zeller, Schwegler, Korblin, and others. He was a voluminous writer on theological topics, and many of his treatises give evidence of profound research and thorough appreciation of the subjects which he discusses. His "Historical Manual of Christian Dogmas," published in 1847, is regarded as a work of great value, and his investigations of Gnosticism threw much light on the history of that early heresy. At the close of his career he is said to have expressed regret that his teachings should have led so many of his pupils into what he then regarded as error.

BEALINGTON. A small village at the foot of Laurel Hill, near Beverly, Randolph County, in Western Virginia, where a severe skirmish took place on the 8th of July, between a detachment of the 14th Ohio and 9th Indiana regiments and the Georgia 3d, one of the finest regiments in the Confederate service, numbering 1,260, and supported by portions of several Kentucky and Tennessee regiments.

The Confederate troops, a considerable portion of whom were cavalry, advanced from a wood near their camp, to attack the Federal force, when their progress was arrested by a sharp volley from the latter. They rallied, and put forward their cavalry to charge upon the Unionists, when Colonel Barrett's (Ohio) battery threw a couple of shells into the midst of the troop with such effect that they retreated into the wood; the Federal skirmishers pursued, and the battery shelled the woods till the Confederate force broke and fled, and could not be rallied, and the Federal troops advanced and occupied their camp. The Union loss in the engagement was 2 killed and 6 wounded; the Confederate loss, 20 killed and 40 wounded.

BEAUFORT. (*See* St. Helena Parish.)

BENNETT'S MILLS. At this small village, in Dent Co., Missouri, a small body of the Dent Co. Home Guard having their head-quarters there, and numbering only 38 men, were attacked about the dawn of day, Sunday morning, Sept. 1, by a body of 350 Confederate troops, belonging to Schnabel's regiment. The Confederates advanced stealthily in two divisions, having first picketed their horses on the Salem road, and crept around the pickets, and had nearly reached the camp before the alarm was given. The little band of Home Guards, taken by surprise, caught up their guns and resisted bravely for half an hour, driving the Confederate troops back at their first rush up the ravine. At length, finding themselves in danger of being overpowered by the greatly superior force of the enemy, they retreated under the order of Sergeant Bay, the highest officer left, and escaped up another ravine. The Confederates did not pursue them. The Federal loss was 3 killed and 6 wounded. The Confederate loss was not ascertained, but their killed and wounded filled a large Michigan wagon which they seized, and in which they carried them from the field.

BEVERLY, the county seat of Randolph County, Western Virginia, a considerable village, situated east of Laurel Hill, on an affluent of the east fork of Monongahela River. On the 12th July, Gen. McClellan, then in command in Western Virginia, and having his head-quarters at this place, received propositions of surrender from Col. Pegram, commanding the Confederate force in Tygart's Valley, six miles distant, which force Gen. McC. had been pursuing for some days. The following was the correspondence preceding the surrender:

Near Tygart's Valley River, Six Miles from Beverly, *July* 12, 1861.

To Commanding Officer of Northern Forces, Beverly, Va.:

Sir: I write to state to you that I have, in consequence of the retreat of Gen. Garnett and the jaded and reduced condition of my command, most of them having been without food for two days, concluded, with the concurrence of a majority of my captains and field officers, to surrender my command to you to-morrow as *prisoners of war*. I have only to add, I trust they will only receive at your hands such treatment as has been invariably shown to the Northern prisoners by the South.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,
JOHN PEGRAM,
Lieut.-Col. P. A. C. S. Comd'g.

To this letter Gen. McClellan replied by his aid, Lieut. Williams, U. S. A., as follows:

Head-quarters, Department of the Ohio, Beverly, Va., *July* 13, 1861.

John Pegram, Esq., styling himself Lieutenant-Colonel P. A. C. S.:

Sir: Your communication, dated yesterday, proposing the surrender as prisoners of war of the force assembled under your command, has been delivered to me. As commander of this department, I will receive you and them with the kindness due to prisoners of war, but it is not in my power to relieve you or them from any liabilities incurred by taking arms against the United States.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
GEO. B. McCLELLAN,
Maj.-Gen. U. S. A., Comd'g Department.

The number of prisoners thus surrendered was about 600.

BINGHAM, Kinsley S., an American statesman, born in Camillus, Onondaga Co., New York, Dec. 16, 1808, died at Green Oak, Livingston Co., Michigan, Oct. 5, 1861. He received a good academic education in his native State, and was placed at an early age in a lawyer's office, where he served as clerk for three years. In 1833 he emigrated to Michigan and settled upon a farm. In 1837 he was elected to the Michigan Legislature, and continued for five years a member of that body, and subsequently for three years was Speaker of the House of Representatives of the State. In 1849 he was elected a Representative in Congress, and served during the 30th Congress on the Committee of Commerce. In 1854 he was elected Governor of the State, and retained in that position till 1859, when he was chosen United States Senator, which office he held at the time of his decease. Mr. Bingham was an able and judicious legislator, a patriot, and an estimable man.

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BLOCKADE. This closing of a port of an enemy to all commerce, which has been defined by some writers as the conquest by a belligerent of the naval territory of his enemy around the place or port which he wishes to close to commerce, was reduced to precision by the Congress of Paris. That body, consisting of the representatives of the principal powers of Europe, after discussion, pledged their Governments to observe this principle relative to blockades: "Blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective; that is to say, maintained by forces sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy." This principle first became a part of maritime law in the war declared by Great Britain and France against Russia in 1854.

In a declaration relative to neutral rights, concerted between the cabinets of Paris and London, and officially published on the 29th of March, 1854, they proclaimed their rights, as powerful belligerents, to prevent neutrals from violating every effective blockade which should be maintained by a sufficient force before the forts, harbors, and coasts of an enemy. So far as regards the manner of conducting the blockade, it was determined as follows: "Every blockade, to be respected, should be effective," etc. The violation of the blockade consisted as well in an attempt to enter the port as in an attempt to go out from the same, after the declaration of the blockade, except, in the latter case, that this should not embrace a vessel light or loaded before the blockade, in the interval fixed by the commander of the blockading squadron—an interval which should always be sufficient to protect, in good faith, the interests of navigation and commerce. Besides, a blockade was not to be considered as known by a vessel approaching the blockaded port, until a special notice thereof had been inscribed upon the vessel's register or papers by one of the vessels forming the blockade. The consequences of this agreement between the two cabinets were, that any point of an enemy's territory could be blockaded; that a notice of the blockade should be given to each neutral vessel attempting to enter a blockaded port, although her Government should have been previously formally notified thereof; and that every blockade should be maintained with sufficient force. Thus paper or cabinet blockades were suppressed. These consisted in a simple diplomatic notice, declaring that such or such a place was blockaded.

This form of blockade was first introduced by Holland as far back as 1584. For the last one hundred and fifty years that she has enjoyed the first rank at sea, Great Britain has followed the same system, but developing it for her own benefit, so that, whenever she happened to be at war, the position of neutral nations became more precarious than that of the enemy himself. The right of blockade had also received extension in complete opposition to the most fundamental principles of international law.

In her wars with Napoleon I., the whole French coast was declared under blockade by Great Britain.

The proclamation was notified to all the neutral nations, who thenceforth must abstain from any trade with the territory thus placed under interdict. Such is what has been described as the paper blockade.

The proclamations of President Lincoln, declaring the ports of the seceded States blockaded, were issued on the 19th and 27th of April.

The Courts of Great Britain and France determined to assume a strict neutrality. The Queen issued her proclamation, and the Emperor also made a public notification thereof. Assuming this ground, both North and South were regarded as belligerents, and treated as such. Hence it became the duty of those nations to respect the blockade, if it was consistent with the principles promulgated by them in 1854, and subsequently ratified by the European powers in 1856.

In the case of Great Britain, letters were addressed by merchants of Liverpool to Lord John Russell on the 29th of August and 4th of September, stating that they held it in contemplation to fit out a number of vessels for the purpose of trading with the port of New Orleans and other ports of the United States of America; and that, looking to the undisturbed state of friendly relations between her Majesty and the United States, they apprehended that British ships had a right, under the law of nations, upon the strict principle of reciprocity, to enter into and depart from the ports and harbors of the United States.

They also asked and expressed the hope that these vessels would be protected by her Majesty's cruisers; but that, if such protection, from reasons of State policy, should be withheld, they would be prepared to defend themselves as best they might in the pursuit of their legitimate trade; and that all parties hindering them in the same would become responsible for the consequences.

They contended that the blockade of certain ports of the United States, as against the ships of Great Britain, was an infringement of international law, nugatory and unavailable, and claimed the protection of their Government, and at the same time asked permission to defend themselves in case of need.

Lord John Russell, through his secretary, replied in these words:

Understanding, from the tenor of your letters, that the ports to which your vessels are to proceed are ports which are or may be blockaded by the naval forces of the United States, Lord Russell directs me to warn you of the serious consequences which the measures contemplated, as stated in your letters, will entail on all concerned therein, and to inform you that her Majesty's Government will not afford the slightest protection or countenance to the projected enterprise.

The United States and the so-called Confederate States are engaged in a civil war, and her Majesty's Government have recognized that state of things, and have taken up a position of neutrality between the

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contending parties. Under these circumstances, if any British ship, being a neutral, knowingly attempts to break an effective blockade, she is liable to capture and condemnation. If such ship defends herself by force against a national vessel enforcing such blockade, such defence is a breach of the law of nations, and will expose the ship and cargo to condemnation as a prize, and those persons who commit the act to personal responsibility and severe treatment, according to the laws of war, the act of such persons being considered by the law and usage of nations as one of unjustifiable hostility.

I am to state that the general rule as to trading by neutrals in time of war with belligerents is, that they may freely trade, but that they are bound to respect every effective blockade, and that if they carry contraband of war to either belligerent, they do so at the risk of capture and condemnation by the other, if discovered.

In France, also, application was made to the Minister of Commerce, M. Rocher, for information. In reply, he states that he informed them, on the 5th of June, "of the principles of international law which the Imperial Government desired to establish, in the war that has broken out between the North and the South of the United States." He then adds: "I consider it my duty to lay before you some explanations agreed upon with the Department of Foreign Affairs, and which make known the limitations within which commerce has a right to reckon on the protection of the Imperial Government."

In these explanations he thus expresses that which must be regarded as the views of the French Government at this time:

The admission by all the Powers of this principle, that the blockade, to be obligatory, must be effective, has remedied the abuse which formerly sprung from the right of excluding neutrals from points that were declared blockaded. The effectiveness of the blockade is, to-day, for all the world, the essential condition of its validity. But so soon as there are, at the places to which a belligerent wishes to interdict access, forces sufficient to prevent their being approached without exposure to a certain danger, the neutral is compelled, no matter how prejudicial to him it may be, to respect the blockade. If he violates it he exposes himself to being treated as an enemy by the belligerent with respect to whom he has deviated from the duties of neutrality.

Another error of the claimants is to believe that the blockade does not exist until it is notified diplomatically, and that it does not apply to neutral vessels that have quitted their country previously to the notification. A blockade is obligatory from the moment that it is effectively established; being the material result of a material fact, it commences with the real investment of the place, continues so long as that investment remains, and ceases with it.

It matters little that neutrals are ignorant of the fact. If one of their vessels presents itself at the place, the belligerent has the right to forbid its entrance. The general usage is doubtless for a government to inform other governments of the measures of blockade to which it has recourse; but this notification, which is not by an absolute rule, is of no value by itself; it is only the announcing of an existing fact, which would already produce its effects. It may sometimes serve, it is true, to diminish the losses which neutrals may have to sustain in consequence of the state of war, by preventing them from undertaking useless commercial expeditions for places really blockaded; but it is evident, on the other hand, that if neutrals suspended or modified, according to this notification, their commercial operations, they would be exposed to the danger of doing so inappropriately, in case the blockade did not actually exist, or in case it had already closed at the time their expeditions might have arrived.

It is by erroneously attributing to the diplomatic notices of blockade a value and a signification which they have not in themselves, that it might be pretended to exclude neutrals from an entire territory, the access to which could not in reality be interdicted; and it is for the purpose of rendering these fictitious blockades entirely impossible that the agreement has been entered into at present not to consider a neutral as entitled to notice of the existence of a blockade except at the blockaded places themselves. This practice, which leaves a belligerent the faculty of acting with all the promptitude often required by operations of war, which permits a military chief to blockade, according to necessity, places distant from his country before he has instructed his government of the fact, has this advantage for the neutral, that it does not impose upon him obligations inevitably onerous, except, at least, under circumstances where he must inevitably submit to them.

In the blockade of the Southern ports, neutral vessels were allowed fifteen days to leave port after the actual commencement of the blockade, whether such vessels were with or without cargoes. But it was declared that the law of blockade did not permit a vessel in a blockaded port to take on board cargo after the commencement of the blockade.

For the views of the Government on the blockade of its own ports, see DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE, Mr. Seward's letter to Mr. Adams, dated July 21st.

It was considered in London that an infallible test was furnished that the blockade was effective, by the fact that cotton was 5*d.* per pound in New Orleans and 12*d.* per pound in Liverpool.

Several minor questions arose in the courts of the United States out of this blockade, one or two of which are worthy of notice.

The authority of the President to institute the blockade was denied, and it was insisted that this power, under the Constitution of the United States, could only be exercised by the National Legislature. The views of the Circuit Court at Washington were that the President was commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and, as such, he was authorized to direct the movements of the naval and military forces, placed by law at his command, and to employ them in the manner he may deem most effectual to harass and conquer and subdue the enemy.

As chief of the navy, nobody can doubt the right of its commander to order a fleet or a ship to capture an enemy's vessel at sea, or to bombard a fortress on shore; and it is only another mode of assault and injury to the same enemy to shut up his harbors and close his trade by the same ship or fleet. The same weapons are used. The commander only varies the mode of attack.

In cases of invasion by a foreign power, or insurrection at home, it is exclusively with the President to decide whether the exigencies for calling out the militia have arisen. These are political questions, determinable by the Executive alone, and the Courts follow that branch of the Government.

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The facts set forth in the President's proclamation, with the assertion of the right of blockade, amount to a declaration that civil war exists.

Blockade itself is a belligerent right, and can only legally have place in a state of war; and the notorious fact that immense armies are in hostile array against each other in the Federal and Confederate States, the latter having organized a Government and elected officers to administer it, attests the Executive declaration that civil war exists; which, if it must go on, can only be governed by the laws of war.

The right to proceed against privateers, under the laws of the United States, as pirates, does not militate with these views. A sovereign nation, engaged in the duty of suppressing an insurrection of its citizens, may, with entire consistency, act in the twofold capacity of sovereign and belligerent, according to the several measures resorted to for the accomplishment of its purpose. By inflicting, through its agent the judiciary, the penalty which the law affixes to the capital crimes of treason and piracy, upon those who shall be found guilty of levying war against the nation, or of committing depredations upon its commerce, it acts in its capacity as a sovereign, and its courts are but enforcing its municipal regulations. By instituting a blockade of the ports of its rebellious subjects, and thereby interdicting their commercial intercourse with the world, and enforcing this measure by capturing its vessels and cargoes wheresoever found, and by capturing the vessels of all nations that shall violate or attempt to violate the blockade imposed, or shall supply or attempt to supply them with any means whatever to enable them to continue their rebellion, the nation is exercising the right of a belligerent, and its courts, in their adjudications upon the captures made in the enforcement of, this measure, are organized as courts of prize, governed by and administering the law of nations.

The question was also separately raised, whether the public disturbances existing, constituted a state of war under the law of nations. In the District Court of New York it was maintained that a state of war did exist, and, under the law of nations, the rights in a war waged by a Government to subdue an insurrection or revolt of its own citizens or subjects, were the same in regard to neutral Powers as if hostilities were carried on between independent nations, and applied equally in captures of property for municipal offences or as prizes of war. It is sufficient to establish the legality of the blockade to show that the ports blockaded were under the power and use of the enemies of the United States. So far as their own acts could make them so, the insurgents who held these ports were as alien and foreign to the United States Government as if they had declared themselves citizens and subjects of various South American States. They thus made themselves avowed enemies of the United States, and were waging a war for the dismemberment of the nation and destruction of the Government. No pretension on their part, however, can change the intrinsic nature of things, and transform the residents of particular States into any thing else than citizens and subjects of the United States. As such they were subordinate to its Constitution and laws, in regard to which there were no State lines. State sovereignty was a nonentity. The whole extent of the country was one nation and one Government. The outbreak in the Southern States, therefore, the Judge considered an open and flagrant act of civil war against the United States. "The President possessed full competency, under the Constitution and existing laws, to call into service and employ the land and naval forces of the United States to put down this rebellion, and had rightly the power to establish blockades of ports held by the insurgent enemies, and enforce those blockades according to the law of nations."

A question was also raised, whether a citizen of the Confederate States, being also a citizen of the United States, had a right to come into a prize court and make claim to a vessel and cargo, and establish that the vessel was not attempting to run the blockade. This was denied on the ground, that the object of all hostilities was to cripple the resources of the opposing party, whereas the return of the vessel to the owners in such case would be adding wealth to them, and thereby add to their power to cripple the resources of the Government. (For Stone Blockade, *see* Charleston.)

BOONE COURT HOUSE. At this little village, the capital of Boone Co., Virginia, on the Little Coal River, 245 miles west of Richmond, a skirmish took place on the 1st of September, between the Confederate and Federal troops, which resulted in the rout of the former, with a loss of 30 killed, a large number wounded, and forty taken prisoners. None of the Federal troops were killed, and but six wounded. The village was burned by the United States troops.

BOSQUET, Pierre François Joseph, a marshal of France, born at Mont de Marsan, in the department of Landes, France, Nov. 8, 1810, died at Pau, Feb. 4, 1861. Marshal Bosquet was educated at the Polytechnic schools of St. Cyr and Metz, and in 1834 sent as second lieutenant in the 10th Regiment of Artillery to Algeria. In that country he served in twenty campaigns, rising by successive promotions to the rank of general of division. The Zouaves, or *chasseurs d'Afrique*, that formidable corps which accomplished so much in the Crimea and in the Italian war, were first organized by him, in part from natives of Algeria, and instructed in a system of tactics which enabled them to cope successfully with the Arab and Berber bands of the mountains of Algeria. He returned to France in 1853. In the Crimean war he was placed in charge of the 2d division of infantry, in the "army of the Orient," and Marshal St. Arnaud testified that his skill decided the bat-

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tle of the Alma. At Inkermann he also rendered efficient service, for which he received the thanks of the British Parliament and high honors from the Sultan of Turkey. On the 23d of February, 1855, he stormed the enemy's works on one side of the harbor of Sebastopol. On the 5th of June he aided in storming the redoubts of the Mamelon Vert. In the charge on the Malakoff he was wounded by a shell and borne from the field, as it was supposed, mortally wounded. His vigorous constitution, however, enabled him to rally, and regain partial, though never complete, health. He was chosen in 1856, on his return to France, Senator, and in March, 1857, Marshal of France. Queen Victoria bestowed on him the Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath in 1855, in token of her appreciation of his abilities as a commander; and Napoleon III. gave him the order of the Legion of Honor the same year. No one of the marshals had so completely won the love of the French people, and it was with great sorrow that they learned in the Italian campaign that their favorite general was incapacitated by ill health for leading the army.

BOWLING GREEN has been a flourishing town. It is the capital of Warren County, Kentucky, situated on the Barren River, an affluent of Green River, 145 miles southwest of Frankfort. Its situation is at the head of navigation. Steamboats of medium size make regular passages, in all stages of the water, hence to Louisville. Population in 1860, about 3,000. It was, in 1861, a point of much strategic importance. Being at the junction of two Kentucky railroads which enter Tennessee, it possessed facilities for transportation to an almost unlimited extent, and could secure supplies to the full capacity of the Confederate States to spare. The approaches to the town can be commanded by a small force, as the railroad crosses a bridge over Barren River. General Buckner with a force of nearly ten thousand men occupied the town in September.

It was his plan to march upon Louisville without delay, after breaking up the encampment at Camp Boone, but he was delayed by the tearing up of a portion of the railroad track near Cave City, by which the train drawing a portion of his troops was thrown from the track.

Subsequently, it became the head-quarters of a large Confederate army, assembled to defend the approach to Nashville. It was estimated, at one period, at 25,000 men. By the capture of Fort Henry, the flank of the army stationed here was turned, and they were forced to evacuate the town. A large body of the troops, under General Buckner, retreated to Fort Donelson, and were made prisoners on the surrender of that position in February, 1862.

BRIGGS, George Nixon, LL.D., an American statesman and philanthropist, born in Adams, Mass., April 12, 1796, died at Pittsfield, Mass., Sept. 12, 1861. His father served under Stark and Allen at Bennington. At the age of 13, he was apprenticed to a hatter at White Creek, N. Y., where he remained for two years, when an elder brother had him taken from the shop and sent him to an academy for a year. Notwithstanding the death of this brother at the close of that year, young Briggs resolved to obtain a professional education, and at the age of 16 commenced the study of law, which he prosecuted for 5 years, when he was admitted to the bar of Berkshire Co., and soon distinguished himself as an advocate, and in 1827, in the defence of a Stockbridge Indian, who was tried for murder at Lenox, established his reputation as one of the ablest criminal lawyers in the State. In 1830 he was elected to Congress from the Berkshire district, and was reëlected for six successive terms. Here he soon became known as an able and efficient legislator, and an eloquent and effective debater. In 1843 he was elected Governor of Massachusetts, and was continued in office by annual reëlection till 1851. During his administration, the murder of Dr. Parkman by Prof. Webster occurred, and the most extraordinary efforts were made to induce the Governor to extend the executive clemency to the wretched offender, either in the way of pardon or commutation of sentence. To a person of Gov. Briggs' amiable disposition the trial was a severe one, but believing that the good of the community required the maintenance of the law and the execution of the offender, he was firm and refused to interpose. On his retirement from the gubernatorial office in 1851, Gov. Briggs was appointed one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, which office he continued to fill till the reorganization of the Courts of the State in 1856. In 1861 he was appointed one of a commission to adjust the claims between the United States and New Granada; but his death, which was the result of the accidental discharge of a fowling piece, occurred before he had entered upon his duties in the commission. He had taken a deep interest in the great struggle upon which the nation had just entered, and one of his last public acts was the addressing a regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers, of which his son was the commander. Gov. Briggs had taken through life an active interest in the religious and benevolent enterprises of the age, and at the time of his death was president of the American Baptist Missionary Union, of the American Tract Society at Boston, the American Temperance Union, and the Massachusetts Sabbath School Union, and director in several other benevolent societies.

BROWNING, Elizabeth Barrett, an English poetess, born in London in 1809, died at Florence, Italy, July 29, 1861. Her education was conducted mostly at home, her father being a man of fortune and of high culture, and was of a more masculine character than is often bestowed on females. She early acquired a thorough familiarity with the writings of the Greek dramatists, which has had its influence in her subsequent writings. She also acquired

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a critical knowledge of the Hebrew and other Oriental languages. She commenced writing, at an early age, her "Essay on Mind, and other Poems," appearing when she was but 17 years of age. In 1833 she published "Prometheus Bound, and Miscellaneous Poems," a volume displaying much genius, though the version of the Greek tragedy so little satisfied her that she subsequently replaced it by another and better one. In 1838 appeared "The Seraphim and other Poems," a work which gave her a high reputation, though at a period when literary reputation was of but little value to her. About the time of its publication, the rupture of a blood-vessel in the lungs had induced a critical state of her health, which was still further impaired by the drowning of her eldest brother, who had accompanied her to Torquay for the benefit of the sea air. For several years she was confined to a darkened room, and for a long time her life seemed to hang quivering in the balance. On her partial recovery from this condition, she renewed her literary efforts, and the first fruits of it were seen in a series of erudite and brilliant essays on the Greek Christian poets, published in the Athenæum; this was followed by the "Drama of Exile," "Lady Geraldine's Courtship," "The Cry of the Human," "The Lost Bower," &c. In 1844 a collection of her poems was published, and almost immediately reproduced in this country. In 1846 she married Robert Browning, a poet of high reputation, and immediately after accompanied him to Pisa, subsequently removing to Florence, which was their permanent residence during the remainder of her life. Her works were republished with large additions in 1850, and in 1851 she gave to the public a new volume with the title of "Casa Guidi Windows," which contains some of her best poems. In 1856 appeared her "Aurora Leigh," and in 1859 a volume of shorter poems; a posthumous collection of her later poems not previously gathered has been published the present year, (1862.) Her health had gradually declined, and her death was rather an exhaustion of the vital forces than a struggle. For a more full account of her works and a critical estimate of her writings, see NEW AMERICAN CYCLOPEDIA, vol. 3, pp. 765, 766.

BUCKHANNON, a town of Western Virginia, the capital of Upshur Co., situated on the east fork of Monongahela River. On the 1st July, Brig.-Gen. Morris, commanding the Third and Fourth Ohio regiments, attacked a division of Confederate troops, under command of Gen. Henry A. Wise, at this place, and routed them completely; killing, as was reported, 23, and taking 200 prisoners. Federal loss not stated, but small.

BULL RUN, in the northeastern part of the State of Virginia, forms the boundary between Fairfax and Prince William counties, until it enters the Occoquan River, about fourteen miles from its mouth. The Occoquan empties into the Potomac, about twenty-five miles below Washington. It is formed by the junction of Broad Run and Cedar Run, about one mile below Brentsville in Prince William County, and some miles above the mouth of Bull Run. The distance by railroad from Alexandria to Manassas Junction is twenty-seven miles. The route pursued by the Federal army from Arlington Heights to Centreville is nearly parallel with the railroad, and a few miles north of it. The distance from Manassas Junction to Bull Run where a battle took place, is about seven or eight miles; and the distance from the latter place to Centreville about three miles. The distance from Centreville to Fairfax Court House is ten miles. The distance from Fairfax Court House to the Potomac is about twelve miles.

The Confederate Government having adopted the defensive policy as that upon which they should act, their first object was to prevent an advance of any Federal force into Virginia. Early in the month of May, troops were assembled in Virginia and pushed forward towards the northeastern boundary of the State, to a position known as Manassas Junction. The name is given to this hilly region, as it is here that a railroad from Alexandria, another from Staunton up the valley and through Manassas Gap, and another from Gordonsville unite. At Gordonsville the railroad from Richmond and the line from East Tennessee unite. As a point for concentration none more eligible exists in northeastern Virginia. The advantages for fortification are naturally such that the place can be rendered impregnable. Here the centre of the northern Confederate army was posted, with the left wing pushed forward to Winchester, and the right extended to the Potomac, and sustained by heavy batteries which served to blockade the river.

The Federal force, the advance of which was assembled at Washington for the defence of that city against any attack by the Confederate troops, was posted on the Virginia side of the Potomac, on Arlington Heights, which were strongly fortified. Their right was pushed some distance up the Potomac, and chiefly on the Maryland side, while their left occupied Alexandria. The armies of both sides consisted of raw militia hastily brought together, and of volunteers who for the first time had put on the uniform, and taken up the weapons of the soldier. On both sides the forces were constantly accumulating. On the morning of June 27th, the consolidated report of Gen. Mansfield commanding the Department of Washington, gives the number of troops in that city and vicinity. The privates, including regulars and volunteers present for duty, numbered 22,846 men. The grand aggregate of the force, including officers &c., present and absent, was 34,160 men. The force of Gen. Patterson commanding in Maryland above Washington, and also on the Virginia side of the Potomac, on the 28th of June, was returned, embracing officers and men enlisted and present for duty, 15,923. Of these about 550 were reported as sick.

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The Confederate force was largely increased by troops from South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, and Texas. On the night after the battle, President Davis sent a despatch to Richmond by telegraph, saying: "The battle was mainly fought on our left. Our force was 15,000; that of the enemy estimated at 35,000.

General McDowell in his official report says: "We crossed Bull Run with about 18,000 men, of all arms." "The numbers opposed to us have been variously estimated. I may safely say and avoid even the appearance of exaggeration, that the enemy brought up all he could, which were not kept engaged elsewhere."

The force under Gen. McDowell, on the 8th of July, was organized into five divisions. The first division, under Brig.-Gen. Tyler, consisted of four brigades. The regiments in each brigade were as follows: First brigade, under Col. Keyes, First, Second, Third, Connecticut; Fourth Maine; Varian's battery, and Company B, Second Cavalry. In the second brigade, under Col. Schenck, the regiments were as follows: First, Second, Ohio; Second New York, and Company E, Second Artillery. In the third brigade, under Colonel W. T. Sherman, were the Thirteenth, Sixty-ninth, Seventy-ninth, New York; Second Wisconsin; and Company E, Third Artillery. In the fourth brigade, under Colonel Richardson, Second, Third, Michigan; First Massachusetts; Twelfth New York.

In the second division, under Col. David Hunter, were two brigades. These contained the following regiments: In the first brigade, under Col. Porter, were the Eighth, Fourteenth, New York; battalion of regular infantry; Companies G and L, Second Cavalry; Company —, Fifth Artillery. In the second brigade, under Col. Burnside were the First, Second, Rhode Island: Seventy-first New York; Second New Hampshire; battery of Light Artillery, R. I.

In the third division, under Col. Heintzelman, were three brigades with the following regiments: In the first brigade, under Col. Franklin, were the Fourth Pennsylvania; Fifth Massachusetts; First Minnesota; Company E, Second Cavalry; Company I, First Artillery. In the second brigade, under Col. Wilcox, were the First Michigan; Eleventh New York; Company D, Second Artillery. In the third brigade, under Col. Howard, were the Second, Fourth, Fifth, Maine; Second Vermont.

In the fourth division, under Brig.-Gen. Runyon, as a reserve, were the following regiments: First, Second, Third, Fourth, New Jersey three-months volunteers, and First, Second, Third, New Jersey three-years volunteers.

In the fifth division, under Col. Miles, were two brigades. In the first brigade were the following volunteers: Col. Blenker commanding. Eighth, Twenty-ninth, New York; Garibaldi Guard, and Twenty-fourth Pennsylvania. In the second brigade under Col. Davies, were the Sixteenth, Eighteenth, Thirty-first, Thirty-second, New York; Company G, Second Artillery.

The movement of troops to attack the centre of the Confederate army commenced on the 16th of July. It was first made known to the inhabitants of Washington by their sudden disappearance from the opposite or Virginia side of the Potomac. The force comprised in this movement consisted of five divisions, as above mentioned, but a few of the details were altered. A body of five hundred marines was also added. On the 17th, the advance of Gen. McDowell's entire command was begun. It was made by four different routes. The right wing, composed of the first division of four brigades under Gen. Tyler, moved by the Georgetown road. The centre, composed of the second division of two brigades under Col. Hunter, advanced by the Leesburg and Centreville road. The left wing, consisting of the third division of three brigades, under Col. Heintzelman, moved by the Little River turnpike, and the other part of the wing, consisting of the fifth division of two brigades, under Col. Miles, proceeded by the old Braddock road. The reserve consisted of the fourth division of New Jersey troops, under Gen. Runyon.

The following order, issued by General McDowell from his head-quarters at Arlington on July 5th, shows the condition of the men when ready to march:

When troops are paraded in light marching order, they will be equipped as follows: Their arms, accoutrements, and ammunition—the cartridge-boxes filled. Their haversacks, with three days' cooked rations; their blankets in a roll, with the ends tied to each other, across the shoulder; and where it is possible, a pair of stockings inside of the blanket. Their canteens and cups; knapsacks will be packed and left in the tent under a guard of the regiment, consisting of those men least able to march, and to the number to be specially designated for each corps. Knapsacks should be numbered or marked in such way as will enable them to be readily claimed by their owners. Commanding officers of brigades will take measures to diminish as quickly as possible the baggage of the regiments under their commands, by sending away every thing not absolutely necessary. This will apply to the personal effects of the officers and men, as well as to military property.

Near Fairfax Court House obstructions had been placed by the Confederate troops upon all the roads upon which the divisions advanced. The division of the centre marched with the left brigade in front. This placed the Rhode Island troops, under Colonel Burnside, in advance. The Second Regiment was employed as skirmishers in front of the division. Their lines extended from half a mile to two miles on each side of the road. The Confederate troops retired as fast as the head of the advancing column made its appearance. Within three miles of the Court House, the division encountered the first barricade, consisting of trees felled and thrown across the road. The second was of a similar character. They occasioned only a few moments' delay. The third barricade was more formidable. It was at the entrance of a deep cut, about half way up a steep hill, crowned on one side by a thick wood, and on the other by an open field. A road was made through the field, and the

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army passed around. When the central division reached the village of Fairfax Court House, an order was sent to the left wing to halt, and General McDowell with his staff, escorted by a squadron of dragoons, proceeded to Germantown, where the right wing was halted. It was his desire to push forward without delay to Centreville.

Germantown is a small village on the road from Fairfax Court House to Centreville, and about one-fourth of the distance beyond the former.

The order to move forward was first given to all divisions of the army on the 15th. Gen. Tyler, of the right wing, communicated it to his troops that evening, with orders to be ready to move at 2 P. M. on the 16th, provided with cooked rations for three days. Precisely at that hour, the right wing began to move forward, and reached Vienna, and encamped for the night.

At 5 o'clock the next morning, the onward march was renewed. It was necessarily slow, owing to the obstructions placed by the Confederate troops in the road. These troops, although constantly seen during the day, rapidly retreated upon the approach of the Federal army. Germantown was reached soon after noon. Col. Miles' division of the left wing was at the crossing of the old Braddock road with the road from Fairfax Court House to Fairfax Station, on the railroad, when ordered to halt. On the 18th it was ordered forward to Centreville by the old Braddock road. The other brigades of this wing halted at Fairfax Station and below. Eleven of the enemy's force were made prisoners at this Station.

A few buildings were burned a short distance from Fairfax Court House, on account of a rumor that a soldier had been fired on from them. In Fairfax, the soldiers, under excitement, had seized many things in and about the houses, some of which were deserted by their owners. These acts caused General McDowell to issue the following orders from his head-quarters at Fairfax Court House, on the morning of the 18th:

General Orders, No. 18.—It is with the deepest mortification the General commanding finds it necessary to reiterate his orders for the preservation of the property of the inhabitants of the district occupied by the troops under his command. Hardly had we arrived at this place, when, to the horror of every right-minded person, several houses were broken open, and others were in flames, by the act of some of those who, it has been the boast of the loyal, come here to protect the oppressed, and free the country from the domination of a hated party. The property of this people is at the mercy of troops who, we rightly say, are the most intelligent, best educated, and most law-abiding of any that ever were under arms. But do not, therefore, the acts of yesterday cast the deepest stain upon them? It was claimed by some that their particular corps were not engaged in these acts. This is of but little moment; since the individuals are not found out, we are all alike disgraced. Commanders of regiments will select a commissioned officer as a provost-marshal, and ten men as a police force under him, whose special and sole duty it shall be to preserve the property from depredations, and to arrest all wrong-doers of whatever regiment or corps they may be. Any one found committing the slightest depredations, killing pigs or poultry, or trespassing on the property of the inhabitants, will be reported to head-quarters, and the least that will be done to them will be to send them to the Alexandria jail. It is again ordered that no one shall arrest, or attempt to arrest, any citizen not in arms at the time, or search or attempt to search any house, or even to enter the same without permission. The troops must behave themselves with as much forbearance and propriety as if they were at their own homes. They are here to fight the enemies of the country, not to judge and punish the unarmed and defenceless, however guilty they may be. When necessary, that will be done by the proper person.

The right wing, Gen. Tyler, resumed its march from Germantown to Centreville at 7 o'clock on the morning of the next day, the 18th. Upon coming in sight of Centreville, the town proved to have been evacuated, Part of the division proceeded through the village, and turning into a by-road to the right, advanced a short distance towards Bull Run, a valley traversed by a creek about three miles from Centreville. A halt was then commanded, and the whole division encamped on both sides of the road.

About 11 o'clock, General Tyler proceeded to make a reconnoissance in force. He took the fourth brigade of his division, composed of the Second and Third Michigan, First Massachusetts, and Twelfth New York, under Colonel Richardson, together with Ayres' battery, and four companies of cavalry. Advancing south on the road from Centreville to Manassas, which crosses Bull Run at Blackburn's Ford through a long stretch of timber, for about two miles, they came to an opening, when sight was caught of a strong body of the enemy. Ayres' battery was ordered to advance and open on them from a commanding elevation. Hardly had the firing well commenced, when it was replied to by a battery which had not been seen, at a distance down the road. Some of the grape shot from this battery killed two horses of the cavalry drawn up in a body on a hill, and wounded two of the men. A vigorous response being kept up by Ayres' battery, the enemy soon retired into the woods, when the firing ceased. The Second Michigan was then ordered to deploy as skirmishers on the left of the road, and advance into the wood. They briskly moved forward, and entered the timber, and quickly after their disappearance a lively exchange of rifle shots took place for a few minutes. This was soon followed by a succession of volleys, evidently discharged by large bodies of men. The Third Michigan, the First Massachusetts, and the Twelfth New York, composing the remainder of the brigade, were then ordered to advance towards the wood. This was promptly done. They then drew up in battle array in front and on the right of the timber. All this time the firing in the woods went on in the liveliest style. Companies G and H of the First Massachusetts, and some companies of the New York Twelfth and of the First Massachusetts, were then ordered into the woods as skirmishers, at the same time the cavalry and two howitzers advanced to their edge. Meanwhile the firing within was

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kept up. The howitzers then threw some grape shot into the timber, when a terrific series of volleys of musketry was discharged from the woods upon the troops outside. At the same time a battery opened from an elevation in the rear, and poured a storm of grape and canister at the Federal troops. Fortunately the fire was aimed too high, and few outside the woods were hit. A retreat was now ordered, and the whole brigade retired, and formed behind their battery on the hill. In doing this, the Twelfth New York and a portion of the First Massachusetts broke ranks and scattered in different directions for some distance on their retreat.

At this time the third brigade, under Colonel Sherman, came up, headed by the Sixty-ninth New York. The fire was now reopened from the battery, and continued about an hour, to which the enemy's battery vigorously replied. Their shot and shells struck the houses in front of the battery, and raked the woods in the rear for a considerable distance. A retreat was then ordered by General McDowell, who had come up, and the entire force fell back, having suffered a loss of one hundred killed and wounded.

This reconnoissance developed a degree of strength and preparation on the part of the enemy, greater than had been anticipated. During the day the centre and left wings came up, and the whole force was concentrated at Centreville.

The next two days were passed by the Federal force in strengthening its position. Meantime the Commander-in-Chief was occupied in obtaining more accurate knowledge of the position and strength of the enemy, and arranging his plans for an attack. The result of these reconnoitrings is shown in the order of battle subsequently issued.

Meanwhile it would appear that an attack upon the Federal forces was contemplated by the Commander of the Confederate army. Probably he was anticipated by the attack of General McDowell. This appears from documents found in the camp at Manassas, after its evacuation by the Confederate force early in 1862. One of these papers contains the plan of battle, and shows by the details that the Confederate force was not inferior to that of the Federal army. It is as follows:

[CONFIDENTIAL.]

HEAD-QUARTERS ARMY OF POTOMAC, *July* 20, 1861.

SPECIAL ORDER NO. —.

The following order is published for the information of division and brigade commanders:

1. Brigadier-General Ewell's brigade, supported by General Holmes' brigade, will march via Union Mills Ford and place itself in position of attack upon the enemy. It will be held in readiness either to support the attack upon Centreville, or to move in the direction of Santer's Cross Roads, according to circumstances. The order to advance will be given by the Commander-in-Chief.

2. Brigadier-General Jones' brigade, supported by Colonel Earl's brigade, will march via McLane's Ford to place itself in position of attack upon the enemy on or about the Union Mills and Centreville road. It will be held in readiness either to support the attack on Centreville, or to move in the direction of Fairfax Station, according to circumstances, with its right flank towards the left of Ewell's command, more or less distant, according to the nature of the country and attack. The order to advance will be given by the Commander-in-Chief.

3. Brigadier-General Longstreet's brigade, supported by Brigadier-General Jackson's brigade, will march via McLane's Ford to place itself in position of attack upon the enemy on or about the Union Mills and Centreville roads. It will be held in readiness either to support the attack on Centreville or to move in the direction of Fairfax Court House, according to circumstances, with its right flank towards the left of Jones' command, more or less distant, according to the nature of the country. The order to advance will be given by the Commander-in-Chief.

4. Brigadier-General Bonham's brigade, supported by Colonel Bartow's brigade, will march via Mitchell's Ford to the attack of Centreville. The right wing to the left of the third division, more or less distant, according to the nature of the country and of the attack. The order to advance will be given by the Commander-in-Chief.

5. Colonel Cooke's brigade, supported by Colonel Elzy's brigade, will march, via Stone Bridge and the fords on the right thereof, to the attack of Centreville. The right wing to the left of the fourth division, more or less distant, according to the nature of the country and of the attack. The order to advance will be given by the Commander-in-Chief.

6. Brigadier-General Bee's brigade, supported by Colonel Wilcox's brigade, Colonel Stuart's regiment of cavalry, and the whole of Walton's battery, will form the reserve, and will march via Mitchell's Ford, to be used according to circumstances.

The light batteries will be distributed as follows:

1. To Brigadier-General Ewell's command—Captain Walker, six pieces.

2. To Brigadier-General Jones'—Captains Albertis' and Stanwood's batteries, eight pieces.

3. To Brigadier-General Longstreet's—Colonel Pendleton's and Captain Imboden's batteries, eight pieces.

4. To Brigadier-General Bonham's—Captains Kemper's and Shields' batteries, eight pieces.

5. To Colonel Cooke's—Colonel Hemton's and Captains Latham's and Beckwith's batteries, twelve pieces.

Colonel Radford, commanding cavalry, will detail to report immediately, as follows:

To Brigadier-General Ewell, two companies cavalry.

To Brigadier-General Jones, two companies cavalry.

To Brigadier-General Longstreet, two companies cavalry.

To Brigadier-General Bonham, three companies cavalry.

To Colonel Cooke, the remaining companies of cavalry, except those in special service.

9. The fourth and fifth divisions, after the fall of Centreville, will advance to the attack of Fairfax Court House via the Braddock and Turnpike roads, to the north of the latter. The first, second, and third divisions will, if necessary, support the fourth and fifth divisions.

10. In this movement the first, second, and third divisions will form the command of Brigadier-General Holmes. The fourth and fifth divisions, that of the second in command.

The reserve will move upon the plains between Mitchell's Ford and Stone Bridge, and, together with the fourth and fifth divisions, will be under the immediate direction of General Beauregard.

By command of General BEAUREGARD.

THOMAS JORDAN, A. A. Adjutant-General.

SPECIAL ORDER NO. —.

HEAD-QUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, *July* 20, 1861.

The plan of attack given by Brigadier-General Beauregard, in the above order, is approved, and will be executed accordingly.

J. E. JOHNSTON, General C. S. A.

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Mitchell's Ford, spoken of in the above orders, is a short distance above Blackburn's Ford. McLane's Ford is about the same distance below Blackburn's Ford. Union Mills is still further below, near the crossing of the Alexandria and Orange Railroad. The Stone Bridge is the crossing for the Warrenton turnpike.

The result of observations on the part of General McDowell convinced him that the mass of the Confederate force had not been advanced from Manassas to the back of the creek called Bull Run. This tortuous stream runs from northwest to southeast, through the entire field of battle. At the extreme part on the northwest, is Sudley's Spring, where it is fordable; three miles lower down is a crossing known as the Stone Bridge, and still lower is Blackburn's Ford; further down is Union Mills, mentioned in General Beauregard's order. Centreville is a village of a few houses, mostly on the west side of a ridge running nearly north and south. The road from Centreville to Manassas Junction was along this ridge, and crossed Bull Run about three miles from the former place. Through Centreville, running nearly east and west, passes the Warrenton turnpike, and crosses Bull Run about four miles distant.

The conviction of General McDowell was that the mass of the Confederate force was at Manassas. He says in his report: "On the evening of the 20th, my command was mostly at or near Centreville. The enemy was at or near Manassas, distant from Centreville about seven miles to the southwest." He was looking to the intrenchments at Manassas to find the body of the Confederate army; and there, it was anticipated, would be fought, in one or two days after crossing Bull Run, the great battle, or the enemy would retire. Every effort was made by the Confederate officers to conceal their strength at Bull Run. In the reconnoissance of the 18th, they did not appear outside the wood. On the 19th, when a flag of truce was sent by General McDowell to the Confederate lines, in order to recover the dead and wounded of the day previous, admission was refused to it. Thus conceiving the mass of the Confederate army to be at Manassas, the order of battle was prepared accordingly, and issued on the night of the 20th, to be executed the next day. It was manifest that the crossing of Bull Run would be disputed; but the greatest contest, anticipated the next day, was expected to come when the attempt should be made to destroy the railroad leading from Manassas to the valley of Virginia. The orders for the 21st were as follows:

HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT ARMY EASTERN VA.,
CENTREVILLE, *July* 20, 1861.

The enemy has planted a battery on the Warrenton turnpike to defend the passage of Bull Run; has seized the Stone Bridge and made a heavy abatis on the right bank, to oppose our advance in that direction. The ford above the bridge is also guarded, whether with artillery or not is not positively known, but every indication favors the belief that he proposes to defend the passage of the stream.

It is intended to turn the position, force the enemy from the road, that it may be reopened, and, if possible, destroy the railroad leading from Manassas to the valley of Virginia, where the enemy has a large force. As this may be resisted by all the force of the enemy, the troops will be disposed as follows:

The first division, (General Tyler's,) with the exception of Richardson's brigade, will, at half-past two o'clock in the morning precisely, be on the Warrenton turnpike to threaten the passage of the bridge, but will not open fire until full daybreak.

The second division (Hunter's) will move from its camp at two o'clock in the morning precisely, and, led by Captain Woodbury, of the Engineers, will, after passing Cub Run, turn to the right and pass the Bull Run stream above the ford at Sudley's Spring, and then turning down to the left, descend the stream and clear away the enemy who may be guarding the lower ford and bridge. It will then bear off to the right and make room for the succeeding division.

The third division (Heintzelman's) will march at half-past two o'clock in the morning, and follow the road taken by the second division, but will cross at the lower ford after it has been turned as above, and then, going to the left, take place between the stream and second division.

The fifth division (Miles') will take position on the Centreville Heights, (Richardson's brigade will, for the time, form part of the fifth division, and will continue in its present position.) One brigade will be in the village, and one near the present station of Richardson's brigade. This division will threaten the Blackburn Ford, and remain in reserve at Centreville. The commander will open fire with artillery only, and will bear in mind that it is a demonstration only he is to make. He will cause such defensive works, abatis, earthworks, &c., to be thrown up as will strengthen his position. Lieutenant Prime, of the Engineers, will be charged with this duty.

These movements may lead to the gravest results, and commanders of divisions and brigades should bear in mind the immense consequences involved. There must be no failure, and every effort must be made to prevent straggling.

No one must be allowed to leave the ranks without special authority. After completing the movements ordered, the troops must be held in order of battle, as they may be attacked at any moment.

By command of
Brigadier-General McDOWELL.
JAMES B. FRY, Adjutant-General.

The position of the Federal forces on the night previous to the battle can be briefly told. The first division, which had been the right wing thus far, was stationed on the north side of the Warrenton turnpike and on the eastern slope of the Centreville ridge, two brigades on the same road and a mile and a half in advance, to the west of the ridge, and one brigade on the road from Centreville to Manassas, where it crosses Bull Run at Blackburn's Ford, where the engagement on the 18th was. The second division was on the Warrenton turnpike, one mile east of Centreville. The third division was about a mile and a half out on the old Braddock road, which comes into Centreville from the southeast. The fifth division was on the same road as the third division, and between it and Centreville. The orders given to the respective divisions are thus described by General McDowell in his report:

"On Friday night a train of subsistence arrived, and on Saturday its contents were ordered to be issued to the command, and the men required to have three days' rations in

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their haversacks. On Saturday orders were issued for the available force to march. As reported to you in my letter of the 19th ultimo, my personal reconnoissance of the roads to the south had shown that it was not practicable to carry out the original plan of turning the enemy's position on his right. The affair of the 18th at Blackburn's Ford showed he was too strong at that point for us to force a passage there without great loss, and if we did, that it would bring us in front of his strong position at Manassas, which was not desired. Our information was that the Stone Bridge, over which the Warrenton road crossed Bull Run, to the west of Centreville, was defended by a battery in position, and the road on his side of the stream impeded by a heavy abatis. The alternative was, therefore, to turn the extreme left of his position. Reliable information was obtained of an undefended ford about three miles above the bridge, there being another ford between it and the bridge, which was defended. It was therefore determined to take the road to the upper ford, and after crossing, to get behind the forces guarding the lower ford and the bridge, and after occupying the Warrenton road west of the bridge, to send out a force to destroy the railroad at or near Gainesville, and thus break up the communication between the enemy's forces at Manassas and those in the valley of Virginia, before Winchester, which had been held in check by Major-General Patterson.

"Brigadier-General Tyler was directed to move with three of his brigades on the Warrenton road, and commence cannonading the enemy's batteries, while Hunter's division, moving after him, should, after passing a little stream called Cub Run, turn to the right and north, and move around to the upper ford, and there turn south and get behind the enemy. Colonel Heintzelman's division was to follow Hunter's as far as the turning-off place to the lower ford, where he was to cross after the enemy should have been driven out by Hunter's division; the fifth division (Miles') to be in reserve on the Centreville ridge.

"I had felt anxious about the road from Manassas by Blackburn's Ford to Centreville, along the ridge, fearing that whilst we should be in force to the front, and endeavoring to turn the enemy's position, we ourselves should be turned by him by this road; for if he should once obtain possession of this ridge, which overlooks all the country to the west to the foot of the spurs of the Blue Ridge, we should have been irretrievably cut off and destroyed. I had, therefore, directed this point to be held in force, and sent an engineer to extemporize some field-works to strengthen the position.

"The fourth division (Runyon's) had not been brought to the front further than to guard our communications by way of Vienna and the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. His advanced regiment was about seven miles in the rear of Centreville.

"The divisions were ordered to march at half-past two o'clock A. M., so as to arrive on the ground early in the day, and thus avoid the heat which is to be expected at this season. There was delay in the first division getting out of its camp on the road, and the other divisions were in consequence between two and three hours behind the time appointed—a great misfortune, as events turned out. The wood road leading from the Warrenton turnpike to the upper ford was much longer than we counted upon, the general direction of the stream being oblique to the road, and we having the obtuse angle on our side."

At half-past two, on the morning of the 21st, the division under General Tyler, which had heretofore been the right wing, moved, with the exception of Richardson's brigade, to threaten the passage of the Warrenton turnpike bridge, or Stone Bridge, on Bull Run. After moving a short distance Col. Keyes' brigade was halted by order of General McDowell, to watch the road coming up from Manassas. This was about two miles from the run. The two remaining brigades of this division, being those of Cols. Schenck and Sherman, with Ayres' and Carlisle's batteries, proceeded on and arrived in front of the bridge about six A. M. An examination of the position was made, and the brigades and artillery got into position. The first gun, as a signal that they were in position, was fired at half-past six o'clock. As the design was to threaten the bridge, Col. Schenck's brigade was formed into a line, with its left resting in the direction of the bridge and the Confederate battery, which had been established to sweep the bridge and its approach, so as to threaten both. Col. Sherman's brigade was posted to the right of the turnpike, so as to be in position to sustain Colonel Schenck or to move across Bull Run, in the direction to be taken by Col. Hunter's division.

A 30-pounder gun attached to Carlisle's battery was posted on the turnpike, with Ayres' battery considerably in its rear, while Carlisle's battery was posted on the left of Col. Sherman's brigade. In this position they were ordered to remain, awaiting the appearance of the divisions of Cols. Hunter and Heintzelman on the other side, until such time that the approach to the bridge could be carried and the bridge rebuilt by the engineers, who had on the spot materials for that purpose.

While this had been going on with the first division, the first brigade of the second division, under Col. Porter, had been silently paraded in light marching order at two o'clock in the morning. Owing to frequent delays in the march of troops in front, it did not reach Centreville until half-past four. It proceeded out on the Warrenton turnpike, and it was an hour after sunrise when its head was turned to the right to commence the flank movement by crossing at Sudley's Spring. The second brigade of the division, which was now in advance, made such slow and intermittent progress through the woods, that it was four hours be-

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fore the head of the division reached Bull Run. This was about half-past nine o'clock, and intelligence was here received that the Confederate troops were in front with considerable force. A halt of half an hour was now ordered, to obtain a supply of water, and to rest and refresh the men. The shade of the green and waving foliage of the trees, and the water of the creek, on this hot summer morning, were delightful to the perspiring men. Only the gleam of bayonets and the equipments of war in sight on every side, indicated the terrific conflict so close at hand.

Not only was the intelligence received that the enemy was in front with a considerable force, but from the heights where the troops rested, a vast column could be plainly descried, at the distance of a mile or more on the left, moving rapidly towards the line of march in front, which the halting troops were about to resume. Skirmishers were now thrown out upon either flank and in front, by Col. Slocum, of the Second Rhode Island. The column moved forward, however, before this was completed, and in about thirty minutes emerged from the timber, whence the rattle of the musketry and occasional crash of round shot through the branches of the trees indicated the opening of the battle. The Second Rhode Island, of the second brigade, under Col. Burnside, was immediately sent forward with its battery of artillery, and the balance of the brigade was formed in a field to the right of the road. At the same time the head of the first brigade was turned slightly to the right, in order to gain time and room for deployment on the right of the second brigade. Griffin's battery found its way through the timber to the fields beyond, followed promptly by the marines, while the Twenty-seventh took a direction more to the left, and the Fourteenth followed upon the trail of the battery—all moving up at double-quick step.

Since this division left the Warrenton turnpike by turning to the right, it had moved in a semicircle, crossing Bull Run at Sudley's Spring, and it was now approaching the turnpike again. Along this turnpike the enemy now appeared drawn up in a long line, extending from a house and haystack upon the extreme right of the advancing division to a house beyond its left. Behind that house there was a heavy battery which, with three others along the Confederate line, but on the heights behind it, covered with all sorts of projectiles the ground upon which the Union force was advancing. A grove in front of the enemy's right wing afforded it shelter and protection, while the shrubbery in the fences along the road screened somewhat his left wing. The battery of Griffin advanced within a thousand yards, and opened an unerring and deadly fire upon the enemy's batteries, (on the right,) which were soon silenced or driven away. The right of the Union force was now rapidly developed by this first brigade of the second division—the marines, the Twenty-seventh, Fourteenth, and Eighth, with the cavalry in the rear of the right. The enemy retreated in more precipitation than order, as this part of the line advanced. Meanwhile, it appearing that the Second Rhode Island, of the second brigade, was closely pressed by the right of the enemy, Col. Burnside ordered the Seventy-first New York and Second New Hampshire to advance, intending to hold the First Rhode Island in reserve; but, owing to delay in the formation of the Seventy-first and Second, the First Rhode Island was at once ordered on the field. It performed most efficient service in assisting its comrades to repel the attack of the enemy's forces, which the Second Rhode Island had steadily borne, and had bravely stood its ground, even compelling him to give way. Soon the Seventy-first came into action, planting the two howitzers belonging to the regiment upon the right of its line, and working them most effectively. Next came the Second New Hampshire into the field; and the whole of the second brigade was engaged in action on the right of the enemy.

The enemy now clung with so much tenacity to the protecting wood, and the Rhode Island battery became so much endangered, as to impel the commander to call for the battalion of regulars. This battalion was composed of two companies of the Second, five companies of the Third, and one company of the Eighth U. S. Infantry. It was a part of the first brigade, and was at once ordered to support the second brigade, under Col. Burnside, which was now suffering from a severe fire in its front. The line of the battalion was rapidly formed, opening fire, and a column under Col. Heintzelman appearing at the same moment on the left of the battalion, the enemy fell back to the rising ground in his rear.

The third division, consisting of three brigades, under Col. Heintzelman, was under arms, in light marching order, with two days' cooked rations in their haversacks, and commenced the march at half-past two in the morning. It followed immediately in the rear of the second division, Col. Hunter, and with that division, turning to the right from the turnpike by a country road, and crossing Bull Run at Sudley's Spring. It was the intention that this division should turn to the left and cross a ford about midway between the Warrenton turnpike and Sudley's Springs. But the road was either missed or did not exist. Probably missed, as there is a ford called "Poplar or Red Hill Ford," midway between the Stone Bridge and Sudley's. Before the third division reached Sudley's the battle had commenced. Smoke could be seen rising on their left from two points a mile or more apart. Two clouds of dust were also visible, showing the advance of troops from the direction of Manassas. Two regiments were at this time ordered forward, to prevent the enemy from outflanking the second division, under Col. Hunter. Accordingly, the Minnesota advanced on the left of the road

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which crossed the run, the Eleventh Massachusetts moved up it, followed by the remainder of the division, except Arnold's battery, which, supported by the First Michigan, was posted a little below the crossing of the run as a reserve.

The advance of the battalion of regular infantry and the regiment detached from Col. Heintzelman, to support the second brigade, under Col. Burnside, above mentioned, caused the enemy to come flying from the woods towards the right, and the Twenty-seventh completed their retreat by charging directly upon their centre in the face of a scorching fire, while the Fourteenth and Eighth moved down the turnpike to cut off the retiring foe, and to support the Twenty-seventh, which was standing the brunt of the action, with its ranks thinning in the dreadful fire. Now the resistance of the enemy's left became so obstinate that the beaten right retired in safety. This retreat of the enemy's right afforded an opportunity for the brigades of Cols. Sherman and Keyes, belonging to Gen. Tyler's division, to cross over, as will be presently noticed.

The appearance of the head of Col. Heintzelman's column upon the field at the moment of the obstinate resistance of the enemy's left, enabled the Fifth Massachusetts and Eleventh New York (Fire Zouaves) to move forward to support the centre of the first brigade of Col. Hunter's division, which had been on the right and constantly engaged. At this time the Eighth New York, under Col. Lyons, of this brigade, had broken. They were only partially rallied again. This was the first regiment to break ranks and retire on the field that day. The Fourteenth also broke, but was soon rallied in rear of Griffin's battery, which soon took a position further to the front and right, from which its fire was delivered with such precision and rapidity as to compel the batteries of the enemy to retire far behind the brow of the hill in front.

At this time the first brigade of Col. Hunter's division occupied a line considerably in advance of that first occupied by the left wing of the enemy. The battery was pouring its withering fire into the batteries and columns of the enemy wherever exposed. The cavalry were likewise engaged in feeling the left flank of the enemy's position, during which some captures were made. Early in the action Gen. Hunter had been wounded and conveyed from the field, and the command of the division had devolved on Col. A. Porter.

The orders to Gen. Tyler were to threaten the passage of the Stone Bridge. Soon after getting into position, it was discovered that the enemy had a heavy battery with infantry in support, commanding both the road and bridge approaches, on which both Ayres and Carlisle at different times tried the effect of their guns without success. The banks of the run proving impracticable for the passage of artillery, the batteries remained comparatively useless until the approach to the bridge was cleared. During this period of waiting, the 30-pounder was occasionally used with considerable effect against bodies of infantry and cavalry, which could be seen from time to time moving in the direction of Col. Hunter's column, and out of the range of the ordinary guns. When it appeared that the divisions of Cols. Hunter and Heintzelman were arrested in their progress, and the enemy seemed to be moving heavy reinforcements to support their troops, the brigade of Col. Sherman was ordered by Gen. Tyler to cross over and support the columns engaged. The brigade of Col. Keyes was also ordered to follow. This brigade, on reaching the high ground across the run, was ordered to form on the left of Col. Sherman's brigade, which was done with great steadiness and regularity. After waiting a few minutes, the line was ordered to advance and come into conflict on its right with the enemy's cavalry and infantry, which, after some severe struggles, it drove back, until the further march of Keyes' brigade was arrested by a severe fire of artillery and infantry, sheltered by some buildings standing on the heights above the road leading to Bull Run. A charge was here ordered, and the Second Maine and Third Connecticut, which were opposed to this part of the enemy's line, pressed forward to the top of the hill until they reached the buildings which were held by the enemy, and drove them out and for a moment held possession. The gallantry of this charge upon infantry and artillery, says Col. Keyes, "was never, in my opinion, surpassed." At this point, finding the brigade under the fire of a strong force behind breastworks, it was ordered to march by the left flank across an open field until the whole line was sheltered by the right bank of Bull Run, along which the march was conducted, with a view to turn the battery, which the enemy had placed on the hill below the point at which the Warrenton turnpike crosses Bull Run. The enemy were forced to retire for a considerable distance below the Stone Bridge, and an opportunity was afforded to Capt. Alexander to pass over the bridge, cut out the abatis which had been placed there, and prepare the way for Col. Schenck's brigade and two batteries to pass over.

Meanwhile Col. Sherman's brigade, which had been ordered by Gen. Tyler to cross over in advance of Col. Keyes, found no difficulty in the movement and met no opposition in ascending the steep bluff with the infantry. Advancing slowly and continuously with the head of the column to give time for the regiments in succession to close up their ranks, the brigade proceeded with caution towards the field, and soon formed in rear of Col. Porter's brigade. Here orders were given to Col. Sherman to join in pursuit of the enemy, who were falling back to the left of the road by which the army had approached from Sudley's Spring. The brigade moved in the following order: Thirteenth New York in advance, followed by the Second Wisconsin, Seventy-ninth and Sixty-

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ninth New York. The Thirteenth advanced steadily down the hill and up the ridge, from which it opened fire upon the enemy who had made another stand on ground very favorable to him, and the regiment continued advancing as the enemy gave way.

The position which the battle had now attained was as follows: Early in the morning the force of the enemy had been stationed along Bull Run, from the Stone Bridge down to the Union Mills, below Blackburn's Ford. But owing to the crossing of the Federal troops at Sudley's Spring, further up than the extreme left of the enemy at the Stone Bridge, the line of the latter was entirely changed. It formed, as has been stated, along the Warrenton turnpike, which crosses at the Stone Bridge, and continues on in a due western course. In this position the enemy was found by the first troops that crossed over. On the Federal side, Col. Richardson's brigade, of the first division, was posted at Blackburn Ford, to prevent the enemy from crossing, and also to make a feint to cross when the firing of Gen. Tyler at the Stone Bridge above should be heard, which was so done. Gen. Hunter's division opened the attack upon the enemy's line formed on the Warrenton turnpike. The brigade of Col. Porter on the right had been strengthened by Col. Heintzelman's division, consisting of Cols. Wilcox's and Howard's brigades and a part of Col. Franklin's. To these was now added Col. Sherman's brigade, from Gen. Tyler's first division. Further on the left the attack was commenced by Col. Burnside, with the second brigade of Col. Hunter's division, and sustained with great gallantry and resolution, especially by the First and Second Rhode Island and the Rhode Island battery, until strengthened by Major Sykes' battalion of regulars, and still further by a portion of Col. Heintzelman's force and Keyes' brigade, of Gen. Tyler's division. All the Federal force was now on the field of battle, excepting the division of Col. Miles, consisting of Cols. Blenker and Davies' brigades, and also the brigade of Col. Richardson at Blackburn's Ford, and the brigade of Col. Schenck at the Stone Bridge, with the accompanying batteries. The effect of this strong and firm attack on the enemy's line had caused it to yield at all points. The Federal force was in possession of the Warrenton turnpike from the Stone Bridge westward. On their right the enemy had retreated nearly a mile and a half. On the left they had also given way so that Col. Schenck's brigade was about to cross over the Stone Bridge.

The road taken by the troops from Sudley's Spring down to the Warrenton turnpike, deflects to the left somewhat, near the turnpike, and crosses it at about right angles. On the left of this road, after it crosses the turnpike, is a hill with a farm-house on it, where the enemy had, early in the day, planted some of his most annoying batteries. Across the road from this hill was another hill, or rather elevated ridge, or table land. The hottest part of the contest was for the possession of this hill, with the house on it. General McDowell thus describes it: "The force engaged here was Heintzelman's division of Wilcox's and Howard's brigades on the right, supported by part of Porter's brigade, of Hunter's division, and the cavalry under Palmer, and Franklin's brigade, of Heintzelman's division, Sherman's brigade, of Tyler's division, in the centre, and up the road, whilst Keyes' brigade, of Tyler's division, was on the left attacking the batteries near the Stone Bridge. The Rhode Island battery, of the Burnside brigade, also participated in this attack, by its fire from the north of the turnpike. Ricketts' battery, together with Griffins' battery, was on the side of the hill and became the object of the special attention of the enemy, who succeeded, through a mistake by which one of his regiments was thought to be a Federal force, in disabling the battery, and then attempting to take it. Three times was he repulsed by different corps in succession, and driven back, and the guns taken by hand, the horses having been killed, and pulled away. The third time, it was supposed by us all that the repulse was final, for he was driven entirely from the hill, and so far beyond it as not to be in sight, and all were certain the day was ours.

"The enemy was evidently disheartened and broken. But we had been fighting since half-past 10 o'clock in the morning, and it was after 3 o'clock in the afternoon; the men had been up since 2 o'clock in the morning, and had made what to those unused to such things, seemed a long march before coming into action, though the longest distance gone over was not more than nine and a half miles; and though they had three days' provisions served out to them the day before, many no doubt did not eat them, or threw them away on the march, or during the battle, and were therefore without food. They had done much severe fighting. Some of the regiments which had been driven from the hill in the first two attempts of the enemy to keep possession of it, had become shaken, were unsteady, and had many men out of the ranks."

Colonel Porter, in command of Hunter's division after Colonel Hunter was wounded, thus reports the same scenes: "The flags of eight regiments, though borne somewhat wearily, now pointed towards the hill, from which disordered masses of the enemy had been seen hastily retiring. Griffin's and Ricketts' batteries were ordered by the Commanding General to the top of the hill on the right, as supporting with the Fire Zouaves and marines, while the Fourteenth entered the skirt of wood on their right, to protect that flank as a column composed of the Twenty-seventh New York, and Eleventh and Fifth Massachusetts, Second Minnesota, and Sixty-ninth New York moved up towards the left flank of the batteries; but so soon as they were in position, and before the flanking supports had reached theirs, a murderous fire of musketry and rifles opened at pistol range, cut down every cannon-

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ier and a large number of horses. The fire came from some infantry of the enemy, which had been mistaken for our own forces; an officer in the field having stated that it was a regiment sent by Colonel Heintzelman to support the batteries.

"The evanescent courage of the Zouaves prompted them to fire perhaps a hundred shots, when they broke and fled, leaving the batteries open to a charge of the enemy's cavalry, which took place immediately. The Marines, in spite of their gallant officers, gave way in disorder. The Fourteenth, on the right, and the column on the left, hesitatingly retired, with the exception of the Sixty-ninth and Thirty-eighth New York, who nobly stood and returned the fire of the enemy for fifteen minutes. Soon the slopes behind us were swarming with our retreating and disorganized forces, while riderless horses and artillery teams ran furiously through the flying crowd."

Colonel Sherman, in his report of this part of the conflict, says: "At the point where the road from Sudley's Spring crossed the bridge to our left, the ground was swept by a most severe fire, by artillery, rifle, and musketry, and we saw in succession several regiments driven from it, among them the Zouaves and battalion of marines. Before reaching the crest of the hill, the roadway was worn deep enough to afford shelter, and I kept the several regiments in it as long as possible. But when the Second Wisconsin was abreast of the enemy, it was ordered to leave the roadway by the left flank, and attack the enemy. This regiment ascended to the brow of the hill steadily, received the severe fire of the enemy, returned it with spirit, and advanced, delivering its fire. It was repulsed, rallied, and repulsed again. By this time, the Seventy-ninth New York had closed up, and in like manner it was ordered to cross the brow of the hill, and drive the enemy from cover. It was impossible to get a good view of the ground. In it there was one battery of artillery, which poured an incessant fire upon our advancing column, and the ground was irregular, with small clusters of pines, affording shelter, of which the enemy took good advantage. The fire of rifles and musketry was very severe. The Seventy-ninth, headed by its Colonel, charged across the hill, and for a short time the contest was severe. They rallied several times under fire, but finally broke, and gained the cover of the hills. This left the field open to the Sixty-ninth New York, Colonel Corcoran, who, in his turn, led his regiment over the crest, and had in full open view the ground so severely contested. The firing was very severe, and the roar of cannon, rifles, and musketry incessant. It was manifest the enemy was here in great force, far superior to us at that point. The Sixty-ninth held the ground for some time, but finally fell back in disorder. At this time, the Thirteenth New York occupied another ridge to our left, overlooking the same field of action, and similarly engaged. Here, at 3½ P. M., began the scene of disorder."

Colonel Burnside reports from another part of the field:

"The battery of the Second Rhode Island changed its position into a field upon the right, and was brought to bear upon the force which Colonel Porter was engaging. The enemy's infantry having fallen back, two sections of Captain W. H. Reynolds' battery advanced, and succeeded in breaking the charge of the enemy's cavalry, which had now been brought into the engagement. It was nearly 4 o'clock P. M., and the battle had continued for almost six hours since the time when the second brigade had been engaged, with every thing in favor of our troops, and promising decisive victory, when some of the regiments engaging the enemy upon the extreme right of our line broke, and large numbers passed disorderly by my brigade, then drawn up in the position which they last held."

The position of the battle described in these extracts was its turning point. The view taken of the contest at this time, by the Commander-in-Chief of the Confederate forces, is of great interest. In his official report, General Beauregard thus speaks:

"The topographical features of the plateau, now become the stage of the contending armies, must be described in outline. A glance at the map will show that it is enclosed on three sides by small water courses, which empty into Bull Run within a few yards of each other, half a mile to the south of the Stone Bridge. Rising to an elevation of quite one hundred feet above the level of Bull Run at the bridge, it falls off on three sides, to the level of the enclosing streams in gentle slopes, but which are furrowed by ravines of irregular direction and length, and studded with clumps and patches of young pines and oaks. The general direction of the crest of the plateau is oblique to the course of Bull Run in that quarter, and on the Brentsville and turnpike roads, which intersect each other at right angles. Completely surrounding the two houses before mentioned, are small open fields, of irregular outline, and exceeding 150 acres in extent. The houses, occupied at the time, the one by widow Henry, and the other by the free negro, Robinson, are small wooden buildings, densely embowered in trees and environed by a double row of fences on two sides. Around the eastern and southern brow of the plateau, an almost unbroken fringe of second-growth pines gave excellent shelter for our marksmen, who availed themselves of it, with the most satisfactory skill. To the west, adjoining the fields, a broad belt of oaks extends directly across the crest, on both sides of the Sudley road, in which, during the battle, regiments of both armies met and contended for the mastery. From the open ground of this plateau the view embraces a wide expanse of woods and gently undulating open country of broad grass and grain fields in all directions, including the scene of Evans' and Bee's recent encounter with the enemy—some twelve hundred yards to the northward. In reply to the play of the enemy's batteries, our own artillery had not been idle or unskilful.

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The ground occupied by our guns, on a level with that held by the batteries of the enemy, was an open space of limited extent, behind a low undulation, just at the eastern verge of the plateau, some 500 or 600 yards from the Henry house. Here, as before said, some thirteen pieces, mostly six-pounders, were maintained in action. The several batteries of Imboden, Stanard, Pendleton, (Rockbridge Artillery,) and Alburtis', of the Army of the Shenandoah, and five guns of Walton's, and Heaton's section of Rogers' battery, of the Army of the Potomac, alternating to some extent with each other, and taking part as needed; all from the outset displaying that marvellous capacity of our people as artillerists which has made them, it would appear, at once the terror and the admiration of the enemy. As was soon apparent, the Federalists had suffered severely from our artillery, and from the fire of our musketry on the right, and especially from the left flank, placed under cover, within whose galling range they had been advanced. And, we are told in their official reports, how regiment after regiment, thrown forward to dislodge us, was broken, never to recover its entire organization on that field. In the mean time, also, two companies of Stuart's cavalry (Carter's and Hoge's) made a dashing charge down the Brentsville and Sudley road upon the Fire Zouaves—then the enemy's right on the plateau—which added to the disorder wrought by our musketry on that flank. But still the press of the enemy was heavy in that quarter of the field, as fresh troops were thrown forward there to outflank us; and some three guns of a battery, in an attempt to obtain a position apparently to enfilade our batteries, were thrown so close to the Thirty-third Regiment, Jackson's brigade, that that regiment, springing forward, seized them, but with severe loss, and was subsequently driven back by an overpowering force of Federal musketry.

"Now, full 2 o'clock P. M., I gave the order for the right of my line, except my reserves, to advance to recover the plateau. It was done with uncommon resolution and vigor, and at the same time, Jackson's brigade pierced the enemy's centre with the determination of veterans, and the spirit of men who fight for a sacred cause; but it suffered seriously. With equal spirit the other parts of the line made the onset, and the Federal lines were broken and swept back, at all points, from the open ground of the plateau. Rallying soon, however, as they were strongly reinforced by fresh regiments, the Federalists returned, and by weight of numbers pressed our lines back, recovered their ground and guns, and renewed the offensive. By this time, between half-past 2 and 3 o'clock P. M., our reinforcements pushed forward, and directed by General Johnston to the required quarter, were at hand just as I had ordered forward to a second effort for the recovery of the disputed plateau, the whole line, including my reserves, which, at this crisis of the battle, I felt called upon to lead in person. This attack was general, and was shared in by every regiment then in the field, including the Sixth (Fisher's) North Carolina Regiment, which had just come up and taken position on the immediate left of the Forty-ninth Virginia Regiment. The whole open ground was again swept clear of the enemy, and the plateau around the Henry and Robinson houses remained finally in our possession, with the greater part of the Ricketts and Griffin batteries, and a flag of the First Michigan Regiment, captured by the Twenty-seventh Virginia Regiment, (Lieutenant-Colonel Echolls,) of Jackson's brigade. This part of the day was rich with deeds of individual coolness and dauntless conduct, as well as well-directed embodied resolution and bravery, but fraught with the loss to the service of the country, of lives of inestimable preciousness at this juncture. The brave Bee was mortally wounded, at the head of the Fourth Alabama and some Mississippians, in an open field near the Henry house; and a few yards distant, the promising life of Bartow, while leading the Seventh Georgia Regiment, was quenched in blood. Colonel F. J. Thomas, Acting Chief-of-Ordnance, of General Johnston's staff, after gallant conduct, and most efficient service, was also slain. Colonel Fisher, Sixth North Carolina, likewise fell, after soldierly behavior, at the head of his regiment, with ranks greatly thinned. Withers' Eighteenth Regiment, of Cocke's brigade, had come up in time to follow this charge, and, in conjunction with Hampton's Legion, captured several rifle pieces, which may have fallen previously in possession of some of our troops; but if so, had been recovered by the enemy. These pieces were immediately turned, and effectively served on distant masses of the enemy, by the hands of some of our officers.

"While the enemy had thus been driven back on our right entirely across the turnpike, and beyond Young's branch on our left, the woods yet swarmed with them, when our reinforcements opportunely arrived in quick succession, and took position in that portion of the field. Kershaw's Second, and Cash's Eighth South Carolina regiments, which had arrived soon after Withers', were led through the oaks just east of the Sudley-Brentsville road, brushing some of the enemy before them, and, taking an advantageous position along and west of that road, opened with much skill and effect on bodies of the enemy that had been rallied under cover of a strong Federal brigade posted on a plateau in the southwest angle, formed by intersection of the turnpike with the Sudley-Brentsville road. Among the troops thus engaged, were the Federal regular infantry. At the same time, Kemper's battery, passing northward by the S.-B. road, took position on the open space—under orders of Colonel Kershaw—near where an enemy's battery had been captured, and opened with effective results upon the Federal right, then the mark

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also of Kershaw's and Cash's regiments. Preston's Twenty-eighth Regiment, of Cocke's brigade, had by that time entered the same body of oaks, and encountered some Michigan troops, capturing their brigade commander, Colonel Wilcox.

"Another important accession to our forces had also occurred about the same time, at 3 o'clock P. M. Brigadier-General E. K. Smith, with some 1,700 infantry of Elzey's brigade, of the Army of the Shenandoah, and Beckham's battery, came upon the field, from Camp Pickens, Manassas, where they had arrived by railroad at noon. Directed in person by General Johnston to the left, then so much endangered, on reaching a position in rear of the oak woods, south of the Henry house, and immediately east of the Sudley road, General Smith was disabled by a severe wound, and his valuable services were lost at that critical juncture. But the command devolved upon a meritorious officer of experience, Colonel Elzey, who led his infantry at once somewhat further to the left, in the direction of the Chinn house, across the road, through the oaks skirting the west side of the road, and around which he sent the battery under Lieutenant Beckham. This officer took up a most favorable position near that house, whence, with a clear view of the Federal right and centre, filling the open fields to the west of the Brentsville-Sudley road, and gently sloping southward, he opened fire with his battery upon them with deadly and damaging effect.

"Colonel Early, who, by some mischance, did not receive orders until two o'clock, which had been sent him at noon, came on the ground immediately after Elzey, with Kemper's Seventh Virginia, Hay's Seventh Louisiana, and Barksdale's Thirteenth Mississippi regiments. This brigade, by the personal direction of General Johnston, was marched by the Holkham house, across the fields to the left, entirely around the woods through which Elzey had passed, and under a severe fire, into a position in line of battle near Chinn's house, outflanking the enemy's right. At this time, about half-past 3 P. M., the enemy, driven back on their left and centre, and brushed from the woods bordering the Sudley road, south and west of the Henry house, had formed a line of battle of truly formidable proportions, of crescent outline, reaching on their left from the vicinity of Pittsylvania, (the old Carter mansion,) by Matthew's, and in rear of Dogan's, across the turnpike near to Chinn's house. The woods and fields were filled with their masses of infantry, and their carefully preserved cavalry. It was a truly magnificent, though redoubtable spectacle, as they threw forward in fine style, on the broad, gentle slopes of the ridge occupied by their main lines, a cloud of skirmishers, preparatory for another attack. But as Early formed his line, and Beckham's pieces played upon the right of the enemy, Elzey's brigade, Gibbon's Tenth Virginia, Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart's First Maryland, and Vaughn's Third Tennessee regiments, and Cash's Eighth, and Kershaw's Second South Carolina, Withers' Eighteenth, and Preston's Twenty-eighth Virginia, advanced in an irregular line almost simultaneously, with great spirit, from their several positions upon the front and flanks of the enemy, in their quarter of the field. At the same time, too, Early resolutely assailed their right flank and rear. Under the combined attack, the enemy was soon forced, first over the narrow plateau in the southern angle made by the two roads, so often mentioned, into a patch of woods on its western slope, thence back over Young's branch and the turnpike, into the fields of the Dugan farm, and rearward, in extreme disorder, in all available directions, towards Bull Run. The rout had now become general and complete."

In his report, General McDowell thus remarks on the position of the battle:

"It was at this time that the enemy's reinforcements came to his aid, from the railroad train, understood to have arrived from the valley with the residue of Johnston's army. They threw themselves in the woods on our right, and opened a fire of musketry upon our men, which caused them to break, and retire down the hillside. This soon degenerated into disorder, for which there was no remedy. Every effort was made to rally them, even beyond the reach of the enemy's fire, but in vain."

A line drawn through the battle-field to Manassas Junction, would run about due south. The railroad from Winchester to Manassas Junction comes in on a southeast course. Consequently, the line above mentioned, and the railroad, converge, and meet at the Junction. The Dumfries road, bounding the west side of the battle-field, and running straight south, crosses the Winchester railroad about two miles from the Junction. Up this road came the last reinforcements of the enemy, from General Johnston's command at Winchester. This was nearer than to proceed to the Junction, and caused the clouds of dust seen.

Colonel Porter, commanding the division of Colonel Hunter, thus continues his report:

"All further efforts were futile. The words, gestures, and threats of our officers were thrown away upon men who had lost all presence of mind, and only longed for absence of body. Some of our noblest and best officers lost their lives in trying to rally them. Upon our first position, the Twenty-seventh New York was the first to rally, under the command of Major Bartlett, and around it the other regiments engaged soon gathered their scattered fragments. The battalion of regulars, in the mean time, moved steadily across the field from the left to the right, and took up a position where it held the entire forces of the enemy in check until our forces were somewhat rallied.

"The Commanding General then ordered a retreat upon Centreville, at the same time directing me to cover it with the battalion of regulars, the cavalry, and a section of artillery.

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The rear-guard thus organized followed our panic-stricken troops to Centreville, resisting the attacks of the Confederate cavalry and artillery, and saving them from the inevitable destruction which awaited them, had not this body been interposed."

Colonel Burnside, commanding the other brigade of Colonel Hunter's division, which commenced the attack, thus reports this part of the battle:

"When the general retreat was ordered, the First Rhode Island passed on to the top of the hill, where it was joined by the remainder of the brigade, and formed into column. Large bodies of stragglers were passing along the road, and it was found impossible to retain the order which otherwise would have been preserved. Yet the brigade succeeded in retiring in comparatively good condition, with Arnold's battery of artillery and Captain Armstrong's company of dragoons bringing up the rear. The retreat continued thus until the column was about emerging from the woods and entering upon the Warrenton turnpike, when the artillery and cavalry went to the front, and the enemy opened fire upon the retreating mass of men. Upon the bridge crossing Cub Run,* a shot took effect upon the horses of a team that was crossing. The wagon was overturned directly in the centre of the bridge, and the passage was completely obstructed. The enemy continued to play his artillery upon the trains, carriages, ambulances, and artillery wagons that filled the road, and these were reduced to ruin. The artillery could not possibly pass, and five pieces of the Rhode Island battery, which had been safely brought off the field, were here lost. The infantry, as the files reached the bridge, were furiously pelted with a shower of grape and other shot, and several persons were here killed or dangerously wounded. As was to be expected, the whole column was thrown into confusion, and could not be rallied again for a distance of two or three miles."

Colonel Schenck, stationed at the Stone Bridge, thus reports:

"It was not long after this that the unpleasant intelligence came of our army being in retreat from the front across the ford above, and the order was received to fall back on Centreville. The retreat of my brigade, being now in the rear of our division, was conducted in the reverse order of our march in the morning, the Second New York moving first, and being followed by the Second and First Ohio, the two latter regiments preserving their lines in good degree, rallying together, and arriving at Centreville with closed ranks, and sharing comparatively little in the panic which characterized so painfully that retreat, and which seemed to be occasioned more by the fear of frightened teamsters and of hurrying and excited civilians, (who ought never to have been there,) than even by the reckless disorder and want of discipline of straggling soldiers. Near the house which was occupied as a hospital for the wounded, about a mile from the battle-ground, a dashing charge was made upon the retreating column by a body of the rebel cavalry, which was gallantly repelled, and principally by two companies of the Second Ohio, with loss on both sides."

The reserve, consisting of two brigades under Col. Miles, was stationed at Centreville. The most important of its movements were made by Col. Blenker's brigade, who thus reports these passing scenes:

"In this position the brigade remained until about 4 o'clock P. M., when I received orders to advance upon the road from Centreville to Warrenton. This order was executed with great difficulty, as the road was nearly choked up by retreating baggage wagons of several divisions, and by the vast number of flying soldiers belonging to various regiments. Nevertheless, owing to the coolness of the commanding officers and the good discipline of the men, the passage through the village was sucessfully executed, and the further advance made with the utmost precision, and I was thus enabled to take a position which would prevent the advance of the enemy and protect the retreat of the army. The Eighth Regiment took position one and a half miles south of Centreville, on both sides of the road leading to Bull Run. The Twenty-ninth Regiment stood half a mile behind the Eighth, enchiquier by companies. The Garibaldi Guard stood in reserve in line behind the Twenty-ninth Regiment. The retreat of great numbers of flying soldiers continued until 9 o'clock in the evening, the great majority in wild confusion, and but few in collected bodies. Soon afterwards, several squadrons of the enemy's cavalry advanced along the road, and appeared before the outposts. They were challenged, "Who comes here?" and, remaining without any answer, I being just present at the outpost, called "Union forever!" whereupon the officer of the enemy's cavalry commanded, "*En avant! en avant!* knock him down!" Now the skirmishers fired, when the enemy turned around, leaving several killed and wounded on the spot. About nine prisoners who were already in their hands were liberated by this action. Afterwards we were several times molested from various sides by the enemy's cavalry. At about midnight the command to leave the position and march to Washington was given by Gen. McDowell. The brigade retired in perfect order, and ready to repel any attack on the road from Centreville to Fairfax Court House, Annandale, to Washington."

A prompt retreat of the fragments of his army was resolved upon by Gen. McDowell, and while the stragglers had pushed on from the battle-field to Washington without halting, the organized masses commenced leaving about nine o'clock that night. By midnight all but

* Cub Run is a small stream running south and southwest, and crossing the Warrenton turnpike midway between Centreville and the stone bridge over Bull Run.

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the wounded and the dead of that well-found army which commenced its march from Washington five days previous, proud, exultant, and confident of victory, was panic-stricken, groping its way, under the cover of the darkness of night, to the intrenchments opposite Washington. Never had the flag of the Union trailed so low in the dust before; never was so brilliant a career opened before it as that which commenced on the day after that dreadful night. About six months from that hour the fugitives became victors in every contest, and the triumphant foe were fleeing from every point.

Fortunately for the remnants of the Federal army, the Confederate forces did not pursue their flying foe. The reasons for this omission are thus stated by Gen. Johnston in his official report:

"The apparent firmness of the United States troops at Centreville who had not been engaged, which checked our pursuit; the strong forces occupying the works near Georgetown, Arlington, and Alexandria; the certainty, too, that General Patterson, if needed, would reach Washington, with his army of thirty thousand men, sooner than we could; and the condition and inadequate means of the army in ammunition, provisions, and transportation, prevented any serious thoughts of advancing against the capital. It is certain that the fresh troops within the works were, in number, quite sufficient for their defence; if not, General Patterson's army would certainly reinforce them soon enough."

After the affair at Blackburn's Ford on the 18th, Gen. McDowell became convinced that the nature of the country to the left or southward to Manassas was unfit for the operations of a large army, and he determined to move by the right, turning the enemy's left. An examination was made during the next day, and in consequence of the information thus obtained, the following plan of attack was determined upon: (See orders, p. 78.)

1st. A false attack to be made by Richardson's brigade (temporarily attached to Miles' division) on Blackburn's Ford, the rest of that division remaining in reserve at Centreville.

2d. Tyler's division to move from its camp at 2½ A.M., (the 21st,) towards the stone bridge of the Warrenton turnpike, to feign the main attack upon this point.

3d. The divisions of Hunter and Heintzelman (in the order named) to leave their camps at 2 and 2½ A. M., (they were encamped about two or three miles behind Tyler,) and, following his movement, to diverge from the Warrenton turnpike at the by-road beyond Cub Run, and take the road for Sudley's Spring; or, rather, it was provided that Hunter's division should proceed to Sudley's Spring, and Heintzelman take the lower ford. These matters, however, were to be regulated by circumstances.

It was intended that the head of Hunter's division should be at the turn-off at early daylight, or about 4 A M., and that it should reach Sudley by six or seven.

The two leading brigades of Tyler's had not cleared the road for Hunter to this point until half-past five, and the guide, alleging that a nearer route to the ford would bring the column in sight of the enemy's batteries, led them by so circuitous a way that Hunter did not reach Sudley's Spring until half-past nine or thereabouts.

The explanation given by Gen. McDowell for the disasters of the day, although rather lengthy, is entitled to full consideration. He thus reports:

"As my position may warrant, even if it does not call for some explanation of the causes, as far as they can be seen, which led to the results herein stated, I trust it may not be out of place if I refer in a few words to the immediate antecedents of the battle. When I submitted to the General-in-Chief, in compliance with his verbal instructions, the plan of operations and estimate of force required, the time I was to proceed to carry it into effect was fixed for the 8th of July, Monday. Every facility possible was given me by the General-in-Chief and the heads of the administrative departments, in making the necessary preparations. But the regiments, owing, I was told, to a want of transportation, came over slowly. Many of them did not come across till eight or nine days after the time fixed upon, and went forward without my even seeing them, and without having been together before in a brigade. The sending reinforcements to General Patterson, by drawing off the wagons, was a further and unavoidable cause of delay. Notwithstanding the Herculean efforts of the Quartermaster-General, and his favoring me in every way, the wagons for ammunition, subsistence, &c., and the horses for the trains and the artillery, did not arrive for more than a week after the time appointed to move. I was not even prepared as late as the 15th ultimo; and the desire I should move became great, and it was wished I should not, if possible, delay longer than Tuesday, the 16th ultimo. When I did set out, on the 16th, I was still deficient in wagons for subsistence. But I went forward, trusting to their being procured in time to follow me. The trains thus hurriedly gathered together, with horses, wagons, drivers, and wagon managers, all new and unused to each other, moved with difficulty and disorder, and was the cause of a day's delay in getting the provisions forward, making it necessary to make, on Sunday, the attack we should have made on Saturday. I could not, with every exertion, get forward with the troops earlier than we did. I wished to go to Centreville the second day, which would have taken us there on the 17th, and enabled us, so far as they were concerned, to go into action on the 19th, instead of the 21st; but when I went forward from Fairfax Court House, beyond Germantown, to urge them forward, I was told it was impossible for the men to march further. They had

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only come from Vienna, about six miles, and it was not more than six and a half miles farther to Centreville—in all a march of twelve and a half miles; but the men were foot-weary, not so much, I was told, by the distance marched, as by the time they had been on foot, caused by the obstructions in the road, and the slow pace we had to move to avoid ambuscades. The men were, moreover, unaccustomed to marching, their bodies not in condition for that kind of work, and not used to carrying even the load of light marching order.

"We crossed Bull Run with about 18,000 men of all arms, the fifth division (Miles' and Richardson's brigades) on the left, at Blackburn's Ford to Centreville, and Schenck's brigade of Tyler's division on the left of the road, near the Stone Bridge, not participating in the main action. The numbers opposed to us have been variously estimated. I may safely say, and avoid even the appearance of exaggeration, that the enemy brought up all he could which were not kept engaged elsewhere. He had notice of our coming on the 17th, and had from that time until the 21st to bring up whatever he had. It is known that in estimating the force to go against Manassas, I engaged not to have to do with the enemy's forces under Johnston, then kept in check in the valley by Major-General Patterson, or those kept engaged by Major-General Butler; and I know every effort was made by the General-in-Chief that this should be done, and that even if Johnston joined Beauregard, it would not be because he could be followed by General Patterson, but from causes not necessary for me to refer to, you knew them all. This was not done, and the enemy was free to assemble from every direction in numbers only limited by the amount of his railroad rolling-stock and his supply of provisions. To the forces, therefore, we drove in from Fairfax Court House, Fairfax Station, Germantown, and Centreville, and those under Beauregard at Manassas, must be added those under Johnston from Winchester, and those brought up by Davis from Richmond, to other places at the South, to which is to be added the levy *en masse* ordered by the Richmond authorities, which was ordered to assemble at Manassas. What all this amounted to I cannot say—certainly much more than we attacked them with.

"I could not, as I have said, more early push on faster, nor could I delay. A large and the best part of my forces were three-months volunteers, whose term of service was about to expire, but who were sent forward as having long enough to serve for the purpose of the expedition. On the eve of the battle the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment of volunteers, and the battery of volunteer artillery of the New York Eighth militia, whose term of service expired, insisted on their discharge. I wrote to the regiment, expressing a request for them to remain a short time, and the Hon. Secretary of War, who was at the time on the ground, tried to induce the battery to remain at least five days. But in vain. They insisted on their discharge that night. It was granted, and the next morning, when the army moved forward into battle, these troops moved to the rear to the sound of the enemy's cannon.

"In the next few days, day by day, I should have lost ten thousand of the best armed, drilled, officered, and disciplined troops in the army. In other words, every day, which added to the strength of the enemy, made us weaker."

The loss on the Federal side, according to the official returns, was 481 killed, 1,011 wounded, and 1,216 missing. Among the killed were Col. Cameron, of the New York Seventy-ninth; Lieut.-Col. Haggerty, of the New York Sixty-ninth; Col. Slocum, Second Rhode Island; also Major Ballou and Capt. Tower.

The artillery lost was as follows:

Company D, Second Artillery, 6 rifled guns.

Company I, First Artillery, 6 rifled Parrott ten-pounders.

Company E, Second Artillery, 2 rifled guns and 2 howitzers.

Company —, Fifth Artillery, 1 rifled gun.

Company G, First Artillery, 1 thirty-pounder Parrott gun.

Rhode Island battery, 5 rifled guns.

To this should be added 180 boxes of small arm cartridges, 87 boxes of rifled cannon ammunition, 30 boxes of old fire-arms, 12 wagons loaded with provisions, and 3,000 bushels oats, a large number of muskets thrown away, and an immense number of blankets and knapsacks.*

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* The following documents, found in the camp at Manassas after its evacuation by the Confederate troops, contain returns embracing the period of the battle, and extending to the 16th of August ensuing. They correspond so very nearly with the statements of other documents entitled to the highest credit, that they should be considered in estimating the results of this battle.

The following is a list of captured Quartermaster's property turned in to the Quartermaster's Department of the Confederate Army of the Potomac up to August 16, 1861:

670 axes, spades, and intrenching tools.
2 sets carpenter's tools and blacksmith's tools.
12 sets harness, 28 extra traces for artillery.
1 platform and other scales.
1,650 camp cooking utensils.
700 camp mess utensils.
802 pairs pants, drawers, and socks.
700 blankets.
22 tents and dies.
21 wagons and 23 horses.
24 trunks and carpet-bags.
1 lot of rope.

Incomplete returns of many miscellaneous articles, such as bedticks, buckets, coffee mills, halters, saddles and bridles, and 15 barrels commissary stores.

E. P. ALEXANDER,
Captain Engineers, General Staff, C. S. A.

The following is a return of hospital equipments and supplies captured from the enemy and turned into the Medical Department of the Confederate States Army of the Potomac up to August 16, 1861:

5 medicine chests, partially filled.
6 cases surgical instruments.
2 sets panniers.
7 ambulances.
1 lot of medicines, lint, bandages, &c.

Returns of litters, instruments, supplies, &c., are all very incomplete, so much having been appropriated by surgeons

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Gen. Beauregard, in his report, states the number of his force on the 18th of July at 17,000 effective men; and on the 21st 27,000, which includes 6,200 sent from Gen. Johnston, and 1,700 brought up by Gen. Holmes from Fredericksburg. The report states the number killed to have been 269, wounded 1,483, aggregate, 1,852. The same report states the number of prisoners taken at 1,460.

On the left the Confederate force was commanded by Brig.-Gens. Evans, Jackson, and Cocke, and Col. Bartow. The centre was under Gens. Jones, Longstreet, and Benham. On the extreme right was Gen. Ewell. Early in the day an order was sent to him by Gen. Beauregard to attack and attempt to turn the left flank of the Federal force. The messenger was killed, and the orders were not received.

It is manifest that this battle was well fought. In the fore part of the afternoon the Confederate troops were nearly outflanked. At three o'clock the Federal force believed they had the victory; and that, indeed, they had, and would soon have reached and obtained possession of the railroad leading to Winchester. But the arrival of four fresh regiments, who entered the field with great spirit and energy, changed the result. At the session of the Confederate Congress, held at Richmond on the next day, the 22d, the following despatch was read:

MANASSAS JUNCTION, SUNDAY NIGHT.

The night has closed upon a hard-fought field. Our forces were victorious. The enemy were routed, and precipitately fled, abandoning a large amount of arms, knapsacks, and baggage. The ground was strewn for miles with those killed, and the farm houses and grounds around were filled with the wounded. Pursuit was continued along several routes towards Leesburg and Centreville until darkness covered the fugitives. We have captured many field batteries and stands of arms, and one of the United States flags. Many prisoners have been taken. Too high praise cannot be bestowed, whether for the skill of the principal officers, or the gallantry of all our troops. The battle was mainly fought on our left. Our force was 15,000; that of the enemy was estimated at 35,000.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Great indignation was manifested against Gen. Patterson in consequence of the successful movement of Gen. Johnston from Winchester, by which he was enabled to reënforce the Confederate army at Manassas. On the 16th he

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of regiments, &c., besides the loss from plundering by privates and citizens.

E. P. ALEXANDER,
Captain Engineers, General Staff.

Abstract list of prisoners and wounded of the enemy sent to Richmond and the hospitals at other places since the battle at Manassas, July 21, 1861:

PRISONERS NOT WOUNDED.	
Sent to Richmond	871
WOUNDED PRISONERS.	
Sent to hospitals since July 27	420
Estimated number sent previous to July 27	130
Total	550
Grand total	1,421

These prisoners represent themselves as belonging to forty-seven different volunteer regiments, nine regiments of the regular army, and the marine corps. Besides these regiments, in the reports and orders of the enemy are mentioned by name, one regiment of volunteers, and companies from two regiments of regulars in Hunter's Division; six volunteer regiments in Mill's division, and Runyon's entire division of at least five regiments from New Jersey, from which we have neither prisoners nor wounded.

E. P. ALEXANDER, Capt. Engineers, General Staff.

Returns of captured ordnance and ordnance stores turned into Ordnance Department, Army of the Potomac, up to August 16, 1861:

1 30-pounder Parrott gun, with 300 rounds ammunition.
9 10-pounder Parrott guns, with 100 rounds each.
3 6-pounder brass guns, with 100 rounds each.
3 12-pounder brass howitzers, with 100 rounds each.
2 12-pounder boat howitzers, with 100 rounds each.
9 James' rifled pieces, with 100 rounds each.
37 caissons.
6 travelling forges.
4 battery wagons, splendidly equipped.
64 artillery horses, with harness, &c.
500,000 rounds small arms ammunition.
4,500 sets of accoutrements, cartridge-boxes, &c.
4,000 muskets.

No accurate returns of drums, swords, pistols, knapsacks, haversacks, canteens, saddles, bridles, &c., can be obtained. One six-pound gun and one twelve-pound howitzer were found spiked, but they were easily withdrawn. One of the enemy's caissons was exploded on the field in addition to those captured.

E. P. ALEXANDER,
General Staff, Captain Engineers, C. S. A.

The report of General Beauregard states the number of field-pieces captured as follows: "Twenty-eight field-pieces of the best character of arm, with over one hundred rounds of ammunition to each gun, thirty-seven caissons, six forges, four battery wagons, sixty-four artillery horses completely equipped, five hundred thousand rounds of small arms ammunition, four thousand five hundred sets of accoutrements, over five thousand muskets," &c., &c.

HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
August 23, 1861.

COLONEL: In accordance with your request, I send you a list of the regiments actually in the battle of the 21st of July, 1861:

Jackson's brigade, consisting of the
Second Regiment Virginia Volunteers, Col. J. H. Allen commanding.
Fourth Regiment Virginia Volunteers, Col. James F. Preston commanding.
Fifth Regiment Virginia Volunteers, Col. Kerton Harper commanding.
Twenty-seventh Regiment Virginia Volunteers, Colonel Gordon absent, Lieutenant-Colonel Echols commanding.
Thirty-third Regiment Virginia Volunteers, Col. A. C. Cummings commanding.
Under General Bee, consisting of a part of his own and a part of Colonel Bartow's brigade—
Seventh Regiment Georgia Volunteers—Bartow's.
Eighth Regiment Georgia Volunteers—Bartow's.
Second Regiment Mississippi Volunteers—Bee's.
Fourth Regiment Alabama Volunteers—Bee's.
Sixth Regiment North Carolina Volunteers—Bee's.
Two companies Eleventh Mississippi Volunteers—Bee's.
E. R. Smith's brigade.
Tenth Regiment Virginia Volunteers, Colonel Elzey.
Third Regiment Tennessee Volunteers.
Maryland Volunteers.

BATTERIES IN ACTION.

Colonel Pendleton's—four pieces.
Captain Imboden's—four pieces.
Captain Alburti's—four pieces.
Captain Stanard's—four pieces.
Lieutenant Beckham's—four pieces.

CAVALRY.

Colonel J. E. B. Stewart, with twelve companies.

I cannot furnish the strength of the regiments, companies, &c. Respectfully, your obedient servant,

THOMAS G. RHETT, Acting Adjutant-General.

Colonel THOMAS JORDAN, Acting Adjutant-General, First Corps, Army of the Potomac.

This statement of the Confederate force in action evidently does not include the reënforcements brought by General Johnston. Neither does it mention the Fourth South Carolina, known to have been badly cut up, or Hampton's Legion.

The loss of the North Carolina Sixth was stated at home to have been as follows: Killed, 15; wounded, 56; missing, 1. The cannon captured at Bull Run were twenty-five pieces. The report of the Captain of Engineers makes the number turned over to the Ordnance Department of the Potomac Army to the 16th of August, at twenty-seven pieces.

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broke up his camp at Bunker Hill and retired upon Winchester and strongly intrenched himself. On the afternoon of the 17th he took the road to Berry's Ford, on the Shenandoah, and thence to Piedmont station, on the Manassas Gap Railroad, fifteen miles, making twenty-eight miles in two days, thence from Piedmont to Manassas Junction by railroad, about thirty-eight miles. The last of his force arrived on the battle-field in the afternoon. There can be no doubt these reënforcements saved the Confederate army from a total defeat.

The term of Gen. Patterson's command expired with the time of the three-months volunteers, when he retired from active service. No investigation has ever been made of the circumstances, nor explanation given beyond what was made by Gen. Patterson in a public speech soon after. He said: "On the 9th of July a council was held, at which all the commanders of divisions and brigades, and chiefs of staff, were present. Col. Stone, the junior line officer, spoke twice and decidedly against an advance, advocating a direct movement to Shephardstown and Charlestown. All who spoke opposed an advance, and all voted against it. On the same day he informed the General-in-Chief of the condition of affairs in the valley, and proposed that he should go to Charlestown and occupy Harper's Ferry, and asked to be informed when he would attack Manassas. On the 12th he was directed to go where he had proposed, and informed that Manassas would be attacked on Tuesday, the 16th. On the 13th he was telegraphed: 'If not strong enough to beat the enemy early next week, make demonstrations so as to detain him in the valley of Winchester.' He made the demonstrations, and on the 16th, the day General Scott said he would attack Manassas, he drove the enemy's pickets into his intrenchments at Winchester, and on the 17th marched to Charlestown.

"On the 13th he telegraphed the General-in-Chief that Johnston was in a position to have his strength doubled just as he could reach him, and that he would rather lose the chance of accomplishing something brilliant than by hazarding his column, to destroy the fruits of the campaign by defeat, closing his despatch thus: 'If wrong, let me be instructed.' But no instructions came. This was eight days before the battle of Manassas. On the 17th General Scott telegraphed: 'McDowell's first day's work has driven the enemy beyond Fairfax Court House. To-morrow, probably, the Junction will be carried.' With this information he was happy. Johnston had been detained the appointed time, and the work of Gen. Patterson's column had been done.

"On the 18th, at half-past one in the morning, he telegraphed Gen. Scott the condition of the enemy's force and of his own, referring to his letter of the 16th for full information, and closed the despatch by asking 'Shall I attack?' This was plain English, and could not be misunderstood, but he received no reply. He expected to be attacked where he was; and if Manassas was not to be attacked on that day, as stated in General Scott's despatch of the day previous, he ought to have been ordered down forthwith to join in the battle, and the attack delayed until he came. He could have been there on the day that the battle was fought, and his assistance might have produced a different result.

"On the 20th he heard that Johnston had marched with thirty-five thousand Confederate troops and a large artillery force, in a southeasterly direction. He immediately telegraphed the information to General Scott, and knew that he received it the same day.

"In accordance with instructions, he came to Harper's Ferry on the 21st, which place he held until relieved."

C

CAIRO is situated at the southern extremity of the State of Illinois, on a point of land formed by the confluence of the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers. It is one hundred and seventy-five miles below St. Louis.

The ground immediately above the city, as far as the crossing of Cache River, about one mile, is low, and flooded at high water, completely insulating Cairo. At such times the only land communication with the back country is by the causeway of the Illinois Central railroad; but much of the year, at least ten months out of the twelve, the ground is dry, and good communications can be made with the interior of the State by ordinary roads. Six miles above Cairo, on the line of the Illinois Central Railroad, is a fine rolling country, extending some sixty miles north, heavily timbered, and filled with sparkling springs of water. This triangular tract, bounded on the southeast by the Ohio, and on the southwest by the Mississippi, comprehends most of what is called "Egypt." It is wonderfully adapted to the culture of grapes and fruits of all kinds. North of the tract described the interminable prairies commence, extending to Chicago.

The levees at Cairo are forty-two feet above ordinary low water, fifty feet above extreme low water, and average ten feet above the natural surface of the land. If kept to their proper grade they will be at least four feet above the highest flood of which there is any knowledge or tradition at the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers.

The ordinary rise of water at this point, from floods in either river, is about thirty-five feet.

The position is commanded by "Bird's Point," in Missouri, whence shot and shell can be thrown to the utter annihilation of Cairo. Troops can cross the Mississippi from old Fort

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Jefferson, on the Kentucky shore, (situated at the mouth of Mayfield Creek, four miles below Cairo,) into Missouri, and thence, by an excellent road, practicable for artillery at all times, go direct to "Bird's Point." They would be unobserved and unmolested by any force stationed at Cairo, for the reason that the peculiar bend in the Mississippi River below Cairo, and the formation of the banks, would screen them from all observation.

Again, the land directly opposite Cairo, in Kentucky, is generally low, and flooded at ordinary high-water; the first high ground or appearance of bluff below is in the vicinity of Fort Jefferson; the river banks shelve, without depth of water, in low stages sufficient for steamboat landings, the channel being entirely on the Cairo side. Back of this low land there extends, for a long distance, a chain of muddy lakes, bayous, and canebrakes. But about two miles above there is a height of land or ridge extending to the margin of the Ohio River, which is seldom or never overflowed, and could be made entirely safe from high water by a small levee. Here batteries can be established which will accomplish any result not attainable by those on the Missouri shore at Bird's Point, and the two, properly placed, would command every point in Cairo, including the levees and railroads, both of which they could sweep for miles. The width of the Ohio at Cairo is about three-fourths of a mile; the Mississippi is not much wider.

Cairo was occupied in April by Illinois troops, to protect it against invasion. Two thousand troops had arrived as early as the 23th. It soon became a position of great importance for the concentration of men and the equipment of gunboats. The expeditions against the military posts of the Confederates in Kentucky and Tennessee were chiefly fitted out at this point.

In August, the railroads in Western Tennessee were taken possession of by the State authorities for the purpose, it was supposed, of conveying troops towards Cairo. About eight thousand troops crossed the Mississippi to New Madrid, where they were joined by others from Tennessee, Arkansas, and Missouri, forming a large aggregate, and well supplied with artillery. These troops, it was feared, were to make a speedy attack on Cairo, where the National forces were considerably reduced, in consequence of the expiration of the term of the three months' volunteers.

Active measures, however, were taken by Gen. Fremont to reënforce the place. He hastily fitted out at St. Louis a fleet of eight steamers, laden with some four thousand troops and a large quantity of provisions and munitions of war, with all of which he safely landed at Cairo. The reënforcements thus opportunely taken to this point increased the National forces there to about eight thousand men, sufficient to hold the secessionists in check, and eventually to frustrate their plans.

CALIFORNIA, one of the United States, lying on the western side of the continent, is bounded north by Oregon, east by Utah (from which it is partly separated by the Sierra Nevada Mountains) and New Mexico, south by the Mexican Territory of Old California, and west by the Pacific. Its greatest length in a northwest and southeast direction is about 720 miles, and its breadth about 240 miles. Its area is 188,982 square miles. Along the coast is a low range of mountains, which in many instances approach the water's edge, and form a bluff iron-bound shore. In other parts, the coast is broken and hilly, to which succeeds the range entering from Oregon. It is the most important mineral region in the world, particularly in its deposits of gold. The population, in 1860, was 376,200, of whom 3,816 were free colored persons. (*See* NEW AMERICAN CYCLOPÆDIA.)

During the year 1861, commercial affairs were subject to the same depression which prevailed throughout the United States. (*See* COMMERCE.) The measures of the Federal Government were warmly sustained by the people of the State. No volunteers were sent to the Atlantic States as State troops, although numbers of citizens of the State joined regiments formed in those States. Her distant location from the scene of conflict served to preserve her from many of its embarrassing influences, while it did not diminish her ardor for the Union cause, or her anxiety for its ultimate triumph.

California was visited, during the autumn and early winter of the year 1861, by a most disastrous flood. The streams, swollen to a great height by protracted and heavy rains throughout California, Oregon, and Nevada territory, flooded the valleys, inundated towns, swept away mills, dams, flumes, houses, fences, and domestic animals, and ruined fields and destroyed property to the estimated value of $10,000,000. The rainy season commenced on the 8th of Nov., and the rain continued to fall with scarcely any intermission for four weeks. The north fork of the American River at Auburn, rose 55 feet, and in many other of the mountain streams the rise was almost as great. On the 9th the flood reached the lowlands of the Sacramento Valley, and Sacramento City was the greatest sufferer from the flood.

This city is situated between the American and Sacramento rivers at their junction, and has been subject to floods. In the summer of 1853, the grade of the streets was raised 4 feet, and a levee, from 4 to 20 feet high, built for 2 miles along the bank of the Sacramento, and for 3 miles along the bank of the American River; and believing themselves protected by these precautions against a flood, the inhabitants had spent large sums in beautifying the city. The railroad from Folsom to Sacramento passes near the American River its whole distance, and enters the latter city about 2 miles from the river, on a high embankment. This had been made solid a year or so before, and thus the water coming in full flood down the

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American River and hemmed in by the railroad embankment and the levee, rose till it poured over the top of the levee, being 10 feet higher inside the levee than on the outside in the bed of the river. There was no way of relief except by cutting the levee. This was a hazardous enterprise, but was accomplished, and the water fell at once 5 or 6 feet. It still remained several feet deep for two or three weeks in the lower part of the city, and three times rose again to a considerable height. As the flood began to subside, its direful results became manifest; a number of lives had been lost, houses and stores had been twisted, overturned, undermined, and seriously injured; cattle, horses, and hogs had been drowned in large numbers, gardens and fences destroyed, and every thing made desolate. The city, previously burdened with an enormous debt, had lost at least $2,000,000, and ruin stared every man in the face. Repudiation was openly determined upon by the City Council, but was prevented by the firmness of the city officers and the indignation of the other cities of the State. Liberal subscriptions were made for their aid in other cities, San Francisco sending $30,000 in money, besides large quantities of provisions and clothing, and other cities smaller amounts, and the citizens took courage and began to rebuild their city again. On the Trinity River the loss of property was more than $150,000; in Marysville, $40,000; on the Feather River the canals and dams of the Ophir Water Company, and their bulkhead apron and flume were carried away, and an immense boom of saw logs and large quanities of lumber swept away. In Grass Valley the mines were seriously injured. Throughout all the mountain region of California and Nevada a similar scene of destruction was witnessed.

CAMP ALLEGHANY. In the vicinity of this camp, which was situated on the Greenbrier River, in Pocahontas Co., Western Virginia, a valley lying between the Flat Top and Kittatinny ranges, there was a sharp action on the 13th of December. The Union troops were commanded by Gen. Milroy, and consisted of portions of the Ninth and Thirteenth Indiana, the Twenty-fifth and Thirty-second Ohio, and the Second Virginia, numbering in all 1,750 men. The Confederate force was under the command of Gen. Johnson, of Georgia, and was estimated at 2,000. The action commenced about daylight and lasted till 3 o'clock in the afternoon, when the Confederates set fire to their camps and retreated to Staunton, in the valley of Virginia, thus vacating Western Virginia, at least that portion west of the Kittatinny range. The loss, as officially reported, was about equal on both sides; the Federal troops having 20 killed and 107 wounded, and the Confederates 25 killed, 97 wounded, and about 30 of their men being taken prisoners.

CAMPBELL, John, Lord Chancellor of England, an English jurist, statesman, and author, born at Springfield, near Cupar, Fifeshire, Scotland, Sept. 15, 1781, died in London, June 23, 1861. His father was a Scottish clergyman, and long minister of the kirk at Cupar. John was educated at the University of St. Andrews, and migrated early to London, where he was entered as a student of law at Lincoln's Inn, in 1800, and admitted to the bar in 1806. He supported himself while studying his profession by writing law reports and theatrical criticisms for the "Morning Chronicle." His success as a lawyer was slow but steady, and he aided his income and reputation by publishing reports of the principal cases decided in the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas. In 1821 he married the eldest daughter of Sir James Scarlett, afterwards Lord Abinger. In 1827 he received the appointment of King's Counsel. In 1830 he was elected member of parliament for the borough of Stafford, and in 1832 that of Dudley; and in November of the latter year, appointed solicitor-general, which office he retained till Feb. 1834, when he was raised to the position of attorney-general. He left office when the Grey Ministry resigned in Nov. 1834, and at the next general election was returned to parliament by the city of Edinburgh, which he continued to represent till he was raised to the peerage. In 1835, on the accession of Peel's Ministry, he was again appointed attorney-general, and remained in that office till June 1841, when he was appointed Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and raised to the peerage as Baron Campbell, his wife having previously become a peeress as Baronesss Stratheden. In Sept. 1841, he went out of office with the Melbourne Administration. For the next five years he was on the judicial committee of the Privy Council, and one of the committee of appeals in the House of Lords. During this interval he devoted much attention to literary pursuits, and prepared a series of elaborate biographies of the "Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal, from the earliest times to the reign of George IV." (7 vols. 8vo., London, 1846–'7,) which he afterwards followed with 2 volumes of the lives of the "Chief Justices of England from the Norman Conquest to the death of Lord Mansfield," (London, 1832.) He afterwards added a third volume, bringing the biographies down to 1832. These were all republished in this country. In 1836 he was called to the post of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and a seat in the Russell Cabinet. In 1850 he succeeded Lord Denman as Chief-Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench, which post he held till 1859, when Lord Palmerston appointed him Lord Chancellor, which office he held till his death. Besides the reports and biographies already mentioned, a collection of his speeches at the bar and in the House of Commons was published in 1842. His efforts during the closing months of his life in the House of Lords, over which he presided, were directed to the simplification and improvement of the statutes, so as to render the administration of justice more equitable and accessible to all.

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For this purpose he had procured the repeal of a large number of obsolete laws, the more extended application of the divorce bills, and the extension of education.

CANADA, and BRITISH AMERICA. The British possessions in North America embrace all that portion of the continent, except Russian America in the N. W., lying north of the line of 49° N. latitude; thence following Rainy River and Lake to Lake Superior, thence following the centre of Lake Superior, Huron, St. Clair, Erie and Ontario and the St. Lawrence to the 45th parallel, which it maintains to the Connecticut River, where it follows the crest of the Highlands, and the circuitous N. E. boundary of the Ashburton treaty, to the mouth of the St. Croix River. Of this vast territory only a small portion, including the tract lying along the St. Lawrence, and extending from 30 to 120 miles north of that river, and of Lakes Erie and Ontario, portions of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward's Island, the coasts of Newfoundland, a few settlements on Vancouver's Island, and some scattered forts, &c., in British Columbia, is inhabited. The remainder is as yet a wilderness, much of it cold and sterile, though some portions, such as for instance the basis of the Red River of the North, have a fertile soil, though but a brief summer. Canada, which is a government by itself, and under a Governor-General, is the largest and most important of the North American possessions of Great Britain. It is divided into an Upper and Lower province, or as they are often called, Canada West and Canada East. In the former a majority of the population are of British origin, and of the Protestant religion; in the latter the majority are of French origin, and the Catholic faith. Upper Canada is divided into 44 counties, having in 1861 a population of 1,395,222 inhabitants, a gain of 443,218 since 1851. Its principal cities were Toronto, with 44,743 inhabitants; Hamilton, 19,096; Ottawa, the new capital, 14,669; Kingston, 13,743; and London, 11,555.

Lower Canada has 60 counties, which in 1861 had 1,106,666 inhabitants, a gain since 1851 of 216,405. Its principal cities and towns are Montreal, with a population of 90,498; Quebec, with 51,108; Three Rivers, 6,028; and Sherbroke, 5,899. The total population of Canada was in 1861, 2,501,888. New Brunswick had a population of 233,727; Nova Scotia, 330,699; Prince Edward's Island, 80,648, and Newfoundland 124,608, making a grand total of 3,271,570. The returns of British Columbia and Vancouver's Island had not been received, but would not probably vary the result more than from 40,000 to 50,000.

The exports of Canada of wheat, flour, corn, and other agricultural products, timber, lumber, and animals, were in 1861 $34,717,248, of which $14,386,427 came to the United States. The imports from the United States for the same year, consisting mainly of cotton, woollen goods, silks, satins, velvets, iron and hardware of all kinds, earthen and glass ware, and fancy goods, amounted to $21,069,388, yielding a customs revenue of $1,584,892. The total imports of the year were $43,054,836, and the total customs revenue $4,768,192. The finances of Canada were not in a desirable condition. The total government expenditure for the year 1861 was $14,742,834 28, and the total receipts (including $2,764,002 58 bonds issued) $12,655,581 48, showing a deficit of $2,087,252 80 still to be met. In December, 1861, the Government debt, aside from the above deficit, was $65,626,478 less the amount of the imperial sinking fund, $7,300,000, giving a net indebtedness of $58,326,478. A large proportion of this debt, as well as a very considerable additional one for English subscriptions to the same enterprise, has accrued from the immense expenditure for railroad construction, far in advance of the means of the colonies, or their capacity for profitable traffic. The cost of the new parliament buildings, now in course of erection at Ottawa, which is to be the capital of the provinces after 1865, amounting on the 1st of January, 1862, to $2,603,410 67, has also been a heavy addition to the expenditure of the Government. In addition to these, the efforts made to arm and equip a militia force for the defence of Canada against a professed danger of invasion from the United States, produced a heavy expenditure, most of which, however, would come into the exhibit of 1862.

The census of 1861 indicates material progress in Canada, both in population and in material wealth. The growth of the Upper Province or Canada West, in the decade has been 46.55 per cent.; of the Lower Province (Canada East) 24.31 per cent.

The following table gives the origin of the population as ascertained by the census:

Origins.	Lower Canada.	Upper Canada.	United Canada.
England and Wales	13,139	114,290	127,429
Scotland	13,100	98,792	111,552
Ireland	50,192	191,431	241,623
Natives of Canada, not of French origin	167,578	869,592	1,037,170
French origin	847,320	33,287	880,607
United States	13,641	50,758	64,399
Nova Scotia and Prince Edward's Island	977	4,383	5,360
New Brunswick	852	3,214	4,066
Newfoundland	232	487	719
West Indies	137	552	689
East Indies	49	203	252
Prussia, German States, and Holland	949	22,906	23,855
France	672	2,389	3,061
Italy and Greece	114	104	218
Spain and Portugal	55	96	151
Sweden and Norway	229	261	490
Russia and Poland	56	161	227
Switzerland	81	617	698
Guernsey, Jersey, and other British Islands	628	529	1,157
All other places	128	541	669
Colored persons	190	11,223	11,413
Indians	4,876	7,841	12,717
At Sea	61	323	384
Not known	414	1,395	1,809
Total	1,110,664	1,396,091	2,506,755

The statistics of the religious denominations

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in Lower and Upper Canada present the following results: Church of England, 374,987; Church of Rome, 1,200,865; Established Church of Scotland, 132,649; Free Church do., 157,813; Presbyterian, 56,527; Wesleyan Methodist, 244,246; Episcopal Methodist, 74,152; New Connection do., 29,492; other Methodists, 24,209; Baptists, 9,310, &c.

The trade with the United States has been largely increased, mainly through the influence of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854. The imports from the United States, which in 1851 were $8,365,765, had risen in 1856 to $22,704,509, and notwithstanding the disastrous financial reverses of 1857–60, and the war in 1861, amounted in the latter year to $21,069,388. The exports of 1851 were $4,071,544, in 1856 they had increased to $17,979,752; in 1860 they were $18,427,968, and amid all the disturbing influences of last year, $14,386,427. The movement of goods outward and inward on the St. Lawrence, a traffic which has been greatly increased by the abolition of tolls and transit duties on that river in 1859, shows an even more rapid augmentation. In 1859 the exports, *via* that river were $8,821,662, while in 1861 they were $22,524,733. The imports by way of the St. Lawrence in 1859 were $11,549,068, and in 1861 they had risen to $17,249,055. The inward tonnage of 1859 was 641,662 tons, and that of 1861, 1,087,128; the outward tonnage in 1859, 640,471 tons, and in 1861, 1,059,667. Of the exports of 1861 no less than $3,505,511 were grain, &c., exported from the Western United States to Europe by that route.

The postal revenue has increased in ten years from $230,000 to $658,000, or 213 per cent., and the number of letters mailed from 2,000,000 to 9,000,000.

Several of the leading Canadian journals manifested bitter hostility toward the Government of the United States at the outbreak of the war, and sought to inflame the feelings of the people against that government; but they became convinced after a time that they were not representing the sentiments of the Canadian people, and for the most part desisted from their efforts.

At the time of the excitement in regard to the seizure of Messrs. Mason and Slidell, a zealous attempt was made to revive this hostile feeling, and under the pretence that the United States Government designed the invasion and conquest of Canada, a force of several thousand troops from England was sent to Canada to aid in its protection, and a call was made for volunteer troops, of which it was alleged 300,000 could be raised and enrolled in the province to repel invasion. Public meetings were held, and earnest appeals made for volunteers. The result was that 248 corps were returned, viz., 34 corps of cavalry, 27 of artillery, 182 of infantry, and 5 of engineers. Had these all been full, the number of officers would have been 829, and of men 13,390; but 62 corps made no report of their numbers, and others reported more than were actually enrolled; so that Mr. Galt, the Canadian Minister of Finance, estimates that the whole number who actually volunteered did not exceed 10,000. The excitement soon passed away, and those who were enrolled, were not called into service.

Strenuous efforts were made the past year to encourage the sale and settlement of new lands. Roads were opened at government expense into unsettled districts. The sale of lands from these efforts during the year amounted to 174,588 acres, for the gross sum of $108,626.

An effort was also made, and has been continued during the present year, to effect an amalgamation of all the railroad lines of the province into one company, whose bonds, or their interest, should be guaranteed by the British Government, but thus far the attempt has not been successful.

Railways have made immense progress during the past ten years. The following table exhibits their length and cost at the close of the year 1861:

Corporate Titles.	Total.	Open.	Cost of road. and equipment
Brockville & Ottawa Perth	109.0	37.0	$1,187,500
Branch	10.5	10.5	
Berlin Branch	11.0	11.0	150,000
Buffalo & Lake Huron	161.0	161.6	7,656,450
Carillon & Greenville	12.5	12.5	200,000
Coburg & Peterboro'	28.3	28.3	1,187,925
Erie & Ontario	25.0	17.0	340,000
Galt & Guelph	16.0	16.0	320,000
Grand Trunk:—			
Montreal District	143.0	143.0	
Quebec "	96.0	96.0	
Du Loup "	118.0	118.0	
Three Rivers Bridge	35.0	27.0	
Victoria Bridge & Char. Branch	6.0	6.0	73,886,268
Toronto District	333.0	333.0	
Kingston Branch	2.0	2.0	
Sarnia District	190.0	190.0	
Detroit "	59.0	59.0	
Great Western:			
Main Line	186.0	186.0	
Toronto District	38.0	38.0	
Niagara "	43.0	43.0	24,900,640
Sarnia "	52.0	52.0	
Galt Branch	12.0	12.0	
Great Southern	225.0	....	....
Hamilton & Pt. Dover	40.5	....	....
Industry Village	12.0	12.0	120,000
London & Pt. Stanley	24.0	24.0	816,576
Montreal & Champlain	49.0	49.0	1,524,780
Montreal & N. York	45.0	45.0	1,132,908
Montreal & Ottawa	87.0	....	....
North Shore	154.0	....	....
Northern	95.0	95.0	3,627,940
Bel Ewart Branch	1.6	1.6	
Ottawa & Prescott	54.0	54.0	
Peterborough & Port Hope	27.0	....	1,000,000
Port Dalhousie & Thorold	9.0	5.0	120,000
Port Hope, Lindsay & Beaverton	74.5	42.5	1,500,000
Rawdon & Industry	16.0	10.0	320,000
Stanstead, Shefford & Chambly	106.0	80.0	2,400,000
Welland	25.0	25.0	650,000
Woodstock & Erie	149.0	....	....
Total	3,879.9	2,947.4	$123,040,987
Deduct— Grand Trunk in U. S.*	72.0	72.0	2,500,000
Total	3,807.9	1,975.4	$120,540,987

* Under this deduction are included—that part of the Grand Trunk in Vermont, 13 miles, and the Detroit District of the same in Michigan, 59 miles.

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CARNIFEX FERRY, over the Gauley River, eight miles southwest of Summerville, Nicholas Co., Virginia, crosses the river at the only point for several miles where the river, which flows mainly through a deep ravine, is accessible for a ford or ferry. On the west bank of the river near this ferry, on the 10th of Sept., Gen. Floyd, with a Confederate force of about 5,000 troops, had a strongly fortified camp, flanked by deep and marshy ravines on each side, and in front, west of the river, protected by a dense forest, which, at a distance of 300 yards, completely concealed his camp. Gen. Rosecrans, with a force nearly equal, marched seventeen miles, and about three o'clock in the afternoon sent forward Gen. Benham, with his brigade, to make a reconnoissance in force. They were soon engaged with the enemy, and after a severe action were about being reënforced, when, from the great difficulties of the position rendering night fighting almost impossible, Gen. Rosecrans ordered his men to form in order of battle and rest upon their arms, intending to renew the attack in the morning. During the night Gen. Floyd and his force escaped across the Gauley, leaving their camp, baggage, small arms, and munitions of war, and burning the bridge which he had constructed, and the ferry boats. Being unable to effect a crossing of the river, Gen. Rosecrans could not pursue them, but took a few prisoners. The Federal loss was, according to official report, 15 killed and 80 wounded; that of the Confederates was less, as they were protected by the forest and their fortifications. But for some misunderstanding of the orders given to two or three regiments, the Confederate camp might have been taken at the time of the first attack, though probably not without a heavy loss.

CARTHAGE is the capital of Jasper County in Missouri. It is situated on Spring River, about 220 miles southwest of Jefferson City. On the prairie, about seven miles east of the town, a small force of about one thousand or eleven hundred men, under Gen. Sigel and Salomon, attacked a Confederate force under Gen. Rains and Price, with Governor Jackson, about the 5th of July. The battle was hotly contested, and resulted in the Union forces retiring. The spot is known under the name of Brier Forks.

The forces engaged were about twelve hundred Nationals, with ten pieces of artillery, against a large Confederate force, with five pieces of cannon, and having the advantage of a considerable body of cavalry. Gen. Sigel commenced the attack on the enemy's line of battle at half-past nine o'clock in the morning, and succeeded, after about two hours' fighting, in silencing his artillery. The Confederate cavalry then made a movement to outflank him, and make an attack upon his baggage train, but Gen. Sigel manœuvred in such admirable style that the attempt entirely failed. The National forces retired until a point was reached where the road ran between two high bluffs, the opening being occupied by the Confederate cavalry, when, by a ruse, he drew them in a solid body to within a hundred and fifty yards of his position, where he opened upon them with a cross-fire of artillery and charged them at a double-quick step with his infantry, scattering them in every direction. The enemy finally retired to Carthage, and Gen. Sigel fell back on Sarcoxie, and the next day went to Mount Vernon to await reinforcements.

The loss on the Federal side was reported at thirteen killed and thirty-one wounded. On the Confederate side it was much larger.

CAVOUR, Camillo Benso, Count di, the greatest of Italian statesmen in modern times, was born at Turin, Italy, Aug. 10, 1810, and died in the same city June 6, 1861. He was the second son of the Marquis Michael Joseph di Cavour, the representative of one of the oldest and most illustrious families of Piedmont, the descendant of that Thomas I. Count di Maarienne, who, in 1244, as conqueror of Piedmont, assumed the title of Prince of Achoa and Morea. His mother was of the no less noble Genevese family of Sellon. The financial services of the father to the Sardinian Government had led to his elevation to the highest rank of the Sardinian nobility by Charles Albert. He was, however, one of the most bigoted and aristocratic of the old Sardinian nobles, and hated with an almost insane detestation every movement towards liberal opinions. A sister of the first Napoleon, the Princess Maria Borghese, stood sponsor for the count at his baptism, and his early education, up to his fourteenth year, was committed to the Abbé Trezet, a Jesuit father, and author of a History of Savoy. At the age of fourteen (some authorities say even earlier) he was sent to the military college of Turin, in accordance with the policy of the ancient Piedmontese nobility, which required that every member of the aristocracy should pass some years in the military service of the State. For a time he was a page of Charles Felix, the last king of the elder line of the House of Savoy, but his independent bearing and his free expression even then of liberal opinions, led to his dismission, and he returned to his military studies, and devoted himself especially to mathematics, under the astronomer Plana, and in 1828 left the school with the rank of lieutenant of engineers. His proficiency in mathematics and engineering science led to his speedy employment in the survey of the passes of the Alps and Apennines, and the construction of a fortress to guard the road from Genoa to Nice. But his mind was occupied with higher topics than those of a merely professional character. He had acquired already a thorough knowledge of the English language, and his leisure hours were occupied in the study of Adam Smith's works and other treatises on political economy and finance, and already visions of future political eminence were passing before him.

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These studies naturally tended to confirm the liberal opinions he had already begun to entertain, and in 1832 the unguarded expression of these opinions led to his consignment, as a punishment, to the gloomy garrison of the Fort du Bard, in the valley of Aosta. It was from this dismal prison that he wrote to a noble lady of Turin that remarkable letter, which in such express terms predicted his future, at a time when nothing seemed more improbable than that he, the younger son of a noble house, a mere lieutenant of engineers, but twenty-two years of age, and already undergoing punishment for his liberal opinions, should rise to the position of premier of a nation whose existence was yet in the hardly possible future. We give the letter in full, premising that it was in reply to one from the Marchioness, condoling with his misfortunes: "I thank you, Madame la Marquise, for the interest you take in my disgrace; but you may be assured that my career will not be changed by it. I have a great ambition, an enormous ambition, and when I shall become Minister of State, I hope that I shall justify it; since in my dreams I already see myself Minister of the Kingdom of Italy.—C. Cavour." That ambition, enormous, as he styled it, never left him from that day forward; but it was not a rash ambition, or one seeking only personal aggrandizement; it was the Kingdom of Italy he desired to see, and of that alone that he hoped to become premier, and for that end he could labor and wait. Soon after this letter was written he resigned his commission in the army, and being denied by the Austrian Government, ever suspicious of men of liberal opinions, admission to Lombardy, which he desired to visit, though subsequently allowed under strict surveillance to visit Milan, he soon returned home, where, however, his views were extremely unpalatable to his father, who held fast the old aristocratic traditions of his race and rank. In 1835, Count Cavour left Italy for the first time, and spent the next seven years in Switzerland, France, and England. The last was the country of his choice; he studied its institutions with the utmost care and thoroughness, suffering nothing either of principle or detail to escape him. The debates of the House of Commons, during the passage of Sir Robert Peel's modifications of the commercial policy of the nation, the development of agriculture, the measures of finance, and the extension of commerce, were all carefully and critically observed; and to his own country were addressed two political pamphlets of great ability, embodying the results of his observations—the one, an essay on "The influence which the New Commercial Policy of England will exert upon the Economy of the World, and particularly on Italy;" the other, a noble defence of a constitutional government, in a treatise on "Communistic Ideas and the means of Combating their Development." His observations on political matters in France were equally thorough and searching. In the overthrow of the monastic system, with its vast landed estates which had formerly escaped taxation, he saw the true policy for his own country; but its overthrow by violent convulsions and the upheaval of the very foundations of society, was not to his liking; he preferred milder and more constitutional methods of procedure. In 1842 he returned to Italy, where still the government was despotic, the monks idle and licentious, the people poor and sorely oppressed by taxes, and the threatening power of Austria hanging like an incubus over the national spirit and ready to repress the slightest movement. There was no opening for him to act directly on the legislation of the country, but he possessed his soul in patience. In connection with some of his friends he organized an Agrarian or Agricultural Society, and assumed the editorship of an Agricultural Journal in connection with it, which had a wide circulation in Sardinia, and introduced greatly improved methods of culture, which were much needed; and under the pretext of discussing the rotation of crops, or the value of different manures, occasionally broached social problems and enunciated principles, which sunk the deeper into the hearts of his readers from the apparently accidental way in which they were introduced. On the accession of Pius IX. to the Papal See, when the strong cry of liberty was aroused, the Agrarian Society became the focus of the liberal movement in Sardinia, and Cavour, in connection with Cæsare Balbo, D'Azeglio, Santa Rosa, Alfieri, Buoncompagni, and others, established a liberal paper, under the title of the "*Risorgimento*," (Resurrection.) The party which Cavour and his friends represented, were the advocates of constitutional freedom, in distinction from an aristocratic and ecclesiastical despotism on the one hand, and the anarchy of red republicanism on the other. The ability of the journal, and the position occupied by its editor and contributors, were soon manifest, and brought down upon it the bitter hatred of Austria and the equally intense hostility of the extreme democrats. Early in 1848, Cavour and Santa Rosa presented to the king a petition for a constitution, which was granted two days later. Cavour was elected for the first time to the Sardinian Chamber of Deputies in the spring of 1848. He was at first unpopular, for he opposed extreme measures, and the extremists were in the majority. His maiden speech was greeted with hisses, because he attacked in it the wild excesses of the red republicans of France, and opposed the principle that Italy was able then to defend itself against its foreign foes. But either in the Chamber of Deputies or in the columns of the Risorgimento, he was constantly and powerfully discussing the great questions of the day. In the election of 1849, the prejudice of the extremists against him was so strong that an unknown radical of low birth and small capacity was elected in his place. But he made himself even more powerfully felt

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in the nation in the columns of his journal than in the tribune; and when the mad passion of the people subsided they saw it, and reinstated him at the beginning of 1850, in the Chamber of Deputies; and bold as some of his subsequent measures seemed, and unpalatable as they often were at the time, the public confidence, once bestowed on him, was never again withheld. On the 7th of March, 1850, he made a speech in which he indicated the purpose which he afterwards carried into effect, while advocating the abolition of the ecclesiastical tribunals, of the establishment of a free church in a free State. In October of the same year, Massimo d'Azeglio, then Premier, proposed to the king the nomination of Cavour as Minister of Commerce. "Take care," said Victor Emanuel, "if Cavour enters the cabinet, he will soon be master of you all." From the moment of his entering the cabinet he was indeed its master spirit. He had found his mission, and he labored in it with a zeal and a capacity for comprehending not only the great principles, but the minutest details of each department, which was truly marvellous. He was not satisfied with one department, but always had charge of two, much of the time of three, and during the great emergencies of the Crimean war, and the war with Austria, of four; and in every case he accomplished far more in each than any minister had ever before done who had devoted his whole energies to one. His first portfolio was that of commerce and agriculture, to which was added almost immediately that of the marine, and early in 1851, that of finance. Here he commenced the peculiar work of his life, that organization of the physical and social forces of his country, which should fit it for the great part it was to play in the coming future of Italy. His position at the beginning was one of great difficulty. Piedmont was isolated from the other nations of the peninsula, and equally so from the great powers of Europe. Her constitution offended the despotic powers by its liberality, and her own radicals by its conservatism; her finances were almost hopelessly disordered. To undertake, under these circumstances, commercial treaties with every State in Europe; to inaugurate a system of free trade, which should in five years increase the exports of the country fivefold and its imports more than threefold; to encourage the manufactures and agricultural productions of the State so that the growth and manufacture of silk should increase threefold in the same time, and the cotton manufacture five times; the construction of 450 miles of railway; the thorough and effective reorganization of the army; the establishment of a great naval depot, amply provided with all the material of war at Spezzia; the organization and putting in practice an admirable and comprehensive system of national education, and the retrieval of the national credit to such an extent that though the debt of the nation was largely increased, all the money needed for his purposes was obtained for from three to five per cent. without bonus of any kind, and by rapidly increasing the wealth of the nation, enabling them to bear the burden of an increased taxation with greater ease than before; all these, had they been ends instead of means for something beyond them, would have been deemed colossal projects, and their successful accomplishment sufficient to entitle the projector to an immortality of fame and the lasting gratitude of his nation. But to him these were but the steps by which his "enormous ambition" would climb to the goal which he had ever kept in sight since his imprisonment in the Fort du Bard; "the Kingdom of Italy" was yet to be achieved, and his prescient eye saw that the time was not far distant. His treaties of commerce had bound England, France, Holland, Belgium, and the Scandinavian States, to Sardinia as with bands of steel; and the time was coming when the alliance was to be still further tested. He visited, at the close of 1852, England and France, and in the latter country had an interview with Napoleon III., which led to important consequences. He had for a short period left the cabinet on the ground that Azeglio and the majority of his colleagues were tampering with interests that admitted of no compromise; but in November, 1852, he was recalled and given carte-blanche in the formation of his cabinet, of which thenceforth he was really sole minister. The Chamber of Deputies, like the people, had faith in him; and though they could not comprehend all his far-reaching plans, they were satisfied that "papa Camillo," the affectionate term by which he had come to be generally known, loved his country and understood her interests. He saw that it would not be long before Austria, now secretly hostile, would become openly so; and he desired the coming of that event. For this purpose he spared no pains in disciplining his army, obtained from the Chamber of Deputies permission to remove the Naval Arsenal from Genoa to Spezzia; on this occasion, only, unveiling his hopes of the future by his reply to the deputy who opposed its removal, as perilling the safety of the navy by putting it within a few miles of a hostile frontier: "Who assures the honorable deputy that La Spezzia will not one day be rather in the centre than at the extreme point of our territory?" Early in 1854, France and England concluded their offensive alliance against Russia, and in December of that year a formal invitation, probably provoked by Cavour, was given to Sardinia to join in the league. He accepted the invitation on condition that Sardinia should be allowed to assume a footing of equality with her colossal allies. The apparent rashness of this proposition astonished all Europe. The presumption of a little State like Piedmont in attempting to take rank with France and England, was loudly denounced; and at home the popularity of Cavour, his patriotism, and his hold on the affections of the people, were alike submitted to a fiery test. The King stood

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by him, but the most eminent patriots of the nation denounced the measure without stint, as tending to plunge the nation into irretrievable financial ruin. and calling away those troops to a foreign and distant quarrel, who were wanted at home to defend their own firesides. Amid all these denunciations Cavour stood firm, refusing to give up one iota of his plan, and declaring that "the independence of Italy must be conquered in the Crimea." In a speech of the most burning eloquence he defended his course, and though not deeming it prudent to lay bare the motives which prompted the measure, he appealed so successfully to the hearts of the Deputies, that spite of the most gloomy forebodings, they trusted once more their great statesman, and by a small majority ratified the treaty. Within a few months their fears were exchanged for rejoicing, for the beneficial results of the treaty were so evident that even those who had most vehemently opposed it, acknowledged their error. Meanwhile the suppression of the convents, and the applying of the surplus lands to the maintenance of the parochial clergy and educational institutions, a measure Cavour had long had at heart, drew down upon him the denunciations of the monks and the thunders of the Vatican. Here, again, he was firm, and carried the bill through the Chamber of Deputies triumphantly; thus ridding the kingdom of the intolerable burden which had so long paralyzed its energies. The Sardinian contingent had distinguished itself by its bravery in the Crimea, and Count de Cavour entered heartily into the negotiations for a peace. In the winter of 1856 he accompanied Victor Emanuel on a visit to the courts of England and France, and it was on this occasion that Napoleon III. first inquired of him, "What can be done for Italy?" a question to which he replied in his celebrated memorandum of March 27, 1856. At the Conferences of Paris, which led to the peace with Russia, and the adjustment of some other great European questions, Cavour represented Sardinia in person, and exerted an influence so powerful that he was able to announce on his return, on the 6th of May, that England and France had pledged themselves to seek the solution of the Italian question, and that Austria had occupied the position of a culprit at those conferences. The news was hailed with delight throughout Italy, and from all quarters addresses of congratulation and medals of honor poured in upon him who, according to the legend of the Tuscan medal, "had defended Italy with raised vizor." A national subscription was raised, throughout the peninsula, for arming the new fortifications at Alessandria, and the entry of the Sardinian regiments into Turin, on their return from the Crimea, was everywhere celebrated as a day of national festivity. This inflamed the hatred of Austria to fury; and the diplomatic agents and press of that country denounced, with the utmost virulence, the Piedmontese Government and its minister. This vituperation affected him as little as the praise he had just received had done; his replies to the attacks of Austria were dignified and courteous, and put his enemy entirely in the wrong. For two years the crisis, long delayed, was evidently drifting nearer and nearer, but as yet there was no decided action. In September, 1858, Count de Cavour visited Napoleon III. at the baths of Plombieres; and, after long and frequent conferences with him, returned apparently satisfied. The agreement had been made that France should aid Sardinia in expelling Austria from Lombardy and Venetia, and receive Savoy and Nice in return; and the families of Napoleon and Victor Emanuel were to be allied by marriage. The war with Austria was thenceforth a fixed fact, and that power, by taking the initiative, showed no disposition to protract the delay. The part taken by Cavour in this war was a vital one. He was president of the council and minister of war, marine, foreign affairs, and the interior. He rose at four, and worked almost incessantly till past midnight; and by this incessant toil accomplished more in each department, than any other minister with but a single portfolio had been able to do. All the wants of the army were instantly and abundantly supplied; the ships destined to join the French fleet in the Adriatic were equipped as soon as needed; the envoys of Sardinia to foreign powers were kept in a position to make all needful explanations to the foreign courts to which they were accredited; on the death of Ferdinand of Naples, an extraordinary ambassador was despatched to endeavor to persuade the young king to embrace a constitutional system and the alliance with Piedmont; and as fast as Lombardy was conquered, the benefits of the liberal Sardinian Government were extended over it; while Tuscany and the smaller States were influenced by his emissaries. The peace of Villafranca, leaving the work proposed but half completed, fell with stunning force on the overworked minister, and, unwilling to set his hand to a treaty which condemned Venetia to further servitude, he resigned and retired to his country-seat. For six months he remained in retirement, fretted almost into a fever at the incapacity of the ministry who had succeeded him, and awaiting with deep anxiety the action of the States of Central Italy. In January, 1860, the Rattazzi Cabinet fell under the weight of its errors, and Cavour returned to power. He commenced his work by dissolving the old parliament and convoking a new one, in which Lombardy should be represented; and provided for a popular vote on the question of annexation in Tuscany and the Emilian provinces. The annexation of Savoy and Nice to France, claimed as the reward of the annexation of Italian territory to Sardinia made through the French alliance, was a difficult matter to manage, for the king was grieved at it, and the parliament opposed; but Cavour saw that, once accomplished, it pledged France to acknowledge the principle of Italian unity,

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and was therefore a wise measure, and he carried it over all opposition. The revolution in Naples, and Garibaldi's participation in it, required the highest order of statesmanship to manage it in such a way as to bring order out of confusion, and a compact united Kingdom of Italy out of the discordant elements thus developed. He proved competent to the work. Garibaldi and Napoleon III., neither of them his friends, and both of stubborn stuff, were compelled against their will by his adroit management to accomplish his purposes, the former effectually signing the death-warrant of his own power, by ordering a universal suffrage in Naples on the question of annexation to Sardinia. On the 27th of January, 1861, the elections had taken place for a new parliament, in which all the annexed States should be represented, and had resulted everywhere favorably to the Government. It was opened on the 18th of February, but business did not commence till the middle of March. The first bill presented was one constituting the new monarchy under the title of "The Kingdom of Italy." It was passed almost unanimously, and the dream of Cavour in 1832 had been fulfilled; he was prime minister of the Kingdom of Italy! The winning from the unwilling grasp of the pope the territory of Rome, so absolutely necessary to the completion of the kingdom, for all felt that Italy without Rome for its Capital, would not be Italy, was a matter of difficulty; but Cavour, in opposition to the more radical, who proposed proclaiming a state of siege there, counselled delay, and dissuaded from forcible measures; closing his harangue, with the memorable words, "No state of siege, no exceptional laws;—liberty must not sully her cause by assuming the arms of tyrants!"

The question of the volunteer or Southern army was one of still greater difficulty. Garibaldi, who was a member of the parliament, was irritated and vindictive, and on the 18th of April he attacked Cavour in a written speech of great bitterness, accusing him of being "the enemy of Italy and the would-be fosterer of civil war." The Chamber was indignant, and the friends of Garibaldi begged him to retract, and Cavour to pardon the unjust charge. Cavour offered his hand to Garibaldi, asking him "to come and grasp it as that of a patriot, who if trained in a different school, was no less ardent than himself." Garibaldi half rose to comply, but again sat down, and it was not till after the large majority of the parliament in favor of Government, and his abandonment by his own friends and officers had convinced Garibaldi of the necessity of a retraction, that he sought it through the king. Cavour assented to a reconciliation, but the shock of such an attack coming upon a frame overtasked by extraordinary labors, was more than he could sustain. His health visibly failed, and though he made several able speeches, and transacted his business with the same promptness as before, it was with far greater fatigue. On the 29th of May he was seized with apoplexy; he was partially relieved, and on the 31st transacted some business, but the exertion brought another attack. From this he recovered so far as to regain his consciousness, but the copious bleedings to which he was subjected, together with the exhaustion of nature, brought on a prostration from which he did not rally.

CHARLESTON, the largest city in the State of South Carolina, is situated on a point of land between the Ashley and Cooper rivers, which unite immediately below the town and form a spacious harbor, communicating with the ocean at Sullivan's Island, seven miles below. The population of the city in 1861 was 40,554.

The harbor has six entrances, which, beginning with the one farthest north, are in order: Maffit's, or the Sullivan's Island channel, with eleven feet; the North channel, with eight feet; the Swash, with nine feet; the Overall channel, which is not used; the main ship channel, with eleven feet; and Lawford's channel, which gives eleven feet at mean low water. The entrance by the North channel is extremely precarious to vessels drawing seven feet of water, and impassable at low tides to any other. Swash channel varies in depth from seven to ten feet. Maffit's channel is narrow at the bulkhead near Fort Moultrie jettee.

The first open and public movement in favor of the dissolution of the Union was made in Charleston. The step had been long contemplated, and the time had been fixed for its commencement. Nevertheless affairs apparently remained peaceful and quiet, although ripening for a desperate future. The military aspect of the United States was unchanged. A few soldiers, as usual, were at Fort Moultrie, and no repairs were known to be in progress upon that or either of the other forts, more than might be made at any ordinary period. The public property of the United States, however, was early seized by the authorities, acting under the State Convention, which resolved to secede from the Union on the 20th of December.

So long as Major Anderson apparently remained thus quiet at Fort Moultrie, his presence with a small military force was, at the utmost, only a slight annoyance to the citizens. But when it was discovered that he was at work to place that old fort in a more effective state for defence, the public attention was at once attracted. An impetus was given to the work on these repairs at first by speeches which were made by some of the members in the South Carolina Convention. Fears were thereby aroused that the time would shortly come, which would call into exercise the use of force in protecting the public property. Public feeling was gradually becoming more excited, and had assumed a threatening aspect at the time the troops were removed to Fort Sumter. By this act Charleston was thrown into a state of the wildest excitement. A spectator thus describes it:

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"It was at first currently reported and believed that Fort Moultrie had been laid in ruins; that the guns were spiked, and the carriages, together with the barracks, burned, and that the post had been entirely abandoned. The reports spread like wild fire, and soon gained currency in every part of the city. Instinctively, men flew to arms. Orders were immediately issued to the military companies to hold themselves in readiness for service; and all of them, thus ordered out, promptly obeyed the summons.

"About noon the excitement in the streets had attained the highest pitch. The State Convention was known to be in secret conclave, and it was believed that this was the subject-matter of their deliberations. The streets swarmed with people. Additional flags were displayed from the stores and houses on the principal streets. The custom-house and other buildings, formerly in the possession of the United States Government, displayed the bunting of the infant Republic of South Carolina. Every one looked upon the 'war as actually begun.'

"Later in the day, however, the excitement was somewhat abated, when it became known that the movement on the part of the forces of the United States at Fort Moultrie was not at the instance of the Administration at Washington, but was merely a precautionary measure taken by Major Anderson, under the conviction that his position within the fort on Sullivan's Island would not be tenable if attacked by well-organized and disciplined troops. The contradiction of the first report in relation to the damage done the fort by the troops that had evacuated it, also had a tendency to allay the excitement of the occasion."

Castle Pinckney, a small fort near the city, was immediately occupied by the troops of the State. These troops also took full possession of the United States Arsenal, over which, for some weeks previous, they had acted as a guard. The United States officer hitherto in command was relieved by them. It contained, at the time, seventy thousand stand of arms and other military stores, which were estimated in value at half a million of dollars. About the same time Capt. N. L. Coste, who had been appointed to the revenue service in 1845, abandoned the cutter Wm. Aiken and discharged his crew. Captain, crew, and vessel afterwards passed into the service of South Carolina. At this time, also, the mob set at liberty the captain of a slave ship recently brought into Charleston in charge of a prize crew. The delivery of cement, stone, and other supplies for the United States officers was prevented. Military preparations were actively commenced, and companies of volunteers from other Southern States were tendered. At the custom-house, notice was given to the masters of all vessels from ports outside of South Carolina that they must enter and clear at Charleston. Precautions were likewise taken in and around the harbor to prevent any reinforcement to Fort Sumter. In consequence of these proceedings, trade was almost entirely stopped, and money became scare enough to alarm the most sanguine. Anxiety was depicted in the faces of those whose interests were most seriously involved, and the brisk air of many of the inhabitants was gone.

Such measures were adopted to prevent all vessels of an offensive character entering the harbor of Charleston, that even those belonging to that city could not get out without aid. All the buoys were removed, and some, if not all, of the beacons taken down. All lights were extinguished at night except that at Fort Sumter, which, for the purposes of navigation, might as well have been a hundred miles off, and the light-ship was withdrawn. From Cumming's Point to the lighthouse, a distance of several miles, sandbank batteries were erected and well manned, and vessels laden with paving stones and other heavy substances were placed at important points to sink, so that any vessels of an opposing character that might be disposed to prowl in would be stopped. Pilots were firmly charged not to pilot vessels of war into the harbor, but no restrictions were placed upon vessels of commerce and trade. When the steamship Columbia was ready for sea, although she belonged to the city of Charleston, so completely had all marks of the channel been obliterated that it cost the sum of one hundred and fifty dollars to get her clear of the harbor. It was estimated that the value of the vessel and cargo, which consisted of cotton, rice, domestic produce, &c., was not less than $450,000, and yet this large amount was "locked up" for some time rather than allow chances for the vessels of the enemy to make their way to the fort or the city. The new manifests and clearances were but slightly altered from the original ones, the only difference being that the words "United States of America" were struck out, and the words "Sovereign State of South Carolina" substituted.

The movements in Charleston and in the State had been of such a character that commercial men now began to feel their influence. Indications were manifest of a strong expression of dissatisfaction from that portion of the people. The trade of Charleston, and, in reality, that of the whole State, had ceased to exist. The port of Charleston was, for the time, blotted from the charts, its lighthouse dark, its beacons destroyed, the channel to its harbor a pathless maze.

Meantime, the work of fortifying the harbor was carried steadily forward by the South Carolina authorities. Steamers watched Fort Sumter constantly, and mortars were planted on Cumming's Point, the nearest land to the fort.

At Morris Island three large Columbiads were mounted and intrenched in sand-bags, with a forty-two-pounder and a formidable mortar.

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The batteries at Fort Johnson were made quite formidable, and it was intended to keep up a fire upon Sumter from the three forts for twenty-four hours before an attempt was made to assault the stronghold. The impression was that a breach could be made in the walls, and that Major Anderson's limited garrison would be so worn out by the severe labors of working the guns incessantly for so long a time, that the storming party on rafts would be able to accomplish the escalade without much difficulty or loss of life.

Such were the plans then rife in Charleston. Meantime the work of military preparation steadily moved on. The military review held on the 28th was the largest parade which had taken place. On the same day two Dahlgren guns, of the heaviest calibre, arrived from Richmond, Virginia. They were put immediately into a proper battery. Five ten-inch mortars accompanied the Dahlgrens, and two more were expected in a day or two. Fifty thousand pounds of powder were also received the same day from Pensacola, (Fla.,) and twenty thousand pounds from Wilmington, North Carolina. It was said that they would have, in a few days, ready for an emergency, from three to four hundred thousand pounds of powder.

The rate of taxation at this time in Charleston was, on real estate and on stocks of goods, 1 4-10 per cent. On interest on bonds, on dividends, commissions, annuities, and on gross income, it was 2 5-10 per cent. The tax on slaves was $3; on horses, $10; on dogs, $2; on single carriages $20; on double carriages, $30; and this is without reference to the value of the above kinds of property. The State tax was levied in addition to this city tax. Persons of Indian descent and free colored persons held a separate place among the tax-payers. It appears that the highest taxes paid by the former class (Indians) were, respectively, $384, $242, $227, &c.; by persons of color, $613, $491, $202, &c. Many of these paid taxes for the negroes whom they owned—the number owned by single persons varying from one to fifteen or twenty. The entire number of slaves thus held was over four hundred. Premiums of insurance were charged 1 25-100 per cent. The city expenditures were large, but the item of interest on the city debt was the most formidable and onerous. The city had within a few years, in the face of heavy taxes, increased its tax for public school purposes.

On the 7th of April such a force had been gathered at Charleston, and preparations for an attack on Fort Sumter had been so nearly completed, that the commanding officer, Gen. Beauregard, now issued an order prohibiting all intercourse between the city and Fort Sumter. Notice of this order was also given to Major Anderson. On the next day five thousand more troops were ordered out. Companies of volunteers, which were constantly arriving, were stationed in different positions around the harbor. At this time all vessels were ordered to keep out of range of the fire between Fort Sumter and Sullivan's Island. Business was entirely suspended, and the most intense excitement prevailed. About five thousand troops were assembled on Sullivan and Morris Islands and along the coast. On the 9th a messenger from Washington was at Charleston and in conference with the authorities, but was not permitted to communicate with Fort Sumter. The attack on the fort was commenced at half-past 4 in the morning of the 12th, and continued thirty-three hours. (*See* SUMTER.) The highest excitement existed in Charleston while this took place. Citizens of all classes were spectators of the scene.

On the 16th troops were still pouring into the city, and it was estimated that 10,000 were present. They were in a half-disciplined state, and were immediately subjected to a rigid drill. The state of affairs, however, soon became quiet, and business was to some extent resumed, until the blockade of the port commenced, about the 1st of May. So stringently was this maintained that all foreign commerce ceased, and utter stagnation ensued except in military affairs. These were conducted with much vigor.

At 9 o'clock on the night of the 11th of December a fire broke out in a sash factory at the foot of Hazel street, which extended to machine shops on the opposite side of the street, and fanned by a stiff breeze, with a lack of water, it soon became of a most formidable character. Several churches, and nearly all the public buildings, banks, and insurance offices became a prey to the flames. King street, Meeting street, Church street, State street, between Broad and Hazel streets, were the scenes of the greatest destruction. Thousands were rendered houseless and reduced to great extremity. The value of property destroyed was estimated at ten millions of dollars. Contributions were sent to the sufferers by citizens of the adjoining States to a moderate extent.

The blockade of this port was very stringent during the temperate months of the year. Near its close, the attempt was made to seal up the channels of the harbor with sunken ships. The Secretary of the Navy thus states the plan:

"One method of blockading the ports of the insurgent States, and interdicting communication, as well as to prevent the egress of privateers which sought to depredate on our commerce, has been that of sinking in the channels vessels laden with stone. The first movement in this direction was on the North Carolina coast, where there are numerous inlets to Albemarle and Pamlico sounds, and other interior waters, which afforded facilities for eluding the blockade, and also to the privateers. For this purpose a class of small vessels were purchased in Baltimore, some of which have been placed in Ocracoke Inlet.

"Another and larger description of vessels were bought in the eastern market, most of them such as were formerly employed in the whale fisheries. These were sent to obstruct

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the channels of Charleston harbor and the Savannah River; and this, if effectually done, will prove the most economical and satisfactory method of interdicting commerce at those points."

Two fleets of vessels were obtained for the blockade of Charleston and Savannah. The first consisted of twenty-five vessels; the second of twenty. The largest number of these vessels had been used in the whale fisheries and in the trade to India. They were ships and barks of a burthen between two and five hundred tons, which had become too old to encounter any longer the hazards of a long voyage at sea. They were purchased by the Government at about ten dollars per ton, principally in the seaports of New Bedford and New London. The vessels, although old, were substantial and generally double-deckers. They were stripped of their copper and other fittings not necessary for so short a voyage, and loaded with picked stone as deeply as was safe. At light-water mark in each vessel one or more holes were bored through the sides, into which a lead pipe was carefully inserted, the ends of which were nailed down on each side of the vessel, a plug was driven in from the outside and another from within, and both secured by a rod passing through them, and fastened within by a nut and screw. Each fleet carried about six thousand tons of stone. The vessels were each manned by about fourteen men. The orders given to the commander were as follows:

"To Captain ——, Sir: The —— now under your command, having been purchased by the Navy Department for service on the Southern coast of the United States, the following are your orders for your proposed voyage:

"You will proceed from this port on ——, the — instant, or with the first fair wind, and when clear of the land make a direct passage to the port of ——, and there deliver your ship to the commanding officer of the blockading fleet off said port, taking his receipt for her return to me. After the delivery of your vessel, yourself and crew will be provided with passages to the port of New York, by the Navy Department, and on your arrival there you will call on ——, who will furnish you with funds to return to this port.

"On the voyage down it would be well, as far as practicable, to keep in company of your consorts, to exhibit lights by night and sound horns or bells in case of fog near the coast.

"You will also examine daily the pipe in the quarter of your ship under water, to see that it remains safe.

"The only service required of you is the safe delivery of your vessel; and as she is old and heavily laden, you will use special care that she sustains no damage from unskilful seamanship or want of prudence and care.

"On a close approach to your port of destination, begin to put between-decks cargo into lower hold, and, before anchoring permanently, have your second anchor and chain, (if you have one,) secured on deck. On leaving your vessel, unless otherwise ordered, you will bring away papers, chronometer, charts, compasses, spy-glass, and any other valuable portable articles not required by the commander of the blockading fleet there, and return them safely to me.

"In case of disaster, to preclude going on, you can call at Fortress Monroe, Hampton Roads, to repair damages, reporting to the flag-officer there.

"Wishing you a safe and speedy passage,

"I am yours, respectfully, —— ——."

The effect of sunken vessels upon the channels of a harbor, if uninfluenced by winds and currents, is to stop the navigation. These old hulks become points for the accumulation of alluvials which the rivers bear down, and of the sands which the tides carry back. Becoming thoroughly imbedded in the sand, they cause the accumulations to increase with time, forming unconquerable obstacles to re-opening the channels. The strong westerly winds which prevail at Charleston tend to sweep out the channels of its harbor by the increased force of the ebb tide. Two or three hulks which were sunk by the State authorities before the bombardment of Fort Sumter were soon afterwards swept out in this manner. In some instances obstructions of this kind have caused the water to cut out new channels. On the 21st of December seventeen of these vessels were sunk across the principal entrance to Charleston by orders from the Navy Department at Washington. They were placed in three or four rows across the channel, not in uniform, but in a chequered order.

The occupation of Beaufort by the Federal troops with an immense fleet of transports excited great apprehensions at Charleston. An increased military force was gathered; the defences increased and put in a complete state of readiness to resist an attack. In case of an alarm, the orders by which the troops in the city were to proceed were to this purport:

In case of an alarm, requiring the prompt assembling of all the troops in the city of Charleston, the signal for each assembling will be fifteen strokes upon all the fire bells; an interval of one minute, and the fifteen strokes will be repeated. The strokes will be repeated five times.

Upon the sounding of such a signal the troops in the city will immediately assemble, under arms, and in marching order, at the respective regimental muster grounds, and being formed in line will await further orders.

The regiment of the reserves will assemble on the street immediately in front of the Citadel, the color company resting on the gate of the Citadel, and will be retained in the city for its immediate defence, unless otherwise specially ordered.

The officers commanding the Sixteenth and Seventeenth regiments of infantry, First Regiment of rifles and First Regiment of artillery, will have their transportation wagons turned out and loaded with the regimental tents and stores, and will proceed to press horses and mules as may be required for the transportation.

Upon an alarm being communicated to the country, the officers commanding companies will immediately extend the same in the mode pointed out.

CHARLESTON, VA., is the capital of Kanawha County. It is situated on the Kanawha River, 60 miles from its mouth, and at its confluence with Elk River, 308 miles west by north of Richmond. The river here is three hundred yards wide, and is navigable for steamboats at all seasons of the year. The principal thoroughfare from Richmond to the Ohio River passes through the town. The Virginia troops under Gen. Wise collected here in considerable numbers in July, but upon the approach of the

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Union forces under Gen. Cox, they retreated. One shot was fired from the Union force into the steamboat Moffit, which caused her boiler to explode, and she was burnt to the water's edge. The troops under Gen. Wise were in a fortified camp below Charleston, but they evacuated their position and left considerable spoil behind them, which was taken by Gen. Cox's troops. They retreated to Gauley bridge, thirty-eight miles above.

CLARKSBURG, the capital of Harrison county, Virginia, is located on the west fork of the Monongahela River, at the mouth of Elk Creek. It is 220 miles northwest of Richmond. The village is situated on high tableland, environed by hills. When the ordinance of secession passed the Virginia State Convention, some of the first indications of opposition to it in Western Virginia were manifested here. The ordinance was passed on the 17th of April, and on the 23d a public meeting was held, and delegates appointed to meet similar delegates from other counties at Wheeling, to consult on the posture of affairs.

The first belligerent issue between the Union men of Western Virginia and the State troops recognizing the authority of the Southern Confederacy, was joined at this town. Two companies of the Confederate military having marched into the place on the 20th of May, the court house bell was rung as a signal for the assemblage of the two Union military companies, under the command of Captains Moore and Vance, who demanded that the Confederate forces should surrender their arms and disband. After a brief parley the demand was complied with.

COCKEYSVILLE is a village in Baltimore county, Maryland. It is on the Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad, about seventeen miles from Baltimore and forty from Annapolis. After the attack on the Massachusetts troops at Baltimore on the 19th of April, the other forces in their rear from the North, chiefly Pennsylvanians, stopped at Cockeys Fields, in the vicinity of Cockeysville, and encamped, to the number of twenty-four hundred.

Having left Harrisburg with no knowledge of the opposition of the citizens of Baltimore to the passage of the Northern troops through their city, they had halted upon the first intimation of the hostile intentions of the authorities of that city; and, far from entertaining any idea of forcing a passage through Baltimore, they seemed to hold her citizens in peculiar and friendly regard.

This circumstance had more effect in allaying the excitement of the Baltimoreans than all the efforts of their city police or military companies.

COLUMBUS is a small village having one hundred to two hundred inhabitants, situated on the Mississippi River, in Kentucky. It is eighteen miles below Cairo by water, forty-seven miles from Paducah, and about forty-five miles above Island No. 10 in the Mississippi River. It is important only as a military position. The Mobile and Ohio Railroad terminates here, and the Nashville and Northwestern Railroad at Hickman, nine miles below. Its position is on the southern slope of a high bluff of the Mississippi bank, which commands the stream for about five miles. Wolf's Island is in the centre of the river in its immediate vicinity. The place was occupied on the 4th of September by Confederate troops, under the command of Gen. Pillow, who immediately commenced fortifications. This closed the navigation of the Mississippi to the steamboats belonging to the States above. The fortifications were pushed to such an extent as to render it one of the strongest points held by the Confederate troops. Three one hundred and twenty-eight pounders were placed in such a position as to command the river from the highest part of the bluff, being seventy-five feet above the water. Above on the river was another battery of fourteen guns, which were generally rifled.

On the northern slope of the bluff were two light batteries and a rifle pit, one mile in length, which were designed specially to protect the place against a land attack from the north, while on the summit of the hills was a strongly intrenched work, commanding all directions, and manned by eight cannon.

On the south side, and to protect the town from a rear attack, was a small battery of eight guns. The whole number of guns has been estimated at between eighty and a hundred. In addition, there was a floating battery of twenty guns capable of being moved to the most exposed points. The number of Confederate troops at various periods, in and around Columbus, was estimated at 30,000. The position was regarded in the Confederacy as the northern key to the mouth of the Mississippi. Its evacuation on the 1st of March, 1862, after the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson, and the occupation of Nashville by the Federal troops, became a matter of course.

COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES. The commerce of the United States underwent a remarkable change in the year 1861, partly in consequence of the civil war, and partly by reason of the immense demand from Europe for breadstuffs, which for the first time closely taxed the western lands, newly traversed by railroads, to supply. The external commerce of the United States has from its origin consisted mainly in the exportation of raw products, food, and materials for manufacturers, and receiving in exchange tropical productions and manufactured goods. Proportionately, however, as manufacturing has been developed in the country, and the coarser descriptions of imported goods have been supplanted by those of home production, the people, grown richer and more luxurious, have required finer and more costly productions from abroad in return for the products exported. The commoner kinds of American manufacture have also gradually

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found a market abroad, swelling the sum of the exports. By far the largest portion of the national exports has been, however, tropical products of our diversified climate. The official tables show the aggregate imports and exports for seventy years to have been as follows:

Importations from 1790 to 1860	$6,581,118,879
Goods reëxported, 1790 to 1860	1,476,222,947
Net importations	$7,104,890,932
Domestic produce exported	$6,466,900,519
Excess imports	$637,990,413

There has been very nearly 10 per ct. more imported than exported in custom-house values. This excess may be composed of the freights and earnings of United States vessels in the foreign trade, the profits on sales, the exports on American account, and the sales of American stocks, public and corporate, in Europe. There have been some offsets to this, however, in the expenses of Americans travelling abroad, and other items that make up the intercourse of nations. Of the domestic produce which forms the basis of the whole trade, the leading heads since 1821, when the national accounts were first regularly kept, have been as follows:

Total domestic exports, 1820 to 1860		$4,856,863,368
Value of Cotton exported	$2,574,834,091	
" Tobacco "	455,181,067	
" Rice "	87,804,511	
" Naval Stores, etc.	76,181,210	
" Breadstuffs and Provisions	1,006,951,285	
" Cotton Goods and other Manufactures	655,861,254	
Net importation of goods		$4,856,863,368
		5,394,671,668
Excess imports goods		537,808,300
Specie imported 1821 to 1860	$341,226,902	
" exported " "	688,646,608	
Excess of exports		$347,419,646

The tropical products formed by far the largest proportion of the raw produce exported, as well as of the manufactures, since about one-half of the latter was of Southern material. Of the whole amount of breadstuffs and provisions about one-half has been exported in the last ten years, since migration to the virgin soil of the West has been favored by the extension of railroads, and by the growing demand for food in western Europe. The year 1861 was one of very large European demands for food, and at the same time the crops of the United States were good, while the great net work of railroads that has been constructed in the last ten years has cheapened transportation from every portion of the West to the seaports. At the same time the disruption of commercial intercourse between the North and South which took place soon after the departure of the expedition to reënforce Fort Sumter, turned large quantities of produce that formerly went down the rivers to the South, eastward by rail, and it went forward in increased abundance. The Southern products had to a large extent gone forward when the blockade commenced, nevertheless the commerce of the year 1861 showed the following results:

Imports of the United States for the Fiscal Year 1861.

Dutiable goods	$218,179,566
Free goods	69,831,276
Specie and Bullion	46,339,611
Total imports for the year	$334,350,453

Exports from the United States for the Fiscal Year 1861.

Domestic produce	$204,166,299
Foreign merchandise	14,548,075
Specie and Bullion	29,791,080
Total exports for the year	$248,505,454

The imports of specie were nearly double the amount imported in any previous year This sudden change resulted from the fact that while the exports of farm produce were larger than ever under an active foreign demand, the results of the election of November, 1860, were followed by a prompt countermanding of orders for goods, and a decline in the usual consignments to this country. Consequently the proceeds of the produce sold abroad necessarily came in the shape of specie.

The aggregate importations of the year 1861, as compared with former years, are as follows:

Imports into the United States.

	Specie and Bullion.	Free of Duty.	Paying Duty.	Total.
1821	$8,064,890	$2,017,423	$52,563,411	$62,585,724
1822	3,369,846	3,928,862	75,942,833	83,241,541
1823	5,097,896	3,950,392	68,390,979	77,579,267
1824	8,372,835	4,183,938	67,985,234	80,549,007
1825	6,150,765	4,796,745	85,892,565	96,840,075
1826	6,880,966	5,686,803	72,406,708	84,974,477
1827	8,151,130	3,703,974	67,628,964	79,484,068
1828	7,489,741	4,889,435	76,199,648	88,569,824
1829	7,403,612	4,401,189	62,687,626	74,492,527
1830	8,153,964	4,590,281	58,136,675	70,876,920
1831	7,305,945	6,150,680	89,734,499	103,191,124
1832	5,907,504	8,341,949	86,779,418	101,029,866
1833	7,070,368	23,377,582	78,670,561	108,118,311
1834	17,911,682	50,481,548	58,128,152	126,521,382
1835	13,131,447	64,809,046	71,955,249	149,895,742
1836	13,400,881	78,653,600	97,923,554	189,980,035
1837	10,516,414	58,738,617	71,739,186	140,989,217
1838	17,747,116	43,112,889	52,857,399	113,717,404
1839	5,560,176	70,806,616	85,690,340	162,092,132
1840	8,882,813	48,818,891	49,945,815	107,141,519
1841	4,988,693	61,081,098	61,926,446	127,946,177
1842	4,087,016	26,540,470	69,534,601	100,162,087
1843	22,890,559	13,154,925	29,179,215	64,758,799
1844	5,830,429	18,936,452	83,668,154	108,435,035
1845	4,070,242	18,077,598	95,106,724	117,254,564
1846	3,771,392	20,909,067	96,924,038	121,604,797
1847	24,121,289	17,651,347	104,773,002	146,545,638
1848	6,360,224	16,956,879	132,292,325	154,998,928
1849	6,651,240	15,726,425	125,479,774	147,857,439
1850	4,628,792	18,081,590	155,427,936	178,188,818
1851	5,453,592	19,652,995	191,118,345	216,224,932
1852	5,500,044	24,187,890	183,252,508	212,945,442
1853	4,201,882	27,182,152	236,585,113	267,968,647
1854	6,958,184	26,327,637	271,276,560	304,562,381
1855	8,639,812	36,430,924	221,878,184	261,468,920
1856	4,207,632	52,748,074	257,684,296	314,639,943
1857	12,461,799	54,267,507	294,160,835	360,890,141
1858	19,274,409	61,044,779	202,293,875	282,613,150
1859	7,434,789	72,285,827	259,047,014	338,768,130
1860	8,550,135	73,741,479	279,572,327	362,163,941
1861	46,339,611	69,831,276	218,179,566	334,350,453
Total	$387,566,578	$1,296,698,487	$4,996,923,709	$6,625,698,973

The total exports of the same period have been as follows:

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Exports from the United States.

	Specie.	Foreign.	Domestic.	Total Goods.
1821	$10,477,969	$10,824,519	$43,671,894	$54,496,413
1822	10,810,180	11,476,022	49,874,079	61,350,101
1823	6,372,987	21,170,635	47,135,408	68,826,043
1824	7,014,552	18,822,605	50,649,500	68,972,105
1825	8,767,659	26,802,984	66,944,745	90,747,729
1826	4,704,583	20,440,934	52,449,855	72,890,789
1827	8,014,880	16,481,890	57,878,117	74,360,947
1828	8,243,476	14,044,578	49,976,632	64,021,210
1829	4,924,020	12,347,544	55,087,307	67,434,851
1830	2,178,778	13,145,887	58,264,878	71,670,765
1831	9,014,931	13,077,069	59,218,583	72,295,652
1832	5,656,840	19,794,074	61,726,729	81,520,803
1833	2,611,701	17,577,876	69,950,856	87,528,732
1834	2,076,758	21,636,558	80,623,602	102,260,215
1835	6,477,773	14,756,921	100,479,481	115,236,402
1836	4,324,336	17,767,762	106,570,942	124,338,704
1837	5,976,249	17,162,232	94,280,895	111,443,127
1838	3,508,046	9,417,690	95,560,880	104,978,570
1839	8,776,743	10,626,140	101,625,533	112,251,673
1840	8,417,014	12,008,371	111,660,561	123,668,932
1841	10,034,932	8,181,235	103,636,236	111,817,471
1842	4,813,589	8,078,758	91,798,242	99,876,995
1843	1,520,791	5,139,335	77,686,851	82,825,689
1844	5,454,214	6,214,038	99,531,774	105,745,812
1845	8,606,493	7,584,781	98,453,330	106,040,111
1846	3,905,268	7,565,206	101,718,042	109,283,248
1847	1,987,024	6,166,754	150,554,344	156,741,098
1848	13,841,616	7,986,806	130,203,709	138,190,515
1849	5,404,648	8,641,091	131,710,081	140,351,172
1850	1,322,984	9,475,493	184,900,238	144,375,726
1851	29,472,252	10,295,121	178,620,138	188,915,259
1852	42,674,135	12,053,084	154,931,147	166,984,231
1853	27,468,575	13,620,120	189,809,162	203,429,282
1854	41,486,456	21,548,304	215,156,304	236,704,608
1855	36,347,843	26,158,368	192,751,135	218,909,503
1856	45,745,485	14,781,372	266,438,051	281,219,423
1857	39,136,922	14,917,047	278,906,713	293,823,760
1858	32,633,147	20,660,241	251,351,033	272,011,274
1859	60,387,411	14,509,971	278,392,080	292,902,051
1860	66,546,239	17,333,634	316,242,423	333,576,057
1861	29,791,080	14,548,075	204,166,299	218,714,374
Total	$718,437,688	$571,690,245	$5,009,929,667	$5,682,619,912

The basis of this large trade has been the increased quantities of domestic products that have been exported from the United States, which are as a whole an agricultural nation. The Eastern and Middle States are indeed manufacturing and commercial, but the great wealth of the country consists in its vast tracts of fertile land, open to the enterprising settler almost without cost. Labor actively supplied by immigration, and applied to that land, has drawn forth an annually increasing surplus of raw productions and food, influenced by the growing numbers of the people, the increase in labor-saving machines, and the improved means by which distance is measurably annihilated, and transportation to market cheapened. The great agricultural West has furnished food, and the great agricultural South has furnished tobacco, rice, and raw materials in quantity and abundance that have interested the commercial world. The Northern and Middle States have been supplied with this food and these materials to build up a system of manufacturing goods, for which, under cover of protective laws, they have found an amply remunerative market among the people of the two agricultural sections, whose surplus products have employed eastern vessels in the foreign trade, have paid for whatever of foreign luxuries the growing wealth of the country has required, and have furnished the whole revenue for the support of the Federal Government. The manufactures, rapidly as they have multiplied, have not more than kept pace with the growing demands of the home market, leaving little for export. On the other hand, the surplus of domestic produce has continually grown in magnitude, until in 1860 it was eight times as much as in 1821, and three times as much as in 1839.

Population—Foreign Goods annually consumed per head, and the Duties annually collected on them.

	Population.	Cons'm'd per Head.	Total.	Customs Collected.
1821....	9,960,974	$4 14	$41,288,236	$18,004,447 15
1822....	10,238,757	5 92	60,955,339	17,589,761 94
1823....	10,606,540	4 71	50,065,645	19,088,433 44
1824....	10,929,828	5 05	55,211,850	17,878,825 71
1825....	11,252,106	5 66	63,749,432	20,098,713 45
1826....	11,574,889	5 22	60,434,865	23,341,331 77
1827....	11,897,672	4 71	56,006,982	19,712,283 29
1828....	12,220,455	5 47	66,914,807	23,205,523 64
1829....	12,243,238	4 61	57,884,049	22,681,965 91
1830....	12,566,020	4 89	56,489,441	21,922,891 39
1831....	13,286,364	6 25	83,157,598	24,224,441 77
1832....	13,706,707	5 61	76,986,798	28,465,237 2
1833....	14,127,050	6 25	88,295,576	29,032,508 91
1834....	14,547,393	7 09	103,208,521	16,214,957 15
1835....	14,967,736	8 64	129,391,247	19,391,810 59
1836....	15,388,079	10 98	168,223,675	23,409,940 53
1837....	15,808,422	7 58	119,184,255	11,169,290 38
1838....	16,228,765	6 23	101,264,609	16,158,800 36
1839....	16,649,108	8 68	144,597,607	28,137,924 81
1840....	17,069,458	5 21	88,951,207	13,499,502 17
1841....	17,612,507	6 38	112,477,096	14,487,516 24
1842....	18,155,561	4 87	88,446,549	18,187,998 76
1843....	18,698,615	3 11	58,201,102	7,046,548 91
1844....	19,241,670	5 03	96,950,168	26,183,570 94
1845....	19,784,725	5 15	101,907,784	27,528,112 70
1846....	20,327,780	5 42	110,045,174	26,712,687 57
1847....	20,780,835	6 60	138,534,480	29,747,864 66
1848....	21,413,890	6 25	133,870,918	31,757,070 96
1849....	21,956,945	6 13	134,768,574	28,346,738 82
1850....	22,246,301	7 02	163,185,510	39,668,656 42
1851....	24,250,000	8 02	194,526,689	49,017,567 92
1852....	24,500,000	8 00	195,656,000	47,339,926 62
1853....	25,000,000	10 00	250,420,187	58,931,565 52
1854....	25,750,000	10 00	279,712,187	64,224,190 27
1855....	26,500,000	8 79	233,020,227	53,025,194 21
1856....	27,400,000	10 88	298,261,364	64,022,853 50
1857....	28,500,000	11 82	336,914,524	68,875,905 05
1858....	29,500,000	8 50	251,727,008	41,789,620 96
1859....	30,385,000	10 46	317,573,053	49,565,324 38
1860....	31,676,217	10 71	335,250,919	53,187,511 87
1861....	32,250,000	9 80	313,811,168	39,582,125 64
Total....	....	..	$5,818,049,825	$1,231,456,369 36

The average duty on the whole amount has been 21 per cent. The consumption per head gradually advanced from 1842 to 1853, since when it has been nearly stationary. This fact, in connection with the known prosperity of the country, indicates how greatly domestic manufactures have been developed to the profit of the North.

The following is the official table of the leading articles that were exported in 1861, as compared with those of 1860, before the secession, and in 1840, previous to the great change which took place in British commercial legislation in 1842, by which her markets were opened to American provisions, that had been before prohibited. The figures show in what particulars the great decrease in the business of 1861 took place:

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EXPORTS—UNITED STATES PRODUCE AND MANUFACTURES.

	1849.	1860.	1861.
Western Products.			
Oil, spermaceti	$85,015	$1,789,089	$2,110,827
Oil, whale, and other fish	515,484	567,547	581,264
Whalebone	288,790	896,268	796,552
Spermaceti and sperm candles	178,142	51,829	148,997
Fish, dried or smoked	509,218	690,088	694,941
Fish, pickled	141,820	191,684	244,098
Staves and heading	2,270,608	2,385,516	1,899,892
Shingles	..	169,516	108,610
Boards, plank, and scantling	..	2,777,919	2,092,949
Hewn timber	..	231,668	97,875
Other timber	564,899	765,119	441,979
Oak bark, and other dye	309,696	164,260	189,476
All manufactures of wood	659,291	2,703,065	2,844,079
Ashes, pot and pearl	624,369	822,820	651,547
Ginseng	118,904	295,566	222,859
Skins and furs	732,057	1,583,208	578,466
Beef	371,646	2,674,824	1,675,773
Tallow		1,568,176	2,942,870
Hides		1,696,260	678,818
Horned cattle		1,052,426	228,246
Butter	127,550	1,144,321	2,355,953
Cheese		1,565,609	3,321,631
Pork, pickled	1,777,290	3,182,313	2,099,818
Hams and bacon		2,273,768	4,548,839
Lard		4,545,831	4,720,297
Wool	..	889,512	237,846
Hogs	..	377,604	3,267
Horses	291,625	283,366	193,420
Mules		158,099	191,873
Sheep	15,960	93,613	28,417
Wheat	144,191	4,076,704	38,318,624
Flour	6,925,170	15,448,507	24,645,849
Indian corn	141,095	2,399,595	6,899,865
Indian meal		912,075	692,007
Rye meal	6,421	48,172	55,767
Rye, oats, &c.	145,448	1,038,304	1,124,556
Biscuit or ship bread	72,050	478,759	429,708
Potatoes	349,871	284,673	285,508
Apples	57,553	206,055	269,263
Onions	51,875	109,861	192,578
Total Western products	$18,121,836	$61,161,582	$110,353,610
Southern Products.			
Rice	$2,460,198	$2,567,399	$1,842,178
Cotton	61,238,962	191,806,555	34,051,483
Tobacco, manuf.	616,212	3,833,425	2,742,828
Tobacco, leaf	9,932,913	15,906,547	13,784,540
Hemp		9,531	8,608
Spirits of turpentine	78,757	1,916,230	1,192,787
Tar and pitch	68,899	151,434	143,240
Rosin and turpentine		1,818,228	1,060,357
Brown sugar	28,722	103,544	341,929
Printed or col'd cottons	412,661	3,356,449	2,215,082
White other than duck cottons	2,525,901	1,403,506	1,074,959
Duck cotton	..	382,089	390,668
All other manufactures of cotton	87,071	5,792,752	4,961,879
Clover seed	161,896	600,729	1,112,750
Hops	72,425	82,866	2,096,653
Total Southern products	$78,159,968	$229,631,026	$65,743,901

	1849.	1860.	1861.
Eastern Manufactures.			
Wax	$68,961	$181,868	$94,495
Refined sugar	521,117	301,674	287,881
Chocolate	4,039	2,566	2,157
Spirits from grain	142,083	811,005	867,364
Spirits from molasses	138,449	990,644	850,546
Spirits from other mat'ls	..	219,199	383,185
Molasses	8,488	35,292	39,108
Vinegar	8,745	41,968	38,262
Beer, ale, porter, & cider	..	58,573	39,498
Linseed oil	78,757	1,948,088	37,982
Lard oil		55,759	81,789
Household furniture	361,840	1,079,114	888,049
Coaches and other car'ges	52,950	816,978	472,608
Hats	129,165	211,602	156,956
Saddlery	42,743	71,852	61,469
Tallow candles and soap, and other candles	458,471	1,266,104	1,188,896
Leather, boots and shoes	173,860	1,456,834	1,365,075
Cordage	23,899	940,572	255,254
Gunpowder	197,162	467,772	347,168
Salt	64,272	129,717	144,646
Lead	6,093	50,446	6,241
Iron—			
Pig, bar, and nails	134,588	246,154	211,821
Castings	61,100	262,548	76,750
All manufactures of	748,862	5,174,040	5,586,556
Copper & brass, manuf. of	81,834	1,664,122	2,315,029
Medicinal drugs	97,418	1,115,455	1,149,488
Hemp and flax—			
Cloth and thread	2,010	1,248	90
Bags, and all manuf. of	2,047	26,571	39,499
Wearing apparel	167,957	525,175	462,554
Earthen and stone ware	11,545	49,086	49,704
Combs and buttons	37,966	93,515	82,793
Brushes and brooms	4,186	61,877	62,369
Billiard tables and apparatus	2,504	15,979	8,910
Umbrellas, parasols, and sunshades	11,618	4,862	1,271
Manufactures of India rubber	12,952	240,541	193,691
Leather & morocco (sold per pound)	..	19,011	7,567
Fire engines & apparatus	2,936	9,948	7,940
Printing presses & types	83,253	157,124	106,562
Musical instruments	7,413	129,633	159,974
Books and maps	82,854	278,268	250,365
Paper and stationery	89,149	285,728	317,515
Paints and varnish	41,459	228,569	240,925
Manufactures of glass	48,448	277,948	394,753
Manufactures of tin	19,981	39,064	30,229
Manufactures of pewter and lead	12,637	46,081	30,504
Manufactures of marble and other stone	7,661	176,939	185,267
Manufactures of gold and silver, and gold leaf	5,264	140,187	56,879
Quicksilver	..	258,622	631,450
Artificial flowers and jewelry	8,402	24,866	50,199
Trunks and valises	1,965	50,184	40,623
Bricks and lime	16,293	154,035	68,299
Oilcake	..	1,609,232	1,358,491
Articles not enumerated	1,159,148	2,962,664	6,091,179
Total Eastern manufactures exported	$3,350,169	$26,049,565	$28,069,388
Gold and silver coin and bullion	$1,908,358	$6,946,851	$23,799,870
Total	$7,258,526	$82,996,716	$51,868,258

The decline here manifest in Southern productions, or those which for a part of the fiscal year 1861 were blockaded, was as follows, as compared with the distinctive products of other sections:

	1849.	1860.	1861.	Decrease.	Increase.
Southern Products	$78,159,968	$229,631,026	$65,743,901	$163,287,725	....
Northern "	5,350,169	26,049,565	28,069,388	....	$2,020,823
Western "	18,121,836	61,161,582	110,353,610	....	59,192,028
Total goods and produce	$101,625,583	$316,842,423	$204,166,299	$163,287,725	$61,212,601
Total gold and silver	1,908,358	56,946,851	23,799,870	33,146,981	....
Total exports	$103,533,941	$373,189,274	$227,966,169	$196,434,706	....

The result is remarkable. The Western railroads, which have been of late years constructed to carry Western productions to the Eastern markets, have well fulfilled their part, they

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having aided in more than doubling the export of Western produce in one year, thus developing an active capital that would soon restore the capital absorbed in their construction. The Southern produce, cut off by the blockade, made necessary by the war, although that blockade did not take place until late in the fiscal year, was very large, and for the present fiscal year will have ceased altogether. The exports of goods and produce will then have barely reached 140 millions, even if the Western produce continues to find so large a market abroad, and by this amount the sum of the importations must be measured, since the country buys no more than its surplus produce pays for. Of the importations certain articles are necessaries: tea, coffee, sugar, and molasses. These in the aggregate reach 80 millions, and in 1860 $20,446,586 worth of merchandise were imported free from Canada under the reciprocity treaty. These items alone absorb 100 millions of the proceeds of exports, and leave little for the manufactured goods that have been so largely imported. The Northern States have doubtless consumed the largest proportion of the imported goods; but it has been because they have been larger sellers of their own manufactures to those who furnished the produce exported to pay for their imports. The Western section has produced an aggregate of $200,000,000 of exchangeable values per annum, which they have sold to the East and South in exchange for imported and manufactured goods. The Southern States have produced 400 millions per annum, which they have sold, and taken in pay Northern and imported goods. The outbreak of the secession caused that trade at once to cease. The South could no longer sell, and the North lost a customer for $400,000,000 of goods per annum. Such an event could not take place without producing immense changes not only in the foreign trade, but in internal industry. Those who no longer sold goods to the South had no longer profits with which to buy foreign goods. At the same time the necessities of the Government required the tax on the foreign goods to be increased. The shipping, which had been so largely employed in the transportation of cotton, lost much of its employment. The mills that had been accustomed to work up 700,000 bales of cotton per annum, were obliged to close, and the long list of dye stuffs and other manufacturing materials were no longer in request. At the West, where in the last four years settlement has progressed with great rapidity, the harvests were very abundant, and at the same time the Southern outlets for it being closed by the events of the war, it was forced upon the lakes, causing a great rise in freights, and at the same time low prices to the farmer. Thus the traffic towards the East has been very active, without however a corresponding increase in the return traffic.

Chicago, which stands at the head of the lake navigation, and from which the Illinois Canal, 100 miles, connects with the Illinois River, and from which also a number of railroads radiate through a fertile region, supplies a large proportion of the food exported. The rapidity with which that region has developed produce under the action of the railroads is apparent in the following table:

Receipts of grain at Chicago.

Years.	Flour, barrels.	Wheat, bushels.	Corn, bushels.	Oats, &c., bushels.
1854...	284,575	3,088,955	7,499,458	4,541,840
1855...	320,912	7,587,097	8,532,677	3,217,249
1856...	410,989	8,767,760	11,888,398	2,384,151
1857...	489,934	10,554,761	7,469,000	1,922,645
1858...	662,540	9,639,614	8,222,641	3,868,421
1859...	726,321	8,060,766	5,401,870	2,641,906
1860...	713,848	14,427,088	15,262,894	3,133,484
1861...	1,479,284	17,385,002	26,869,989	3,015,596

This great increase for the year 1861 grew principally out of the large crops. These crops could not go South, and being turned on the lakes, caused a great demand for tonnage, and a rise in freights, which almost absorbed the value of the grain, leaving little to the farmer. The Illinois Central Railroad took corn from its land debtors in payment of instalments to the extent of 1,800,000 bushels, and altogether the road delivered 15,000,000 bushels, or five times as much as it delivered in 1855. That was the product of land which the Government had vainly offered for sale more than 10 or 15 years, until it gave 2,500,000 acres to the road to aid its construction. That being done, the land was rapidly settled, and the result is the large annual addition to the exchangeable values of the country.

Milwaukee has also, through the agency of railroads, added largely to the lake trade. The two ports of Chicago and Milwaukee have thus in 1861 delivered 41,412,000 bushels of wheat, or equal to one-half the whole wheat crop of the United States in 1840. So vast has been the progress of production in that region. The annual export of wheat has been, including the year 1861, as follows:

Export of grains from Milwaukee for 11 *years.*

Years.	Flour, barrels.	Wheat, bushels.	Total, in bushels.
1851.....	51,889	317,285	576,780
1852.....	92,995	564,404	1,029,179
1853.....	104,055	956,708	1,476,978
1854.....	145,602	1,809,452	2,534,612
1855.....	181,568	2,641,746	3,549,586
1856.....	188,425	2,761,979	3,704,254
1857.....	228,442	2,581,812	3,723,522
1858.....	298,688	3,994,213	5,487,653
1859.....	292,956	4,732,957	6,147,887
1860.....	457,543	7,568,608	9,856,923
1861.....	674,474	13,800,495	16,672,865

Aggregate value of Exports for the years 1860 *and* 1861.

	1861.	1860.
Flour.....	$3,000,000	$2,179,140
Wheat.....	12,318,000	7,228,020
Coarse grains	14,200	58,481
Provisions	900,000	566,154
Wool	350,000	278,750
Hides.....	53,600	79,058
Furs and skins.....	1,000,000	1,000,000
Butter.....	63,570	89,609
Ashes.....	17,000	54,000
Ginseng	80,000	75,000
Grass seed.....	9,800	23,954
Cranberries	25,000	....
Total.....	$17,826,470	$11,624,17

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The trade of these two ports of Lake Michigan, as outlets for the great northern valley of the Mississippi, is indicative of the immense capacity of those regions. Toledo, at the head of Lake Erie, receives the produce of Southern Michigan, Northwestern Ohio, and a large portion of Indiana, and pours it upon the bosom of the lake in increasing abundance.

Receipts of Flour and Grain at Toledo, with the sources of supply, for the year ending December 31st, 1861.

	Flour, barrels.	Wheat, bushels.	Corn, bushels.	Oats, bushels.	Rye, bushels.	Barley, bushels.
Michigan Southern Railroad	752,309	2,450,320	200,440	13,888	8,185	852
Toledo and Wabash Railroad	265,461	1,675,107	3,222,857	24,527	19,994	1,196
Detroit and Milwaukee Railroad	153,749	610,747	56,111	1,625	867	....
Canal	212,870	1,428,428	1,107,680	50	2,647	....
Lake	....	805	....	1,828	....	10,016
Teams	....	112,000	25,000	....	....	....
Manufactured	22,587	....	....	....	....	....
Total, 1861	1,406,476	6,277,407	5,812,088	41,418	31,193	12,064
" 1860	800,768	5,272,600	5,333,751	129,689	32,787	115,992

These figures give an aggregate of 18,706,510 bushels of grain of all kinds received at Toledo. Of this much the largest portion was shipped by lake eastward. The transportation of these increased quantities of grain thrown upon the lakes, exceeded the capacity of the vessels and canal boats, and caused a great advance in freights, which were as follows from Chicago:

Months.	To Buffalo.						To New York.				
	Flour, per bbl.	Wheat, per 100 lbs.	Corn, per 100 lbs.	Beef and pork, per 100 lbs.	Dressed hogs, per 100 lbs.	Live stock, per car.	Flour, per bbl.	Wheat, per 100 lbs.	Corn, per 100 lbs.	Beef and pork, per 100 lbs.	Dressed hogs, per 100 lbs.
January	70	35	35	35	55	$86 00	$1 20	65	65	65	$1 00
February	70	35	35	35	50	86 00	1 20	65	65	65	90
March	70	35	35	35	..	86 00	1 25	62½	62½	62½	..
April	70	35	35	35	..	86 00	1 25	62½	62½	62½	..
May	62	35	35	31	..	86 00	1 10	55	55	55	..
June	62	31	31	31	..	86 00	1 10	55	55	55	..
July	58	31	31	29	..	88 00	1 06	53	53	53	..
August	58	31	31	29	..	88 00	1 01	50½	50½	50½	..
September	72	36	36	36	..	90 00	1 35	67½	67½	67½	..
October	95	47½	47½	47½	..	95 00	1 95	97½	97½	97½	..
November	95	47½	47½	47½	75	95 00	1 95	97½	97½	97½	1 40
December	95	47½	47½	47½	75	95 00	1 95	97½	97½	97½	1 40

The tonnage employed upon the lakes was as follows in 1861:

American.

Vessels.	No.	Tons.	Value.
Steamers	65	42,683	$1,489,800
Propellers	107	59,018	2,123,000
Tugs	91	9,155	565,760
Barks	48	19,616	469,000
Brigs	75	22,124	435,900
Schooners	843	180,357	4,525,000
Total, 1861	1,229	323,953	$9,608,400
" 1860	1,216	316,507	11,992,105
" 1859	1,198	328,156	9,811,200

Canadian.

Vessels.	No.	Tons.	Value.
Steamers	63	21,107	$1,019,200
Propellers	15	4,562	176,000
Tugs	22	4,842	202,300
Barks	19	7,158	188,500
Brigs	15	4,223	101,000
Schooners	222	83,771	822,300
Total, 1861	356	75,658	$2,509,300
" 1860	360	76,717	3,146,890
" 1859	313	69,668	2,805,200

The proportion of the Western produce received at Buffalo by water was as follows:

Flour, bbls	1,909,557
Wheat, bushels	26,585,723
Corn, "	20,872,560
Oats, "	1,703,188
Barley, "	276,601
Rye, "	329,942
Lumber, feet	49,675,393
Staves, No.	4,707,120
Cattle, No.	26,921
Hogs, "	96,895
Sheep, "	29,178
Wool, bales	28,428
Pork, barrels	45,048
Beef, "	49,730
Whiskey, barrels	104,829
Eggs, "	13,509
Fish, "	6,865
Coal, tons	86,754

These products, with those that arrived at Oswego, and those which came from Lake Champlain, found their way by these canals and the New York Central Railroad to tide water, and thence to New York, meeting there the quantities which came from Dunkirk over the Erie Railroad. The flour and grain brought down on the New York Central Railroad to tide water in the last year, were as follows:

	Flour, barrels.	Wheat, bushels.	Corn, bushels.	Oats, bushels.
To New York	1,419,498	545,400	38,100	9,100
To Boston	718,514	29,100	81,400	2,200
To Albany	266,471	519,100	317,200	412,600
Total	2,399,483	1,093,600	436,700	423,900
By canal	1,612,855	29,632,400	22,344,179	5,991,438
Total	4,018,348	30,726,000	22,780,879	6,415,338

The quantities and values left at tide water on the State canals for the year ending with the close of navigation in 1861, were as follows: (See p. 109.)

The quantities of these articles coming from the Western States to Buffalo, as compared

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New York Canals.	1860.		1861.	
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
PRODUCTS OF THE FOREST.				
Fur and peltry.....lbs.	144,000	$186,940	40,000	$51,610
Boards and scantling.....1000 feet.	452,918,000	9,261,340	301,608,000	5,051,944
Shingles.....	64,902	227,508	45,184	158,176
Timber .....cubic feet.	2,299,850	390,965	1,189,950	202,480
Staves .....lbs.	284,832,000	1,139,329	263,228,000	1,056,918
Wood.....cords.	5,953	24,526	7,691	31,686
Ashes, pot and pearl.....bbls.	11,149	334,410	17,353	520,650
PRODUCTS OF AGRICULTURE.				
Pork.....bbls.	7,320	100,650	11,363	156,269
Beef.....	11,044	88,384	27,793	224,416
Bacon .....lbs.	460,000	46,096	616,000	61,690
Cheese.....	12,792,000	1,028,803	10,508,000	840,566
Butter.....	2,884,000	461,465	4,134,000	661,193
Lard, tallow, and lard oil.....	930,000	102,221	1,320,000	155,745
Wool.....	2,060,000	927,395	1,854,000	834,106
Hides.....	14,000	2,620	58,000	12,171
Flour.....bbls.	1,240,928	7,135,235	1,613,855	8,419,285
Wheat.....bush.	19,204,000	21,892,602	29,632,400	33,780,964
Rye	530,820	277,843	805,556	676,699
Corn	14,430,857	12,554,832	23,244,179	11,172,087
Corn meal.....bbls.	8,650	30,479	3,342	11,725
Barley .....bush.	2,817,750	2,254,196	2,046,667	1,391,745
Oats	6,836,187	2,734,483	5,991,438	2,396,571
Bran and ship stuffs.....lbs.	28,242,000	282,416	33,860,000	677,165
Peas and beans.....bush.	332,266	332,296	377,366	378,408
Potatoes	1,141,232	399,456	1,347,166	471,864
Dried fruit.....lbs.	590,000	59,011	1,524,000	152,458
Cotton	40,000	5,317	4,000	726
Unmanufactured tobacco.....lbs.	222,000	35,432	2,194,000	351,071
Hemp.....	128,000	10,163	74,000	5,923
Clover and grass seed.....	18,000	1,540	60,000	4,548
Flax seed.....	198,000	3,989	228,000	4,543
Hops	1,100,000	131,813	276,000	32,885
MANUFACTURES.				
Domestic spirits.....gals.	1,170,000	292,189	2,037,500	529,740
Oil meal and cake.....lbs.	1,124,000	16,548	12,382,000	155,745
Leather	8,980,000	2,154,939	7,078,000	1,699,012
Furniture	1,354,000	138,542	690,000	69,055
Bar and pig lead.....	5,816,000	349,103	10,314,000	618,878
Pig iron.....	62,894,000	943,395	28,696,000	430,426
Bloom and bar iron.....	33,808,000	929,757	6,898,000	202,644
Castings and ironware.....	2,246,000	67,437	672,000	20,087
Domestic woollens.....	180,000	125,300	92,000	64,050
Domestic cottons.....	1,014,000	253,251	152,000	46,020
Domestic salt.....	7,490,000	37,455	3,956,000	24,787
Foreign salt.....	8,000	80	60,000	590
MERCHANDISE.				
Sugar.....lbs.	16,000	1,240	18,000	1,593
Molasses	4,000	135	300,000	9,010
Nails, spikes, and horse shoes.....	5,072,000	202,900	8,098,000	323,918
Iron and steel.....	3,640,000	145,509	4,472,000	164,066
Railroad iron.....	1,648,000	49,275	924,000	27,696
Flint, enamel, crockery and glassware.....	1,396,000	139,622	794,000	79,434
All other merchandise.....	10,694,000	3,208,091	2,574,000	771,961
OTHER ARTICLES.				
Stone, lime and clay.....lbs.	87,918,000	439,596	69,300,000	346,498
Gypsum	3,778,000	5,667	1,592,000	2,387
Mineral coal.....	145,566,000	363,920	127,606,000	319,019
Copper ore.....	5,496,000	714,625	6,242,000	811,537
Sundries	180,164,000	5,761,050	402,024,000	4,778,505
Products of forest.....tons.	1,137,873	11,565,018	690,586	7,073,464
Products of agriculture.....	1,373,393	50,893,787	1,934,247	62,862,573
Manufactures.....	66,969	5,307,996	43,074	3,861,034
Merchandise.....	11,235	3,746,972	8,405	1,377,702
Other articles.....	265,407	7,284,894	303,832	6,257,986
Total.....tons.	2,854,877	$78,798,617	2,980,144	$81,432,759
Increase.....	.....	.....	125,267	$2,634,142

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with those that arrived at the Hudson, are as follows:

	Tons.	Value.	Tolls.
Shipped at Buffalo.....	1,579,745	$33,800,920	$2,102,012
Arrived at Tidewater.....	2,980,144	81,482,759	3,402,628

The excess delivered at tidewater represents the receipts from Oswego and Lake Champlain, added to the State surplus. The aggregate is swollen by the Erie and New York Railroad deliveries. By far the largest portion of the receipts consists of vegetable and animal food, which in such increased abundance has come from the West.

The exports from the port of New York are largely composed of these Western grains. The following table shows the monthly quantity and values so exported from the port of New York:

1861.	Flour.			Wheat.			Corn.		
	Barrels.	Average Price.	Total Value.	Bushels.	Average Price.	Total Value.	Bushels.	Average Price.	Total Value.
Jan.....	168,959	$5 70	$963,066	882,169	$1 26	$1,048,535	618,261	$0 72	$441,548
Feb.....	186,868	5 60	1,046,461	1,060,995	1 26	1,336,853	603,751	0 70	422,626
March.....	171,539	5 50	943,464	972,688	1 25	1,215,860	789,664	0 68	536,971
April.....	211,140	5 60	1,182,384	999,843	1 28	1,279,799	1,057,004	0 70	739,903
May.....	200,068	5 50	1,100,034	1,729,178	1 25	2,161,385	799,151	0 68	543,423
June.....	271,308	5 50	1,493,761	3,577,243	1 29	4,292,692	768,968	0 57	438,312
July.....	281,779	4 50	1,268,006	2,968,999	1 00	2,968,999	397,276	0 54	214,529
August.....	297,248	4 75	1,411,904	2,389,645	1 00	2,389,645	2,388,429	0 48	1,122,446
Sept.....	215,882	5 45	1,176,285	3,008,077	1 20	3,609,494	1,321,196	0 54	713,445
Oct.....	325,210	5 80	1,886,218	3,145,533	1 30	4,089,382	1,274,215	0 64	815,497
Nov.....	370,087	5 60	2,072,487	4,618,646	1 30	6,004,279	1,125,865	0 64	720,515
Dec.....	391,731	5 80	2,272,089	3,515,859	1 35	4,745,784	1,268,804	0 70	864,312
Total.....	3,092,049	..	$16,817,079	28,757,615	..	$35,142,655	12,352,024	..	$7,573,527

The value of these three articles ($59,533,221) forms over 60 per cent. of the aggregate domestic produce from the port of New York, the business of which has been as follows for the year:

Imports.	Specie.	Free Goods.	Entered for Consumption.	Entered for Warehouse.	Total.	Withdrawn.
Jan.	$7,262,229	$2,825,665	$8,178,837	$8,560,680	$26,827,411	$2,543,273
Feb.	2,274,067	2,312,563	7,003,399	3,751,678	16,341,707	5,781,728
Mar.	5,546,406	2,873,697	6,700,061	3,084,187	18,204,351	5,817,144
Apr.	1,953,001	3,351,905	5,393,809	4,187,678	14,886,393	1,761,245
May.....	3,486,812	2,730,568	2,889,588	5,842,313	14,949,281	1,606,864
June	5,387,153	2,191,513	1,825,563	3,245,504	12,649,733	1,963,842
July	6,996,498	2,972,054	3,200,663	1,769,636	14,938,851	6,622,454
Aug.	1,049,552	1,816,224	3,359,695	2,660,457	8,885,928	2,614,652
Sept.....	1,231,012	1,577,385	3,106,298	1,390,766	7,305,461	2,938,464
Oct.	639,328	2,163,452	3,688,580	2,082,381	8,523,741	2,518,080
Nov.....	908,825	1,964,644	4,614,982	2,150,561	9,639,012	1,987,626
Dec.	353,530	2,574,248	4,342,756	2,346,387	9,616,921	3,561,887
Total, 1861.	$37,088,413	$30,353,918	$54,254,231	$41,072,228	$162,768,790	$39,717,259
" 1860.	8,852,330	28,006,447	154,660,498	46,741,185	238,260,460	31,103,924
" 1859.	2,816,421	28,708,732	176,765,309	36,875,054	245,165,516	26,857,089
" 1858.	2,264,120	22,024,691	102,942,737	25,635,519	152 867,067	37,499,542

Exports.	Specie.	Foreign Free.	Foreign Dutiable.	Domestic.	Sold.
Jan.	$58,894	$399,940	$465,978	$10,277,925	$11,202,737
Feb.....	1,102,926	137,950	429,537	10,236,820	11,907,233
Mar.....	301,802	109,270	839,415	10,580,907	11,831,394
Apr.....	1,412,674	209,573	231,784	9,255,648	11,109,679
May	128,900	180,114	567,872	10,855,709	11,732,595
June.....	244,242	648,482	903,877	10,270,430	12,067,031
July	11,020	203,325	260,860	9,552,789	10,028,000
Aug.	3,600	57,965	176,582	9,652,301	9,890,448
Sept.	15,756	30,013	264,168	9,877,909	10,187,846
Oct.	15,038	60,868	192,196	12,904,350	13,172,452
Nov.	48,385	41,973	377,170	14,109,763	14,577,291
Dec.....	893,013	75,474	494,514	13,661,444	15,124,445
Total, 1861..	$4,236,250	$2,154,947	$5,203,959	$131,235,995	$142,931,151
" 1860..	42,191,171	2,258,710	5,765,274	95,468,296	145,683,451
" 1859..	69,715,866	2,999,881	5,050,909	59,929,531	137,696,187
" 1858..	46,001,431	1,601,111	4,087,398	53,949,703	85,639,643

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In inspecting these aggregates the most remarkable feature is the reversal of the trade in specie. Instead of a large excess in the exports of the precious metals, there was a large excess in imports for the year; a quantity exceeding the supplies from California was received from abroad. In the same manner the sum of the domestic exports has greatly swollen, while the importation of dutiable goods largely declined. These two circumstances, as a matter of course, involved the change in the current of specie, since there were more bills drawn against produce, and less demand for them to pay for imported goods. Hence the decline in the price of bills to a point which checked the export of California gold, and admitted of a profitable import of foreign coin. The leading articles that made up the sum of domestic exports were as follows, as compared with former years:

Articles.	1858.	1859.	1860.	1861.
Ashes, pots, ...bbls.,	12,029	16,846	14,723	13,608
" pearls, ... "	1,764	2,626	3,650	3,507
Beeswax, ... lbs.	227,546	286,691	278,916	238,553
Breadstuffs:				
Wheat flour, ...bbls.,	1,381,039	938,516	1,926,202	3,092,049
Corn meal, ... "	66,469	77,810	89,574	108,385
Wheat, ...bush.,	3,286,461	297,587	13,538,039	28,757,615
Rye, ... "	12,487	.....	450	1,000,405
Corn, ... "	1,647,706	186,646	3,726,786	12,352,024
Candles, mould, ...boxes,	56,937	50,282	60,584	75,454
do. sperm, ... "	9,599	14,887	18,786	17,861
Coal, ...tons,	32,023	65,555	33,959	36,536
Cotton, ...bales,	144,957	200,261	216,880	152,562
Hay, ... "	32,104	25,206	20,977	15,776
Hops, ... "	3,055	348	32,641	28,377
Naval Stores:				
Crude turpentine, .bbls.,	88,814	79,073	53,356	21,571
Spirits, " "	58,627	65,247	70,222	18,825
Rosin, ... "	425,883	554,529	499,188	208,061
Tar, ... "	11,799	22,488	23,676	26,646
Pitch, ... "	4,907	4,713	6,008	3,080
Oils:				
Whale, ...galls.,	354,295	303,873	303,413	1,196,468
Sperm, ... "	1,015,682	1,639,720	1,034,354	1,030,328
Lard, ... "	30,331	37,725	57,248	110,401
Linseed, ... "	39,428	29,735	35,492	35,626
Provisions:				
Pork, ...bbls.,	78,271	130,471	91,650	116,654
Beef, ... "	76,646	122,802	40,003	29,013
do. .....tierces,	....	....	55,328	33,924
Cut meats, ... lbs.,	15,944,743	6,692,589	19,447,163	50,565,732
Butter, ... "	1,808;157	2,494,650	10,987,495	23,159,391
Cheese, ... "	6,589,100	9,287,408	23,252,712	40,041,225
Lard, ... "	12,684,160	11,015,412	18,866,178	47,290,409
Rice, ...tierces,	41,651	11,888	25,695	15,867
do. ....bbls.,	....	....	28,838	15,527
Tallow, ... lbs.,	1,563,292	3,405,395	14,895,969	25,820,335
Tobacco, crude, ...pkgs.,	66,239	72,918	93,031	116,598
do. manufactured, lbs.,	4,479,360	6,148,281	6,561,160	3,152,484
Whalebone, ... "	1,084,337	1,658,913	755,698	975,075

Vessels entered New York from Foreign Ports in the Year 1861.				Cleared.		
Years.	No. of Vessels.	Tonnage.	Seamen.	No. of Vessels.	Tonnage.	Seamen.
American vessels.....	3,034	1,618,258	44,774	2,612	1,495,010	41,481
Foreign vessels.....	1,943	865,446¼	33,490	1,996	893,756¼	33,444
Total 1861.....	4,977	2,483,704¼	78,264	4,608	2,388,766¼	74,925
1860.....	4,346	2,164,601½	72,510	3,812	1,970,997¾	66,750
1859.....	3,905	1,899,851½	64,522	3,258	1,584,188¾	56,537
1858.....	3,421	1,629,871¼	56,645	2,851	1,380,295¾	48,728
1857.....	3,851	1,971,004¼	65,758	2,947	1,622,707¾	58,697
1856.....	3,861	2,070,850¼	62,200	3,364	1,709,738¾	67,391
1855.....	3,391	1,562,257½	49,326	3,025	1,426,201¼	47,970
1854.....	4,047	1,919,317½	67,075	3,278	1,528,104¼	53,250
1853.....	4,079	1,813,225	60,993	3,469	1,521,286¼	54,889
1852.....	3,847	1,709,388	58,867	3,065	1,335,814	50,459

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The tonnage entered and cleared at the port of New York, to and from foreign ports, was as given in table on page 111.

The coastwise movement was as in the following table:

Year.	Entered Coastwise.		Cleared Coastwise.	
	No. of Vessels.	Tons.	No. of Vessels.	Tons.
1849	1,855	424,976	3,994	895,589
1850	1,928	489,395	4,719	1,020,070
1851	1,768	455,542	4,803	1,214,942
1852	1,766	497,840	4,680	1,173,762
1853	1,733	507,531	4,789	1,310,097
1854	1,880	543,452	4,679	1,499,968
1855	1,966	614,945	4,563	1,378,888
1856	1,669	539,461	4,696	1,482,310
1857	1,569	503,679	4,182	1,425,810
1858	1,559	499,198	4,381	1,540,478
1859	1,858	572,282	4,698	1,726,993
1860	1,571	529,015	4,908	1,902,508
1861	1,240	393,024	2,905	592,919

The decline in the coastwise clearings is very marked, as resulting from the closing of the cotton ports, and the consequent loss of the cotton freights.

The commerce of Baltimore was greatly affected by the political events of the year, particularly in relation to the imports, which in the aggregate were as follows:

	1859.	1860.	1861.
Imports	$10,408,993	$9,879,121	$5,584,400
Exports	8,724,261	10,918,170	11,471,797

The leading articles of export were as follows:

Articles.	1860.	1861.
Bark, oak (value)	$59,452	$60,000
Beef	1,522	tierces, 634
Beef	4,109	barrels, 647
Bacon	788,333	pounds, 1,805,387
Butter	572,216	820,215
Cheese	173,208	123,526
Corn	442,443	bushels, 742,272
Cotton	pounds, 92,924	bales, 3,858
Corn meal	48,101	barrels, 17,936
Candles	854,840	pounds, 535,230
Copper	550,000	3,007,600
Domestics (value)	$526,951	$262,000
Flour, wheat	386,029	barrels, 373,658
Flour, rye	512	876
Lard	3,283,385	pounds, 3,064,029
Oil, whale	5,635	gallons, 18,169
Oil, meal	$40,292	pounds, 348,500
Pork	88	....
Pork	10,486	barrels, 7,302
Resin	21,695	....
Rice	2,075	tierces, 1,544
Spirits turpentine	37,728	gallons, 5,500
Shooks and heads	$107,541	packages, 45,170
Sugar, refined	1,585,944	pounds, 829,625
Sugar, raw	....	591,300
Soap	151,068	150,000
Tobacco, leaf	70,124	hogsheads, 78,237
Tobacco, manufactured	537,299	pounds, 225,991
Wheat	570,969	bushels, 793,635

The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, which is the great feeder of Baltimore commerce for a large portion of the year, was held by the Confederate troops, and its business consequently interrupted, thus cutting off the Western trade from Baltimore, and also stopping the returning business over that road.

The business of the port of Philadelphia was similarly affected in relation to breadstuffs, the exports having been as follows:

Exports of Domestic Produce.

Articles.	1860.	1861.
Flour, barrels	295,137	362,552
Wheat, bushels	811,971	2,034,988
Corn meal, barrels	49,857	31,672
Rye meal	1,163	....
Corn, bushels	490,569	808,225
Ship bread, barrels	9,862	11,947
Beef, tierces	8,566	5,941
Beef, barrels	5,923	3,490
Pork, tierces	3,090	12,418
Pork, barrels	8,566	7,727
Rice, tierces	2,341	1,080
Butter, pounds	935,431	979,336
Cheese	134,699	294,447
Codfish	68,061	....
Tallow	2,759,890	4,517,668
Candles	586,534	794,730
Soap	911,412	932,689
Bacon	355,431	1,069,563
Lard	1,178,099	3,355,648
Bark, hogsheads	858	1,849
Clover seed, bushels	52,212	18,197
Cotton, bales	872	2,523
Coal, tons	30,423	26,301
Tobacco, hogsheads	452	863
Tobacco, boxes	1,725	1,578
Porter and ale, barrels	89	1,585
Vinegar	2,325	3,089
Oil	483	783
Powder, kegs	1,920	....
Pickled fish	1,105	....

The events of the war fell more heavily upon the Southwestern and Southern cities, as a matter of course, than upon the Northern ones, which were remote from hostilities. A good portion of the business of the year was transacted before the blockade took place. Hence the trade of St. Louis does not in the aggregate show so much decline as might have been anticipated. The receipts at that place were as follows:

Articles.	1860.	1861.
Tobacco, total receipts, hhds	12,920	8,510
Tobacco, total sales, hogsheads	6,473	6,786
Hemp, total receipts, bales	68,841	28,568
Hemp, amount consumed, bales	37,070	not known.
Hemp, stock January 1, bales	2,400	775
Lead, total receipts, pigs	238,719	11,250
Lead, amount consumed, pigs	131,000	70,000
Lead, stock January 1, pigs	21,000	9,000
Flour, total receipts, barrels	442,867	484,000
Flour, city manufactured	839,265	694,110
Whiskey, total receipts, barrels	117,275	72,790
Whiskey, total manufactured	11,000	6,000
Wheat, bushels	3,565,370	2,654,783
*Corn, bushels	4,232,052	4,515,040
Oats, bushels	2,135,247	1,735,157
Barley, bushels	334,394	201,484
Rye, bushels	176,912	117,060
Hay, bales	152,325	114,745
Hides, number	173,000	159,196
Wool, packages	7,715	2,800
Beef, tierces	360	4
Beef, barrels	3,785	925
Pork, casks and tierces	15,219	11,352
Pork, barrels	121,033	116,445
Pork, boxes	1,000	6
Pork, pieces	876,027	751,313
Bacon, casks	8,560	11,700
Bacon, barrels and boxes	11,416	10,820
Bacon, pieces	29,075	106,000
Lard, tierces	30,607	27,231
Lard, barrels	14,875	12,877
Lard, kegs	17,845	11,815
Tallow, packages	5,045	3,130
Butter, packages	27,686	24,002
Cheese, packages	24,615	23,500
Sugar, hogsheads	46,831	33,750
Sugar, packages	21,606	8,009
Molasses, barrels	51,896	11,605
Coffee, bags	109,420	91,850
Salt, sacks and bags	400,576	72,238
Salt, barrels	36,487	71,451

* In the receipts of all articles above Corn, the wagon receipts are included; of Corn, and all articles following, the receipts comprising the amounts received by boats and railroads only.

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The larger portion of these commodities usually descend the river to New Orleans, where they meet the products of the lower Mississippi valley, as well as those that descend the Ohio, and which accumulate there for export. The comparative receipts from all points of the interior at New Orleans were as follows for the years 1860 and 1861:

TABLE SHOWING THE RECEIPTS OF THE PRINCIPAL ARTICLES FROM THE INTERIOR DURING THE YEARS ENDING 31st AUGUST, 1860 AND 1861, WITH THEIR TOTAL VALUE.

Articles.	1860.		1861.	
	Amount.	Value.	Amount.	Value.
Alcohol.....bbls.	....	....	3,193	$63,860
Apples.....bbls.	67,416	$337,080	74,276	185,690
Bacon.....hhds. and casks	45,015	4,051,350	58,188	3,818,800
Bacon.....bxs.	5,987	89,805	6,344	95,160
Bacon hams.....hhds., &c.	37,814	2,079,770	25,636	1,743,248
Bacon in bulk.....lbs.	39,000	3,120	....	....
Bagging.....pieces	21,427	321,405	8,554	117,617
Bale rope.....coils	125,429	1,128,861	49,083	539,913
Beans.....bbls.	8,889	40,000	10,127	50,635
Butter.....kegs and firks.	38,345	383,450	22,447	314,258
Butter.....bbls.	1,506	52,710	354	14,160
Bran.....sacks	216,677	270,846	230,916	265,553
Beef.....bbls.	35,318	423,816	20,440	245,281
Beef.....trcs.	9,616	173,088	2,949	53,082
Beef, dried.....lbs.	93,726	9,372	6,000	600
Cotton.....bales	2,255,448	109,389,228	1,849,312	92,465,600
Corn meal.....bbls.	538	1,614	....	....
Corn in ear.....	36,092	36,092	122,644	110,379
Corn, shelled.....sacks	1,722,039	3,013,568	3,383,911	4,838,992
Cotton seed.....	....	....	207,555	114,155
Cheese.....boxes	35,596	124,586	59,429	208,201
Candles.....	110,405	772,835	46,165	346,137
Coal, Western.....	2,900,000	1,160,000	1,628,000	651,200
Dried apples and peaches.....	1,121	13,452	1,692	8,460
Feathers.....bags	936	20,592	373	8,206
Flaxseed.....trcs.	375	4,500	459	5,508
Flour.....bbls.	965,860	6,036,625	1,009,201	7,064,407
Furs.....hhds., bdls, &c.	151	2,265	....	....
Glassware.....pkgs.	68,879	344,395	22,148	110,740
Hemp.....bales	4,883	102,543	1,602	32,040
Hides.....No.	163,568	490,704	93,786	234,465
Hay.....bales	152,659	717,497	152,173	798,908
Iron, pig.....tons	643	19,290	215	6,450
Lard.....bbls. and trcs.	65,784	1,973,520	39,633	1,188,900
Lard.....kegs	90,699	544,194	61,237	367,422
Leather.....bdls.	6,115	183,450	9,763	293,040
Lime, Western.....bbls.	33,143	54,685	40,272	70,476
Lead.....pigs	80,964	404,820	25,510	127,550
Lead, bar.....kegs, and bxs.	1,658	29,015	1,298	22,745
Lead, white.....kegs	1,842	5,526	....	....
Molasses, (crop,).....galls.	17,858,100	6,250,335	18,414,550	4,235,346
Oats.....bbls. and sacks	659,550	1,319,100	552,738	939,654
Onions.....bbls.	26,401	158,406	26,857	93,999
Oil, linseed.....	1,020	30,600	399	11,970
Oil, castor.....	571	25,124	389	19,450
Oil, lard.....	9,333	317,322	7,772	326,424
Potatoes.....	207,698	571,169	257,190	900,165
Pork.....trcs. and bbls.	216,523	3,680,891	213,983	4,279,660
Pork.....boxes	71	2,840	....	....
Pork.....hhds.	1,874	131,180	1,734	138,720
Pork in bulk.....lbs.	3,803,500	266,245	2,612,776	235,149
Porter and ale.....bbls.	20,940	209,400	19,515	136,605
Packing yarn.....reels	3,748	22,488	731	5,848
Rice.....casks	....	....	4,761	123,786
Rosin.....bbls.	....	....	74,558	50,646

(Continued on following page.)

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Articles.	1860. Amount.	1860. Value.	1861. Amount.	1861. Value.
Rum.....bbls.	475	9,500	318	6,860
Skins, deer.....packs	,542	30,840	261	5,220
Shingles.....M.	7,000	28,000	8,207	32,828
Shot.....kegs	4,001	31,620	2,890	60,691
Soap.....boxes	12,202	85,414	9,201	36,804
Spirits turpentine.....bbls.	....	....	13,425	187,950
Staves.....M.	10,178	508,900	7,635	305,400
Sugar, (crop).....hhds	221,840	18,190,880	228,753	14,468,627
Spanish moss.....bales	8,604	120,456	2,829	39,606
Tallow .....bbls.	61,025	30,750	608	18,240
Tobacco leaf.....hhds.	7,883	6,448,885	32,116	3,210,600
Tobacco, strips.....	10,908	2,017,980	1,163	232,600
Tobacco, stems.....	2,164	32,460	1,613	32,260
Tobacco, chewing.....bxs.	14,544	218,160	8,864	132,960
Twine.....bdls. and bxs.	3,508	31,572	2,572	25,720
Vinegar .....bbls.	1,206	4,824	....	....
Wool.....bags	3,753	131,355	2,171	65,130
Whiskey.....bbls.	185,042	1,665,378	98,352	980,196
Wheat.....bbls. and sacks	13,116	29,511	71,678	232,953
Other various articles, estimated at.	....	7,750,000	....	7,700,000
Total Value.....	.....	$185,211,254	....	$155,863,564

Total in 1859–60.....	185,211,254
" 1858–59.....	172,952,664
" 1857–58.....	167,155,546
" 1856–57.....	158,061,369

The aggregate decline is near $30,000,000 in value. This has not arisen so much from lessened quantities as from diminished values, consequent upon the blockade. Thus sugar with an increased crop was worth $3,700,000 less money. A larger crop of molasses sold 30 per cent. or over $2,000,000 less.

The exports of the leading crops from New Orleans for the year 1861, with the destination of the articles, were as follows:

	Cotton, bales. 1860-61.	Cotton, bales. 1859-60.	Tobacco, hogsheads. 1860-61.	Tobacco, hogsheads. 1859-60.
Liverpool.....	1,074,131	1,348,163	1,436	8,844
London.....	153	107	3,017	6,308
Glasgow, Greenock, &c.....	82,767	16,437	..	..
Cowes, Falm'th, &c.	10,084	19,147	3,011	2,013
Queenstown, Cork, &c.	42,263	43,112	..	..
Havre.....	384,938	303,157	3,179	2,010
Bordeaux.....	3,704	2,985	328	3,212
Marseilles.....	283	3,735	1,037	3,197
Nantz, Cette, and Rouen.....	....	4,004	..	..
Amsterdam.....	3,411	2,949	..	1,143
Rotterdam & Ghent	1,700	5,205	406	1,735
Bremen	65,073	60,999	5,084	13,694
Antwerp, &c.....	12,343	16,862	1,067	4,735
Hamburg	5,551	9,079	20	64
Gottenburg and Stockholm	10,476	13,522	..	1,951
Spain, Gibraltar, &c.	72,471	50,317	9,560	10,848
Mexico, &c.....	6,769	17,725	..	..
Genoa, Trieste, &c.	34,618	61,208	7,539	8,847
St. Petersburg, &c.	23,588	28,019	..	..
Other foreign ports.	....	....	1,816	4,640
New York.....	29,539	62,936	1,969	7,892
Boston	94,307	131,648	213	1,310
Providence, R. I....	4,897	5,717	..	..
Philadelphia.....	835	5,257	93	261
Baltimore	100	1,247	..	140
Other c'stwise ports	2,481	1,829	26	345
Total.....	1,915,852	2,214,296	39,806	82,689

RECAPITULATION.

Great Britain.....	1,159,348	1,426,966	7,464	17,165
France.....	388,925	313,291	4,544	8,412
North of Europe...	122,042	136,135	6,577	26,829
South Europe, Mexico, &c.....	113,358	129,270	18,915	24,835
Coastwise	132,179	208,634	2,306	8,448
Total.....	1,915,852	2,214,296	39,806	82,689

This return of the exports of cotton from New Orleans shows that almost the usual quantity had gone forward before the war broke out, or the blockade interrupted the trade. The crop year begins September 1, and the cotton begins to come forward in quantity in December. The bulk of it is usually delivered by April. Hence the first eight months of the blockade was of no real effect upon the trade. It was only in Jan., 1862, that it began to affect supplies. On the other hand the tobacco was much affected, the export having been cut off to the extent of more than one-half.

	Sugar. Hhds.	Sugar. Bbls.	Molasses. Hhds.	Molasses. Bbls.
New York	21,486	607	..	40,088
Philadelphia.....	1,876	7	..	4,981
Charleston, S. C.....	2,491	2	..	7,765
Savannah.....	158	..	..	328
Providence and Bristol, R. I.....	4	1	..	5,626
Boston	151	4	185	10,344
Baltimore	2,870	90	..	5,752
Norfolk, Richmond, and Petersburg, Va.....	2,966	..	..	3,343
Mobile	7,325	1,251	..	30,736
Appalachicola and Pensacola.....	1,355	2,357	..	7,933
Other ports.....	1,631	405	..	6,324
Total	42,163	4,724	185	122,512

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	1860–'61.								
	Flour, barrels.	Pork, barrels.	Bacon, casks.	Lard, kegs.	Beef, barrels.	Lead, pigs.	Whiskey, barrels.	Corn, sacks.
New York	4,976	21	122	7,828	963	5,850	908	9,986
Boston	3,375	..	..	1,094	844	13,909	743	10,193
Philadelphia	2	..	..	..	..	..	122	....
Baltimore	..	..	..	..	..	..	40	....
Other coastwise ports	205,544	33,017	22,743	32,846	4,373	..	27,290	767,288
Great Britain	186,278	25	..	62,526	715	..	..	695,329
Cuba	901	657	1,624	193,716	211	..	175.	48,400
Other foreign ports	47,817	2,263	202	25,969	163	51	219	14,844
Total, 1861	448,893	35,963	24,891	263,974	6,834	19,810	29,492	1,545,490
" 1860	386,511	53,953	30,693	250,551	21,699	95,213	68,859	652,370

A principal agent in the great development of American productions in the last ten years, in which time they have more than doubled, has been the construction of railroads, by which the land, the great productive agent, has been made accessible. The extent to which these have been constructed, is manifest in the following tables of the miles in operation Jan. 1, 1852, and Jan. 1, 1862, in each State, showing the actual length of the railroads within the limits of each State, with the number of miles open for business, and the cost of the roads and equipment:

States.	Mileage Jan. 1, 1852.	Total Mileage.	Mileage Open, Jan. 1862.	Cost of Road and Equipment.
Maine	283	639.78	459.56	$16,901,657
N. Hampshire	468	684.29	657.88	22,676,234
Vermont	369	575.67	555.67	22,586,705
Massachusetts	1,053	1,330.01	1,257.78	58,091,467
Rhode Island	50	136.42	104.52	4,475,488
Connecticut	570	751.90	616.76	22,519,446
New York	1,757	3,302.17	2,768.02	131,142,742
New Jersey	290	809.26	682.28	30,530,585
Pennsylvania	1,826	3,598.35	2,918.40	147,748,900
Ohio	890	4,870.06	2,973.53	118,360,158
Michigan	474	1,404.10	799.90	32,296,879
Indiana	588	2,467.17	2,169.17	72,391,865
Illinois	271	3,679.70	3,041.20	113,591,014
Wisconsin	20	2,229.69	922.69	33,690,693
Iowa	..	2,086.80	692.15	21,882,557
Minnesota	..	1,167.50	6.60	2,000,000
Kansas	..	1,000.00	10.00	250,000
California	..	343.23	70.05	3,600,000
Oregon	..	3.80	3.80	80,000
Total Free States	8,394	30,574.00	20,683.51	$854,255,890
Delaware	16	157.00	136.59	$4,347,357
Maryland	355	528.89	445.80	22,414,953
Kentucky	93	859.90	581.20	18,875,154
Missouri	..	1,626.60	898.45	43,999,315
Virginia	448	2,376.98	1,729.20	66,759,158
N. Carolina	249	1,287.42	943.30	17,687,295
S. Carolina	283	1,015.93	966.93	21,990,909
Georgia	665	1,613.16	1,419.15	28,543,595
Florida	21	566.50	401.50	8,673,000
Alabama	113	1,434.70	743.16	19,851,067
Mississippi	65	1,072.12	567.12	23,698,060
Louisiana	117	838.00	338.75	12,329,069
Texas	..	2,687.00	402.50	14,482,845
Arkansas	..	701.33	38.50	2,800,000
Tennessee	134	1,403.00	1,253.23	82,289,852
Total Slave States	2,444	18,208.93	11,111.43	$338,046,125
Grand total of U. S.	10,878	48,782.93	31,799.04	$1,192,302,015

On the 1st of January, 1832, there were 131 miles in actual operation. The decennial increase has been as follows:

	Miles Increase.
1832–'42	8,746
1842–'52	7,001
1852–'62	20,922

The increase in the last ten years has been more than two-thirds of the present mileage, and consequently in that period $740,000,000 have been spent in their construction.

This capital has, however, been more than returned by the vast products of the land which they have opened up for industry. Take for example the commerce of the railroads of New York. The total tonnage, with value of the same, transported over these works the past year was as follows:

Articles.	Canals.	Tons carried. Railroads.	Value of same. Railroads.
Products of the forest	1,052,392	540,079	$10,801,580
" animals	19,282	1,067,070	218,414,000
Vegetable food	2,122,237	1,220,332	61,016,600
Other agricultural	2,854	221,201	3,818,189
Manufactures	280,256	568,691	142,175,251
Merchandise	135,096	719,017	359,508,500
Other articles	895,518	1,124,111	11,741,110
Total	4,507,635	5,460,501	$801,495,171

The tonnage of the canals of the State is not as great as that of the railroads. The aggregate for both equals 9,968,044 tons, having a value of $1,000,000,000. The tonnage of vegetable food for both railways and canals equal very nearly if not quite 3,342,569 tons, or 160,000,000 bushels.

The total mileage of the railways in New York engaged in the transportation of freight is 2,654 miles; in the Northern States, 29,683 miles. At one-half the tonnage of the New York roads, the total of the roads of these States will exceed 20,683,000 tons. Estimating the value of such freight to be only $100 per ton, the total would be $2,250,000,000. In other words, the value of the freight transported over the railroads of the Northern States exceeds $100 to each inhabitant. The value of such as go over their navigable water courses is nearly as great, making the aggregate value of the internal commerce of the Northern States exceed $4,000,000,000; a sum six times greater than the entire foreign trade of the country.

The tonnage of the railroads has gradually gained upon that of the canals. Thus the N. Y. Erie road and the N. Y. Central are supposed to rival the Erie Canal in its tonnage. The tonnage of the two roads and the canals for several years has been as follows:

	Erie—tons	Central—tons	Canals—tons
1857	978,066	838,791	3,344,061
1858	816,964	765,407	3,665,192
1859	869,072	834,319	3,781,684
1860	1,139,554	1,026,183	4,650,214
1861	1,253,418	1,167,302	4,507,635

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Statistical View of the Commerce of the United States, exhibiting the value of Exports to and Imports from each Foreign Country, and the tonnage of American and foreign vessels arriving from and departing to each Foreign Country, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1861.

COUNTRIES.	Commerce. Value of Exports. Domestic.	Foreign.	Total.	Value of Imports.	Navigation. American Tonnage. Entered in the U. S.	Cleared from U. S.	Foreign Tonnage. Entered in the U. S.	Cleared from U. S.
					tons.	tons.	tons.	tons.
Russia on the Baltic and North Seas	$508,170	$70,931	$669,101	$1,287,952	8,220	5,699	772	....
Asiatic Russia	156,406	16,339	172,747	5,712	....	1,082	....	946
Russian Possessions in N. America	16,884	2,455	19,339	17,003	....	1,616	3,165	2,266
Prussia	9,380	5,732	15,112	27,871	....	360	400	690
Sweden and Norway	87,838	9,609	96,947	645,241	7,187	388	6,143	820
Swedish West Indies	50,116	181	50,297	18,280	1,544	861	140	....
Denmark	10,478	....	10,478	6,441	1,273	....	180	180
Danish West Indies	901,858	43,695	945,548	259,864	10,411	21,427	3,105	3,516
Hamburg	3,410,880	1,125,373	4,536,253	7,271,473	3,179	1,986	62,979	57,323
Bremen	6,872,968	1,188,086	8,053,454	8,070,516	5,189	12,491	98,026	101,429
Other German ports	6,224	....	6,224	....	....	....	....	714
Holland	3,254,141	465,282	3,719,373	2,811,834	23,689	33,432	14,848	19,998
Dutch West Indies	484,966	15,913	450,879	489,496	15,062	7,041	11,264	1,892
Dutch Guiana	372,947	13,571	386,518	298,966	6,235	7,171	868	518
Dutch East Indies	192,492	61,577	254,069	1,045,791	5,447	7,733	2,576	687
Belgium	1,921,889	892,122	2,734,011	2,271,528	18,000	20,071	6,495	4,991
England	102,799,688	3,600,745	106,400,433	136,062,009	822,685	840,025	479,068	488,798
Scotland	6,336,169	145,862	6,482,031	2,988,524	31,155	56,779	54,724	36,174
Ireland	7,448,098	25,961	7,658,159	190,834	1,136	53,733	54,728	139,731
Gibraltar	553,557	28,178	582,935	18,346	222	10,986	1,291	1,518
Malta	176,637	6,007	182,644	70,576	1,258	1,749	....	956
Canada	11,749,981	2,611,877	14,361,858	13,645,457	1,995,892	2,025,670	684,879	731,123
Other British North American Possessions	7,133,734	1,250,021	8,383,755	4,417,476	196,709	297,172	465,141	509,928
British West Indies	5,390,914	158,322	5,499,036	1,862,579	89,162	95,983	48,726	39,529
British Honduras	287,776	19,601	297,377	245,297	3,165	2,990	684	1,889
British Guiana	1,031,645	6,973	1,038,618	159,259	4,522	12,282	5,109	5,747
Other British Possessions in South America	....	....	....	1,303	....	....	....	....
British Possessions in Africa	488,647	3,016	481,687	1,436,174	10,965	9,126	1,137	1,564
British Australia	3,410,560	20,476	3,431,036	129,834	4,078	27,428	6,905	10,462
British East Indies	604,511	25,390	629,901	3,745,768	68,259	16,468	10,822	791
France on the Atlantic	21,704,940	1,428,367	23,133,347	30,988,674	178,187	168,624	16,835	7,640
France on the Mediterranean	1,981,060	43,456	1,124,496	3,256,875	14,276	27,485	5,289	1,116
French N. American Possessions	285,645	158,851	244,482	117,158	....	1,347	2,565	4,670
French West Indies	455,427	64,285	519,712	8,859	1,157	15,518	1,459	2,562
French Guiana	124,508	4,002	128,510	21,842	1,809	2,764	....	182
French Possessions in Africa	20,938	40	20,978	....	....	1,051	....	494
Spain on the Atlantic	445,771	5,257	451,028	494,886	9,662	19,783	2,186	1,201
Spain on the Mediterranean	1,386,564	3,633	1,389,997	2,764,475	21,587	6,771	11,326	13,667
Canary Islands	50,759	1,046	51,805	46,262	1,027	674	985	718
Philippine Islands	29,761	794	30,555	3,381,522	38,452	....	1,070	288
Cuba	9,461,082	3,430,995	12,892,077	38,586,357	618,785	482,212	53,110	26,529
Porto Rico	1,286,789	94,275	1,381,064	3,895,483	52,269	29,780	9,989	1,772
Portugal	273,776	10,090	283,866	176,153	2,268	5,181	5,149	1,483
Madeira	42,164	3,943	46,107	33,145	159	1,188	976	467
Cape de Verde Islands	28,429	125	28,545	30,358	1,299	811	1,121	....
Azores	59,200	6,971	66,171	40,285	3,800	3,579	504	2,820
Sardinia	1,328,890	152,677	1,500,066	241,760	7,777	12,679	3,108	2,241
Tuscany	172,620	51,799	224,428	1,473,188	17,734	2,444	3,337	....
Papal States	....	26,000	26,000	....	....	....	....	....
Two Sicilies	260,204	71,778	331,977	1,903,710	45,745	6,825	14,172	2,474
Austria	68,780	55,013	123,793	488,677	8,274	3,347	1,258	....
Austrian Possessions in Italy	184,734	....	184,734	....	....	1,987	....	....
Ionian Republic	....	....	....	14,284	....	....	228	....
Greece	....	....	....	55,729	....	....	992	....
Turkey in Europe	273,501	9,568	283,069	23,825	721	3,555	250	320
Turkey in Asia	310,668	10,243	320,871	776,475	9,560	4,275	338	....
Egypt	60,429	....	60,429	26,329	....	1,505	440	....
Other ports in Africa	1,624,827	51,892	1,676,719	1,717,417	19,126	21,934	2,256	....
Hayti	2,246,124	181,502	2,427,626	1,716,173	36,653	34,000	2,987	4,056
St. Domingo	172,540	6,492	179,032	210,520	4,074	4,828	2,478	2,469
Mexico	1,564,062	651,928	2,215,890	3,689,218	27,241	31,716	5,509	1,170
Central Republic	74,578	13,183	87,761	210,769	3,063	1,861	414	856
New Granada	1,471,638	115,430	1,586,992	4,453,244	132,688	153,389	1,143	2,091
Venezuela	1,164,145	56,641	1,220,786	2,999,949	16,621	13,414	1,298	728
Brazil	4,757,702	235,515	5,023,217	18,100,456	88,829	71,871	22,173	2,319
Uruguay, or Cisplatine Republic	674,864	92,059	766,923	531,244	6,819	20,257	....	278
Buenos Ayres, or Argentine "	990,188	175,837	1,166,025	3,200,836	22,667	28,795	1,055	654
Chile	2,304,955	322,297	2,626,652	8,188,052	29,268	23,506	6,331	2,718
Peru	870,435	24,566	894,940	306,428	13,456	18,244	5,197	3,041
Ecuador	9,116	....	9,116	2,647	348	....	....	....
Sandwich Islands	378,653	97,001	475,654	371,977	10,106	9,180	299	365
Other Islands in the Pacific	106,262	10,617	116,879	87,413	3,925	8,890	1,625	544
Japan	14,876	25,677	40,553	102,566	2,425	675	....	....
China	5,809,734	1,107,793	6,917,427	11,851,719	70,295	46,614	5,655	1,511
Other ports in Asia	....	....	....	48,629	....	....	....	....
Whale Fisheries	21,891	822	22,133	289,250	34,732	27,135	....	....
Uncertain places	....	....	....	32,401	957	134	....	....
Total	$225,699,456	$20,645,427	$249,344,913	$323,650,153	5,023,917	4,889,313	2,217,554	2,262,042

L. E. CHITTENDEN, Register.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, REGISTER'S OFFICE, *December* 19, 1861.

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QUANTITIES AND VALUE OF THE EXPORTS OF THE GROWTH, PRODUCE, AND MANUFACTURE OF THE UNITED STATES DURING THE YEAR ENDING ON THE 30TH OF JUNE, 1861.

PRODUCTS.	Quantity.	Value.
PRODUCTS OF THE SEA.		
Fisheries—		
Oil, spermaceti.....galls.	1,518,457	$2,110,828
Oil, whale and other fish... "	1,009,468	581,264
Whalebone.....lbs.	979,231	795,552
Sperm candles..... "	456,468	143,907
Fish, dried or smoked.....cwt.	219,324	634,941
" pickled .....pkgs.	51,014	244,028
PRODUCT OF THE FOREST.		
Wood—		
Staves and heading.....M.	73,408	1,959,892
Shingles..... "	39,078	108,610
Board, plank, and scantling... "	132,332	2,092,949
Hewn timber.....tons.	8,821	97,875
Other timber.....	..	441,979
Oak bark and other dye.....	..	189,476
All manufactures of wood.....	..	2,344,079
Naval stores—		
Tar and pitch.....bbls.	75,057	143,280
Resin and turpentine..... "	536,207	1,060,257
Ashes, pot and pearl.....cwt.	99,701	651,547
Ginseng.....lbs.	347,577	292,899
Skins and furs.....	..	878,466
PRODUCT OF AGRICULTURE.		
Of animals—		
Beef.....tcs. and bbls.	107,290	1,657,773
Tallow.....lbs.	22,718,364	2,942,730
Hides..... "	..	673,818
Horned cattle.....No.	8,885	223,246
Butter.....lbs.	15,531,381	2,355,985
Cheese..... "	32,361,428	3,321,631
Pork (pickled).....pkgs.	155,646	2,609,818
Hams and bacon..... "	59,264,267	4,848,839
Lard..... "	47,908,911	4,729,297
Wool.....lbs.	847,301	237,846
Hogs.....No.	468	3,267
Horses..... "	1,469	193,420
Mules..... "	1,799	191,873
Sheep	..	28,417
Vegetable food—		
Wheat.....bush.	31,238,057	38,313,624
Flour.....bbls.	4,323,756	24,645,849
Indian corn.....bush.	10,678,244	6,890,865
Indian meal.....bbls.	293,313	692,003
Rye meal..... "	14,143	55,761
Rye, oats, and other small grain and pulse.....	..	1,124,556
Biscuit or ship bread.....pkgs.	147,387	429,708
Potatoes.....bush.	418,091	285,508
Apples.....bbls	112,523	269,363
Onions	..	102,578
Rice .....pkgs.	89,200	1,882,178
Cotton.....lbs.	307,516,099	34,051,483
Tobacco.....hhds.	199,081	13,784,710
Hemp .....tons.	136	8,608
Other agricultural products—		
Clover seed.....bush.	200,417	1,063,141
Flax seed ..... "	28,549	49,609
Brown sugar .....lbs.	3,275,024	301,329
Hops..... "	8,885,837	2,006,053
MANUFACTURES.		
Refined sugar..... ...lbs.	3,236,110	287,831
Wax..... "	270,425	94,495
Chocolate..... "	9,906	2,157
Spirits from grain .....galls.	2,294,181	867,954
Spirits from molasses..... "	2,835,569	850,546
Spirits from other materials.. "	1,362,414	590,185
Molasses..... "	91,598	39,188
Vinegar ..... "	315,994	38,262
Beer, ale, porter, and cider, in casks..... "	136,082	25,876
Beer, ale, porter, and cider, in bottles.....doz.	7,477	13,604
Linseed oil.....galls.	42,658	27,982
Spirits of turpentine.....galls.	2,941,855	$1,192,787
Household furniture.....	..	838,049
Carriages and parts, and railroad cars and parts.....	..	472,080
Hats of fur or silk.....	..	106,512
Hats of palm leaf.....	..	50,444
Saddlery.....	..	61,462
Trunks and valises.....	..	40,622
Adamantine and other candles..lbs.	4,569,259	688,048
Soap ..... "	7,262,130	455,648
Snuff..... "	81,465	17,708
Tobacco, manufactured..... "	14,783,363	2,742,828
Gunpowder..... "	2,319,641	347,108
Leather..... "	2,714,466	553,262
Boots and shoes.....pairs.	655,808	779,876
Cables and cordage.....cwt.	28,422	223,274
Salt.....bush.	537,491	144,046
Lead.....lbs.	103,923	6,241
Iron—		
Pig.....cwt.	14,056	25,826
Bar..... "	6,941	15,411
Castings.....cwt.	26,400	76,750
All manufactures of.....	..	5,386,576
Copper and brass, and manufactures of.....	..	2,375,029
Drugs and medicines.....	..	1,149,438
Cotton, piece goods—		
Printed or colored.....	..	2,215,032
White, other than duck.....	..	1,076,959
Duck.....	..	390,668
All manufactures of.....	..	4,364,379
Hemp—		
Thread.....	..	80
Bags.....	..	406
Cloth.....	..	..
Other manufactures of.....	..	39,084
Wearing apparel.....	..	..
Earthen and stone ware.....	..	40,524
Combs.....	..	28,960
Buttons.....	..	8,832
Brooms and brushes of all kinds...	..	62,860
Billiard tables and apparatus.....	..	8,910
Umbrellas, parasols, and sunshades	..	1,271
Morocco and other leather not sold by the pound.....	..	7,507
Fire-engines	..	7,940
Printing presses and type.....	..	196,562
Musical instruments.....	..	159,974
Books and maps.....	..	250,865
Paper and stationery.....	..	347,915
Paints and varnish.....	..	240,928
Jewelry, real and imitation.....	..	148,740
Other manufactures of gold and silver, and gold leaf.....	..	53,872
Glass.....	..	394,731
Tin.....	..	80,229
Pewter and lead.....	..	30,554
Marble and stone.....	..	185,267
Brick, lime, and cement.....	..	98,292
India rubber shoes.....pairs.	60,729	83,603
India rubber other than shoes.....	..	166,088
Lard oil.....galls.	85,676	81,783
Oil cake.....	..	1,386,691
Artificial flowers.....	..	1,459
Coal.....tons.	153,171	577,356
Ice..... "	44,753	172,203
Gold and silver coin.....	..	10,485,590
Gold and silver bullion.....	..	13,811,280
Quicksilver.....	..	681,450
Articles not enumerated—		
Manufactured.....	..	2,530,689
Raw produce.....	..	2,794,016
Total.....		$228,699,486
In American vessels.....		$166,546,339
In foreign vessels.....		62,153,147
		$228,699,486

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EXPORTS OF WHEAT AND CORN FROM THE UNITED STATES IN 1861.

Countries.	Wheat.		Flour.		Indian Corn.	
	bushels.	dollars.	barrels.	dollars.	bushels.	dollars.
Asiatic Russia	..	..	750	5,027	..	..
Russian Possessions in N. America	800	869	510	2,778	..	..
Sweden and Norway	..	..	723	4,056	..	..
Swedish West Indies	..	..	3,802	22,625	4,045	2,869
Denmark	..	..	3	19	..	..
Danish West Indies	..	..	43,533	268,607	7,530	5,892
Hamburg	975	1,462	62	368	19,831	15,846
Bremen	45,044	62,255	8,341	45,091	8,879	6,355
Holland	32,849	44,074	5,213	26,269	..	..
Dutch West Indies	..	..	19,102	116,751	..	..
Dutch Guiana	..	..	14,446	94,578	..	..
Dutch East Indies	..	..	6,612	43,984	21,621	16,962
Belgium	160,408	205,825	16,657	93,476	..	..
England	19,658,265	24,415,158	2,134,807	11,722,647	4,749,496	3,324,835
Scotland	2,107,363	2,715,004	210,310	1,146,285	266,534	186,844
Ireland	3,345,383	4,137,186	84,000	456,469	3,111,492	2,194,226
Gibraltar	..	..	19,821	107,199	5	5
Malta	..	..	50	335	..	..
Canada	4,148,029	3,871,233	83,617	444,808	1,891,740	810,346
Other British North American Possessions	18,886	26,563	569,356	3,065,219	61,804	40,875
British West Indies	13,887	19,885	287,259	1,627,261	200,343	149,783
British Honduras	..	..	7,159	39,026	..	..
British Guiana	..	..	49,935	272,775	36,637	27,637
British Possessions in Africa	41,103	41,302	17,242	97,214	946	706
British Australia	382,763	392,423	57,823	386,940	..	..
British East Indies	13,004	14,206	2,398	16,001	..	..
France on the Atlantic	1,728,190	2,223,947	13,557	78,180	13,707	8,244
French N. American Possessions	..	..	11,114	61,415	60	60
French West Indies	..	..	16,351	96,931	10,144	7,924
French Guiana	..	..	748	5,337	..	..
French Possessions in Africa	..	..	350	2,260	3,000	2,670
Spain on the Mediterranean	..	..	2,250	12,575	..	..
Canary Islands	400	560	1,006	5,725	9,893	7,326
Philippine Islands	3,917	3,000	4,300	20,500	..	..
Cuba	35	44	3,769	24,451	112,191	70,939
Porto Rico	..	..	17,467	106,457	451	1,007
Portugal	25,089	31,882	150	1,297	..	..
Madeira	..	..	3,642	23,002	660	687
Cape de Verde Islands	..	..	192	1,876	..	..
Azores	..	..	362	2,448	..	..
Two Sicilies	..	..	3,592	17,831	..	..
Turkey in Europe	..	..	*162	959	689	517
Turkey in Asia	..	..	742	4,110	..	..
Ports in Africa	418	710	8,409	57,090	..	..
Hayti	..	..	66,256	407,310	..	..
St. Domingo	..	..	5,788	39,632	3,400	2,657
Mexico	..	..	17,066	109,029	13,877	9,966
Central America	..	..	2,102	11,442	14	11
New Granada	..	..	7,331	48,036	9,152	7,260
Venezuela	..	..	57,368	354,876	66,984	53,562
Brazil	..	..	364,612	2,554,207	53,227	41,618
Uruguay, or Cisplatine Republic	..	..	17,916	110,143	500	451
Buenos Ayres, or Argentine "	..	..	12,199	74,983	952	734
Chili	..	..	50	400	..	..
Peru	53,043	51,217	645	3,251	..	..
Ecuador	..	..	1,761	8,991	..	..
Sandwich Islands	..	..	2,167	12,064	..	..
Other Islands in the Pacific	15,455	15,550	1,830	11,918	..	..
Japan	..	..	388	1,787	..	..
China	42,398	36,768	34,164	238,878	200	144
Whale Fisheries	..	..	100	700	..	..
Total	31,238,057	$38,313,624	4,323,756	$24,645,849	10,678,244	$6,590,865

The exports of flour and wheat reduced to bushels of wheat make 52,756,837 bushels, at an aggregate value of $62,959,473, a larger quantity and value than was ever before shipped from the United States in a single year. Its magnitude may be appreciated when we reflect that the whole crop of wheat for the Union, per census of 1850, was only 100,485,000 bushels. Thus a quantity equal to more than half the crop was exported in the fiscal year 1861. The British Islands have been by far the largest customers for this grain, but France took an unusual quantity, owing to the shortness of her crops. Generally France rivals the United States in supplying Great Britain, but this year she was a buyer. The exports of flour were also considerable to the North American colonies, Great Britain, and the West Indies. The South American States and Spanish West Indies have long been regular buyers of American flour, particularly of Southern wheat. It is remarkable that the large quantity this year exported has, so far from raising the price of flour in the home market, left it lower than ever. The estimates at the Patent Office have been that the consumption of wheat in the United States is three and a half bushels per head. On this basis, the population of the United States per

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census of 1860 being in round numbers 31,000,000, there would be required for home use of the crops of 1860, which came to market in 1861, 108,500,000 bushels; but the official returns alone show us that there remained enough to supply all the wants of the people at low prices. Hence the crops could not have been less than 160 or 170 millions of bushels of wheat, of which nearly one-third was exported, forming more than one-fourth of the value of the whole national exports. For the first time since the invention of the cotton gin, the export of grain has far exceeded the value of the cotton exported from the country. The presence of such immense quantities of grain in our sea ports is an evidence not only of the rapid development of the resources of the country, but also of the extent and efficiency of its artificial means of transportation.

CONDENSED VIEW OF THE TONNAGE OF EACH DISTRICT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Districts.		Registered Tonnage.	Enrolled Licensed Tonnage.	Total Tonnage of each District.
		tons and 95ths.	tons and 95ths.	tons and 95ths.
Passamaquoddy,	Me.	16,707 09	8,563 69	25,270 78
Machias,	"	13,920 91	21,000 74	34,921 70
Frenchman's Bay,	"	6,045 69	29,748 65	35,794 39
Penobscot,	"	16,046 65	33,367 62	49,414 37
Belfast,	"	31,259 81	49,526 11	80,785 92
Bangor,	"	15,576 54	20,725 45	36,302 04
Waldeborough,	"	79,398 46	107,996 85	187,215 30
Wiscasset,	"	11,691 43	16,476 46	28,167 89
Bath,	"	138,696 21	26,622 44	165,318 65
Portland,	"	108,389 00	23,436 30	131,825 30
Saco,	"	2,265 27	2,690 77	4,956 09
Kennebunk,	"	9,911 60	2,509 54	20,421 19
York,	"	....	1,547 58	1,547 58
Portsmouth,	N. H.	26,022 81	6,455 18	32,478 04
Burlington,	Vt.	....	7,744 19	7,744 19
Newburyport,	Mass.	24,298 91	6,980 54	31,224 50
Ipswich,	"	....	979 25	979 25
Gloucester,	"	4,052 59	36,446 50	40,499 44
Salem,	"	15,583 13	9,000 17	24,583 30
Beverly,	"	....	6,288 06	6,288 06
Marblehead,	"	1,882 57	6,023 33	7,905 90
Boston,	"	411,410 36	52,802 46	464,212 82
Plymouth,	"	1,625 69	6,584 10	8,209 79
Fall River,	"	877 34	15,251 00	16,128 34
New Bedford,	"	141,359 00	8,339 32	149,698 32
Barnstable,	"	6,191 16	57,374 45	63,565 61
Edgartown,	"	7,138 19	1,615 25	8,753 44
Nantucket,	"	9,102 89	1,384 06	10,487 09
Providence,	R. I.	6,382 26	13,046 70	19,579 01
Bristol,	"	8,399 02	1,374 84	9,773 86
Newport,	"	6,670 66	5,617 09	12,287 75
Middletown,	Conn.	376 79	15,879 27	16,256 11
New London,	"	20,735 53	19,440 63	40,176 21
Stonington,	"	7,304 67	12,282 69	19,587 41
New Haven,	"	9,215 22	9,565 26	26,780 48
Fairfield,	"	2,974 07	13,401 21	16,375 28
Champlain	N. Y.	....	3,181 12	3,181 12
Sackett's Harbor,	"	....	1,375 05	1,375 05
Oswego,	"	....	51,826 72	51,826 72
Niagara,	"	....	988 40	988 40
Genesee,	"	....	3,150 78	3,150 78
Oswegatchie,	"	....	6,911 93	6,911 93
Buffalo Creek,	"	....	101,513 87	101,513 87
Sag Harbor,	"	4,641 69	2,110 96	6,752 10
Greenport,	"	262 28	7,218 01	7,480 29
Dunkirk,	"	....	5,770 49	5,770 49
New York,	"	838,449 51	625,551 47	1,464,001 03
Cold Spring,	"	1,033 85	1,482 21	2,516 11
Cape Vincent,	"	....	5,969 94	5,969 94
Perth Amboy,	N. J.	621 88	33,336 89	33,958 82
Bridgetown,	"	....	4,665 44	4,665 44
Burlington,	"	....	11,019 03	11,019 03
Camden,	"	754 04	14,794 86	15,548 90
Newark,	"	311 39	8,292 79	8,604 23
L'tle Egg Harbor,	"	....	10,996 23	10,996 23
G't Egg Harbor,	"	....	18,841 20	18,841 20
Philadelphia,	Penn.	67,004 36	174,642 33	241,736 69
Presque Isle,	"	....	5,018 87	5,018 87
Pittsburg,	"	....	62,010 86	62,010 86
Wilmington,	Del.	5,541 91	13,805 00	19,346 91
Newcastle,	"	....	4,606 46	4,606 46
Baltimore,	Md.	114,183 84	55,923 22	290,109 56
Oxford,	"	....	13,472 19	13,472 19
Vienna,	"	....	26,429 79	26,429 79
Snow Hill,	"	....	6,227 37	6,227 37
St. Mary's,	"	....	4,180 27	4,180 27
Town Creek,	"	....	2,882 14	2,882 14
Annapolis,	"	41 53	2,195 82	2,236 87
Georgetown,	D. C.	644 12	44,586 76	45,230 88
Alexandria,	Va.	512 16	6,354 83	6,866 69

Districts.		Registered Tonnage.	Enrolled Licensed Tonnage.	Total Tonnage of each District.
		tons and 95ths.	tons and 95ths.	tons and 95ths.
Norfolk,	Va.	10,452 13	15,984 52	26,836 05
Petersburg,	"	539 42	1,993 33	2,532 75
Richmond,	"	6,022 16	7,708 67	13,730 83
Yorktown,	"	....	7,129 76	7,129 76
Tappahannoc,	"	....	2,802 87	2,802 87
Accomac,	"	....	7,537 62	7,537 62
East River,	"	....	3,988 18	3,988 18
Yeocomico,	"	....	3,284 36	3,284 36
Cherrystone,	"	....	1,559 64	1,559 64
Wheeling,	"	....	17,006 87	17,006 87
Wilmington,	N. C.	13,872 82	10,835 16	23,708 03
Washington,	"	2,571 86	3,719 17	6,291 08
Newbern,	"	1,109 48	2,253 11	3,362 54
Edenton,	"	476 09	1,546 91	2,023 05
Camden,	"	922 35	4,534 16	5,456 51
Beaufort,	"	538 70	2,122 10	2,660 81
Plymouth,	"	678 85	2,934 81	3,613 21
Ocracoke,	"	....	849 60	849 60
Charleston,	S. C.	38,490 87	26,934 77	65,425 19
Georgetown,	"	674 73	641 26	1,316 04
Beaufort,	"	....	....	....
Savannah,	Ga.	27,560 32	13,280 54	40,840 54
Sunbury,	"	....	....	....
Brunswick,	"	610 74	693 09	1,303 83
Hardwick,	"	....	....	....
St. Mary's,	"	991 85	890 36	1,882 26
Pensacola,	Fla.	5,403 50	3,366 01	8,769 51
St. Augustine,	"	....	....	....
St. Mark's,	"	160 40	246 87	407 32
St. John's,	"	3,919 00	2,727 33	6,646 33
Appalachicola,	"	1,709 88	1,284 47	2,994 40
Key West,	"	7,026 32	2,010 11	9,036 43
St. Andrew's Bay,	"	....	....	....
Fernandina,	"	845 28	101 28	946 51
Mobile,	Ala.	22,442 53	30,314 84	52,757 72
Pearl River,	Miss.	....	3,737 33	3,737 33
Vicksburg,	"	....	....	....
New Orleans,	La.	132,199 20	96,045 23	228,244 18
Teche,	"	1,224 56	5,520 87	6,745 43
Memphis,	Tenn.	....	7,768 56	7,768 56
Nashville,	"	....	4,595 46	4,595 46
Knoxville,	"	....	....	....
Louisville,	Ky.	....	34,551 25	34,551 25
Paducah,	"	....	2,250 59	2,250 59
St. Louis,	Mo.	....	64,683 66	64,683 66
Chicago,	Ill.	1,624 00	77,192 05	76,816 05
Alton,	"	....	....	....
Galena,	"	....	6,251 50	6,251 50
Sandusky,	Ohio.	....	15,625 16	15,625 16
Cuyahoga,	"	5,474 79	71,663 33	77,138 17
Cincinnati,	"	....	33,900 37	33,900 37
Toledo,	"	....	4,491 78	4,491 78
New Albany,	Ind.	....	....	....
Milwaukie,	Wis.	358 58	24,661 50	25,020 22
St. Paul,	Min.	....	368 75	368 75
Detroit,	Mich.	....	65,806 93	65,806 93
Michilimackinac,	"	....	7,973 94	7,973 94
Galveston,	Texas.	2,879 79	6,577 40	10,457 24
Saluria,	"	491 72	1,893 73	2,385 50
Point Isabel,	"	....	....	....
San Francisco,	Cal.	47,847 52	36,573 86	84,420 46
Sonoma,	"	....	444 64	444 64
Sacramento,	"	....	127 84	127 84
San Pedro,	"	....	....	....
Monterey,	"	....	118 64	118 64
Astoria,	Oregon.	....	....	....
Puget's Sound,	"	....	....	....
Cape Perpetua,	W.T.	....	....	....
Total.....		2,546,237 09	2,807,631 33	5,353,868 42

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INDIRECT TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Imports from	By way of Bremen.	England.	France.	Belgium.	Holland.	Hamburg.	N. Granada.	Other p'ts.	Total.
Prussia	1,480,219	3,924,338	809,085	884,611	63,099	2,572,387	505	202	9,234,446
Saxony	2,925,826	426,959	60,718	20,589	2,242	2,166,284	....	....	5,601,718
Bavaria	742,241	22,963	32,678	30,682	48,005	224,331	....	....	1,060,901
Wurtemburg	109,638	15,263	36,744	4,925	14,244	180,479	841	....	362,159
Baden	130,886	27,965	132,963	130,943	275,646	80,855	....	....	779,258
Hesse-Cassel	66,226	5,575	13,704	512	1,288	29,987	....	....	117,292
Hesse-Darmstadt	259,346	21,398	44,904	28,048	45,717	80,666	....	3,879	477,046
Frankfort	127,846	59,739	143,285	88,816	15,848	264,431	....	1,062	701,027
Saxe-Coburg	44,745	242	203	....	....	6,974	....	....	52,164
Nassau	591	....	205	1,397	65	....	....	....	2,258
Hanover	55,497	3,272	1,592	....	753	36,237	....	....	97,351
Oldenburg	918	405	1,442	....	....	....	....	....	2,765
Brunswick	3,939	908	....	....	1,085	909	....	....	6,841
Saxe-Meiningen	13,813	....	15	....	....	2,741	....	....	16,569
Reuss-Greitz	2,095	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2,095
Saxe-Weimar	10,409	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	10,409
Total Zollverein	5,968,230	4,508,017	1,276,658	690,523	468,052	5,646,287	1,346	5,161	18,564,274
" Switzerland	274,875	3,313,693	2,885,243	....	1,340	364,498	2,593	...A	6,842,147
" Austria	286,422	71,791	18,199	920	3,876	361,592	....	....	742,740
" Belgium	14,052	364,749	133,329	....	44,051	1,448	....	1,173	558,797
" France	196,830	15,968,368	....	52,856	801	201,101	225,433	24,021	16,979,110
" England	47,682	....	238,768	34,984	44,220	87,494	10,343	58,407	466,898
" Hamburg	29,580	136,236	2,569	5,721	629	....	3,865	1,215	179,785
" Bremen	4,171	12,910	231	131	631	20,208	....	492	38,769
" Holland	3,089	3,208	21,562	....	....	868	....	2,004	30,226
" Dutch East Indies	....	26,640	....	....	17,052	....	....	20,448	64,149
" British East Indies	....	171,064	....	....	....	....	....	9,752	180,816
" Russia	....	62,785	2,608	....	....	87,971	....	892	154,262
" Spain	137	10,104	48,933	....	....	919	....	24,706	84,799
" Two Sicilies	....	59,122	8,576	....	....	....	....	182	67,880
" Sardinia	265	10,085	2,541	....	....	....	....	....	12,891
" Turkey	718	408,831	....	....	....	....	....	61	409,610
" China	510	31,441	....	....	....	....	....	59,026	90,977
" Ireland	....	282,386	....	....	....	....	....	103	282,489
" Scotland	....	211,162	....	....	....	....	....	322	211,484
" Tuscany	11,938	4,559	12,687	....	....	3,602	....	2,824	35,610
" Portugal	100	19,222	205	....	....	....	....	1,089	20,616
" Other countries	65,216	342,828	7,525	....	6,810	39,472	10,676	91,427	560,454
Total	6,818,815	26,368,620	4,654,549	784,835	587,462	6,764,946	260,256	303,295	46,587,778

FOREIGN VESSELS TRADING WITH THE UNITED STATES IN 1861.

Nation.	Entered. Number.	Tons.	Crews. Men.	Boys.	Cleared. Number.	Tons.	Crews. Men.	Boys.
Austrian	46	17,986	606	....	30	12,168	380	....
Bremen	165	112,966	3,955	....	178	125,866	4,220	....
British	9,895	1,882,971	90,807	746	9,818	1,882,747	90,609	723
Belgian	2	995	33	....	3	1,328	42	....
Brazilian	2	946	40	....	3	1,309	33	....
Chilian	9	3,693	118	....	5	1,909	66	....
Danish	35	9,806	391	....	34	9,457	352	....
Dutch	43	10,528	415	....	51	12,336	458	....
French	55	13,291	664	....	56	14,056	694	....
Hanoverian	10	3,824	125	....	12	4,947	161	....
Hamburg	73	73,765	3,001	....	64	68,803	2,818	....
Mecklenburg	9	3,558	115	....	7	2,969	97	....
Mexican	15	2,234	147	....	11	1,888	117	....
New Granadian	11	3,001	101	....	12	3,197	108	....
Oldenburg	16	6,365	225	....	16	6,286	215	....
Prussian	60	27,862	867	....	60	28,727	834	....
Portuguese	23	5,620	237	....	20	4,969	208	....
Peruvian	3	829	36	....	1	460	14	....
Russian	22	12,752	465	....	17	10,573	367	....
Swedish	79	22,491	962	....	83	34,738	1,044	....
Sardinian	44	14,540	586	....	34	11,627	366	....
Sicilian	8	2,345	94	....	19	6,028	246	....
Spanish	74	24,877	1,103	6	51	15,691	657	7
Sandwich Islands	8	1,026	64	....	6	687	48	....
Venezuelan	2	848	16	....	....	....	....	....
Total	10,709	2,217,524	105,178	752	10,586	2,262,042	104,059	730

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CONFEDERATE STATES. At the 3d session of the 11th Congress, in 1811, the dissolution of the Union was spoken of for the first time by a member from the State of Massachusetts, as a possible event of the future. The manner in which this was received by that Congress seemed to indicate that it was looked upon by them almost with sentiments of abhorrence. The circumstances are interesting at this time. The bill to form a Constitution and State Government for the Territory of Orleans, and the admission of such State under the name of Louisiana into the Union, was under consideration.

Mr. Quincy, of Massachusetts, in opposition to the bill, said: "I am compelled to declare it as my deliberate opinion, that if this bill passes, the bonds of this Union are virtually dissolved; that the States which compose it are free from their obligations; and that, as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some, to prepare definitely for a separation, amicably, if they can, violently, if they must."

Mr. Quincy was here called to order by Mr. Poindexter.

Mr. Quincy repeated and justified the remark he had made, which, to save all misapprehension, he committed to writing, in the following words: "If this bill passes, it is my deliberate opinion that it is virtually a dissolution of this Union; that it will free the States from their moral obligation; and as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some, definitely to prepare for a separation, amicably, if they can, violently, if they must."

After some little confusion, Mr. Poindexter required the decision of the Speaker, whether it was consistent with the propriety of debate, to use such an expression. He said it was radically wrong for any member to use arguments going to dissolve the Government, and tumble this body itself to dust and ashes. It would be found, from the gentleman's statement of his language, that he had declared the right of any portion of the people to separate.

Mr. Quincy wished the Speaker to decide, for if the gentleman was permitted to debate the question, he should lose one-half of his speech.

The Speaker said that great latitude in debate was generally allowed; and that, by way of argument against a bill, the first part of the gentleman's observations was admissible; but the latter member of the sentence, viz., "That it would be the duty of some States to prepare for a separation, amicably if they can, violently if they must," was contrary to the order of debate.

Mr. Quincy appealed from his decision, and required the ayes and noes on the appeal.

The question was stated thus: "Is the decision of the Speaker correct?" And decided, ayes, 53; noes, 56.

Occasionally the subject was alluded to in the progress of time, until it was regarded as a deed to be abhorred, but yet such as might be both possible and necessary under some circumstances of wrong and oppression.

The war with Great Britain in 1812, was so destructive to the commercial interests of the New England States, that they, to a great extent, withheld and refused their coöperation with the Federal Government. In Massachusetts, the State authorities took decisive measures to prevent the Federal Government from obtaining volunteers. Separation from the Union was discussed and advocated.

Finally public sentiment became so strong that a Convention was held at Hartford, in the State of Connecticut. It was convened to consider the state of affairs, and to devise a remedy. What its view of public affairs might be, and what would be the remedy it might suggest, was too well known to the public to admit of a doubt. Its sessions, like those of the Conventions in the seceding States, were held in secret, or with doors closed against every one except members of the Convention. Whatever were the recommendations of this body, no public action took place upon them, in consequence of the cessation of hostilities, and the speedy conclusion of peace with Great Britain.

The result of this Convention was to recognize and reaffirm the principle or doctrine which had hitherto been unofficially, and only by individuals announced, that a separation of the States, or a dissolution of the Union, or rather a withdrawal of a State or States from the Union, could, under some circumstances, be rightful and just. This justification would be found to arise from acts of oppression and wrong persistently enforced by the Federal Government. So slow were the people of the United States to recognize the right of revolution as against their own admirably formed system of government, and so attached and loyal were they to this system of government, that the members of the Convention at Hartford were ever after refused all public favor, and carried with them the frowns of the people down to their graves.

The institution of domestic slavery had always been repugnant to a large number of conscientious persons in the Northern and Southern States, but more extensively in the former. Upon the application of the State of Missouri to become a member of the Union in 1819, opposition was made, which was based upon hostility to the extension of the institution of slavery. At this time the strife ran so high as to present to the consideration of the people the question of a separation of the States, and render it more familiar to their minds. This difficulty was satisfactorily adjusted.

The subject now disappeared from the public mind until the years 1831 and '32, when the State of South Carolina took the ground that the tariff act passed by Congress in 1828, was not only unconstitutional, but so unjust and oppressive in its operation against her that it should not be executed within her limits. The issue joined in this case did not present

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the true point involved. It became a question of strength between the Federal Government and the State. The State herself was divided in sentiment. The Federal Government made concessions, and all open signs of strife disappeared. In this instance, the acts of oppression and wrong could not be stated in precise words, nor estimated in figures. They were not of such a positive and flagrant character that the world could see or comprehend them. Hence the course of South Carolina at that time has not been approved by the sentiment of mankind. By this difficulty a great stride was taken towards a solution of the problem of a separation of the States. The State and the Federal Government reached the actual borders of a violent struggle.

Enough had been seen of the operation of the Government to prove that this question of separation of a State or States from the Union, was one which the American people must some time meet and decide. Indeed, it may be declared, as a general principle, that if the right of revolution is sacred, such is the tendency of all human government, either through ignorance or negligence, or from a wilful purpose, at some period, to persist in oppressive and unjust measures, that none can escape the bitter experience of internal bloodshed. In other words, if those who have power will oppress, then those who are oppressed, or who think they are oppressed, or who suppose they are about to be oppressed, will certainly resist, or they must consent to become slaves.

At this time, political agitation for the abolition of slavery commenced. This brought out, in 1835, political agitation for its defence and protection. Small and insignificant at first, this contest grew into a terrific flame. The latter party always asserted that, under a just and strict administration of the Government according to the Constitution, their rights were safe, and slavery, as an institution, could not be essentially damaged. At the same time, they boldly and fully declared that, if the time should ever come when they should be convinced that they could not retain their rights as slaveholders and slaveholding States, within the Union and under the administration of the Federal Government, they then should seek those rights and that protection without the Union. In other words, a separation or dissolution of the Union was to be the alternative of the triumph of one side, and the defeat of the other. With an astonishing indifference, apparently, the mass of the people witnessed this contest. It can be explained only upon the supposition, that the attachment to the Union of all the States was so great, and its civil and social advantages so conspicuous that none were ready to believe a serious purpose for its destruction could be formed. Finally, on the 4th of November, 1860, the issue was decided. The political agitators for the limitation or abolition of slavery, triumphed over the political agitators for its defence and protection. The latter party immediately took the steps which they believed to be necessary to carry out their long-threatened purpose. It may not be altogether out of place in these pages to ask if they were justified in beginning these proceedings? In answer, it may be asked if the slaveholding States were suffering at that time, under the hand of the Federal Government, such oppression and such wrongs as justify the exercise of the sacred right of revolution? They were not. Did they fear the speedy infliction of such wrongs as would justify the exercise of the right of revolution? This question is asked on the presumption that the apprehension of wrongs and oppression will justify revolution; and, for the sake of the argument, let it be granted. On this question turns the whole case. Did they fear and apprehend these wrongs? and were their fears just and well founded? The debates at the 2d session of the 37th Congress, contain the views of Southern Senators and Representatives. (*See* CONGRESS, U. S.) According to these statements such were their fears and apprehensions. South Carolina, after adopting an ordinance of secession, issued a declaration of grievances, which consist of past injuries she has suffered. (*See* SOUTH CAROLINA.) This point was also discussed in the South Carolina State Convention. The views there entertained, are shown in the following debate:

Mr. Parker: "Mr. President, it appears to me, with great deference to the opinions that have been expressed, that the public mind is fully made up to the great occasion that now awaits us. It is no spasmodic effort that has come suddenly upon us, but it has been gradually culminating for a long series of years, until at last it has come to that point when we may say the matter is entirely right."

Mr. Inglis: "Mr. President, if there is any gentleman present who wishes to debate this matter, of course this body will hear him; but as to delay, for the purpose of a discussion, I for one am oppposed to it. As my friend (Mr. Parker) has said, most of us have had this matter under consideration for the last twenty years, and I presume we have by this time arrived at a decision upon the subject."

Mr. Keitt: "Sir, we are performing a great act, which involves not only the stirring present, but embraces the whole great future of ages to come. I have been engaged in this movement ever since I entered political life. I am content with what has been done to-day, and content with what will take place to-morrow. We have carried the body of this Union to its last resting-place, and now we will drop the flag over its grave. After that is done, I am ready to adjourn, and leave the remaining ceremonies for to-morrow."

Mr. Rhett: "The secession of South Carolina is not an event of a day. It is not any thing produced by Mr. Lincoln's election, or by the non-execution of the fugitive slave law. It has been a matter which has been gathering head for thirty years. The election of Lincoln

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and Hamlin was the last straw on the back of the camel. But it was not the only one. The back was nearly broken before. The point upon which I differ from my friend is this: He says he thought it expedient for us to put this great question before the world upon this simple matter of wrongs on the question of slavery, and that question turned upon the fugitive slave law. Now, in regard to the fugitive slave law, I myself doubt its constitutionality, and I doubted it on the floor of the Senate, when I was a member of that body. The States, acting in their sovereign capacity, should be responsible for the rendition of fugitive slaves. That was our best security."

So, in the correspondence of Messrs. Rost, Yancey, and Mann, with Lord John Russell, the right of separation is placed on other grounds. (*See* DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE OF CONFEDERATE STATES, *also* PUBLIC DOCUMENTS, *Messages of President Davis.*) Admitting, then, notwithstanding these various statements, that fears of wrongs and destruction to the institution of slavery were entertained, and that such apprehensions, if well founded, are a justification of revolution; yet, on this point, it is sufficient to state the fact, that the Federal Government has always been ready to compromise in her difficulties with any State. If it had meditated evil in the new hands in which it has been placed, of which not the first sign had yet appeared, its hands would have been tied by the action of nearly half the voters in the sixteen Northern States, and by the action of all the voters in the fifteen Southern States. On the secession of the State of Georgia, one of her citizens used this language:

"Posterity will regard the act as wanting in statesmanship, and the greatest folly ever committed by a great and prosperous people. But undue prosperity begets luxury and restlessness, and grave deeds are often committed without reflection or reason. Posterity will censure the act of secession, for the reason that the seceding States, in their several Conventions, made no demands for the redress of grievances, but madly—yea, blindly—precipitated a revolution. To stand justified in the eye of the future, and before the scrutiny of civilization, we should demand redress in a Convention of all the States."

The first public act which took place, having for its ultimate object the formation of a Southern Confederacy, was the call for a State Convention in South Carolina. This resulted in the secession of that State, and was followed rapidly by the secession of Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas. The preliminary proceedings which have come to light are too important to be overlooked. The first public step is to be found described in a letter from the Colonel of the Ordnance, H. K. Craig, to the Secretary of War, Joseph Holt, dated January 15, 1861, stating the number of rifles and muskets sent to the Southern States during the year 1860. It is as follows:

"SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the reference of a letter from the Hon. B. Stanton, asking for a statement of the distribution of arms from the armories to the arsenals and other places of deposit for safe keeping, from the 1st of January, 1860, to that of January 1, 1861, &c.

"In compliance with your directions, I have the honor to report that on the 30th day of December, 1859, an order was received from the War Department directing the transfer of one hundred and fifteen thousand muskets from the Springfield (Mass.) and Watervliet (N. Y.) arsenals to different arsenals at the South. Orders were given in obedience to these instructions on the 30th of May, 1860, and the arms were removed during the past spring from and to the places as follows:—

"From Springfield armory sixty-five thousand percussion muskets, calibre sixty-nine hundredths of an inch.

"From Watertown arsenal six thousand percussion rifles, calibre fifty-four hundredths of an inch.

"From Watervliet arsenal four thousand percussion rifles, calibre fifty-four hundredths of an inch. .

"Of which there were sent as follows:

	Percussion Muskets.	*Altd. Mskts.*	*P. Rifles.*
Charleston (S. C.) arsenal...	9,280	5,720	2,000
North Carolina arsenal.....	15,408	9,520	2,000
Augusta (Ga.) arsenal.....	12,380	7,620	2,000
Mount Vernon, Ala	9,280	5,720	2,000
Baton Rouge, La.....	18,520	11,420	2,000

"The arms thus transferred, which were at the Charleston arsenal, the Mount Vernon arsenal, and the Baton Rouge arsenal, have been seized by the authorities of the several States of South Carolina, Alabama, and Louisiana, and are no longer in possession of the Ordnance Department. Those stored at the Augusta arsenal and at North Carolina are still in charge of officers of this Department.

"In addition to the foregoing, there have been transfers from the armories to different arsenals, as the exigencies of the service demanded, for immediate issues to the army and to the States, under the act of April 23, 1808, and which I infer are not intended to be embraced in the call of the House of Representatives."

On the 29th of October, 1860, Gen. Winfield Scott sent to the President and Secretary of War a letter, containing "views suggested by the imminent danger of a disruption of the Union by the secession of one or more of the Southern States." In this paper he suggested certain measures of precaution which should be taken by the Government to prevent the anticipated disruption. Why they were not adopted will presently appear. So much of them as appertain to the steps proper for the Government to take, were as follows:—

"From a knowledge of our Southern population it is my solemn conviction that there is some danger of an early act of rashness preliminary to secession, viz., the seizure of some or

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all of the following posts: Forts Jackson and St. Philip in the Mississippi, below New Orleans, both without garrisons; Fort Morgan, below Mobile, without a garrison; Forts Pickens and McRae, Pensacola harbor, with an insufficient garrison for one; Fort Pulaski, below Savannah, without a garrison; Forts Moultrie and Sumter, Charleston harbor, the former with an insufficient garrison, and the latter without any; and Fort Monroe, Hampton Roads, without a sufficient garrison. In my opinion, all these works should be immediately so garrisoned as to make any attempt to take any one of them, by surprise or *coup de main*, ridiculous.

"With the army faithful to its allegiance, and the navy probably equally so, and with a Federal Executive, for the next twelve months, of firmness and moderation, which the country has a right to expect—moderation being an element of power not less than firmness—there is good reason to hope that the danger of secession may be made to pass away without one conflict of arms, one execution, or one arrest for treason.

"In the mean time it is suggested that exports should remain as free as at present; all duties, however, on imports, collected, (outside of the cities,*) as such receipts would be needed for the national debt, invalid pensions, &c., and only articles contraband of war be refused admittance. But even this refusal would be unnecessary, as the foregoing views eschew the idea of invading a seceded State.

"WINFIELD SCOTT.

"NEW YORK, *October* 29, 1860."

The copy sent to Secretary of War, Floyd, contains these additional remarks:

"It will be seen that the 'Views' only apply to a case of secession that makes a gap in the present Union. The falling off say of Texas, or of all the Atlantic States, from the Potomac south, was not within the scope of General S.'s provisional remedies.

"It is his opinion that instructions should be given, at once, to the commanders of the Barancas, Forts Moultrie and Monroe, to be on their guard against surprises and *coups de main*. As to regular approaches, nothing can be said or done, at this time, without volunteers.

"There is one (regular) company at Boston, one here, (at the Narrows,) one at Pittsburgh, one at Augusta, Ga., and one at Baton Rouge—in all five companies only, within reach, to garrison or reinforce the forts mentioned in the 'Views.'

"General Scott is all solicitude for the safety of the Union. He is, however, not without hope that all dangers and difficulties will pass away without leaving a scar or painful recollection behind.

"The Secretary's most obedient servant,

"*October* 30, 1860. W. S."

* In forts or on board ships of war. The great aim and object of this plan was to gain time—say eight or ten months—to await expected measures of conciliation on the part of the North, and the subsidence of angry feelings in the opposite quarter.

The part taken by the Secretary of War in favor of the seceding States was not made apparent until some months later. On the 1st of April, three months after the resignation of the Secretary, there appeared at Richmond, Virginia, a eulogy of him which vindicates his patriotism to the Confederate States by a statement of facts:

"All who have attended to the developments of the last three months, and know aught of the movements of the Buchanan Administration up to the time of Floyd's resignation, will justify the assertion that the Southern Confederacy would not and could not be in existence at this hour but for the action of the late Secretary of War. The plan invented by Gen. Scott to stop secession was, like all campaigns devised by him, very able in its details, and nearly certain of general success. The Southern States are full of arsenals and forts, commanding their rivers and strategic points. Gen. Scott desired to transfer the army of the United States to these forts as speedily and as quietly as possible. Had he succeeded in doing so, revolution would have been paralyzed in the whole South, and the submissionist party would have been organized on a very different footing from what we now know. The Southern States could not have cut off communication between the Government and the forts without a great fleet, which they cannot build for years, or take them by land without one hundred thousand men, many hundred millions of dollars, and several campaigns, and many a bloody siege. Had Gen. Scott been enabled to get those forts in the condition he desired them to be, the Southern Confederacy would not now exist.

"But the coöperation of the Secretary of War is necessary to the movement of troops; and in lieu of coöperating, the Secretary of War thwarted, objected, resisted, and forbade. Every day saw the battle fought in President Buchanan's Cabinet, and every day the solitary champion of the South was forced closer to the corner of the wall. That day came when he was fairly beaten. He resigned, but not with stealth or shame; he resigned with a clap of thunder. While the Administration was giving the orders for the military occupation of the Southern country, it was actually in negotiation with the Commissioners of South Carolina. This fact, if made clearly manifest, sufficiently unveiled the design and the character of the Cabinet, and, causing his resignation to turn on that specification, the Secretary drew the eyes of the entire world on that one focus. The Southern leaders awoke to a sense of their position, and perceiving that if they gave a week's respite to a plot actually in course of execution they were hopelessly lost, they sent over the country the orders which led to the popular seizure of all the forts in the South except two."

By these movements the seceding States were protected from the military arm of the Govern-

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ment. The plans for combined operations were concerted at Washington, and made known to the public through the press of that city in the following manner. The leading print said:

"The subjoined communication, disclosing the designs of those who have undertaken to lead the movement now threatening a permanent dissolution of the Union, comes to us from a distinguished citizen of the South, who formerly represented his State with great distinction in the popular branch of Congress. Temporarily sojourning in this city, he has become authentically informed of the facts recited in the subjoined letter, which he communicates to us under a sense of duty, and for the accuracy of which he makes himself responsible. Nothing but assurances coming from such an intelligent, reliable source, could induce us to accept the authenticity of these startling statements, which so deeply concern not only the welfare but the honor of the Southern people."

WASHINGTON, *January* 9, 1861.

I charge that on last Saturday night a caucus was held in this city by the Southern Secession Senators from Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas. It was then and there resolved in effect to assume to themselves the political power of the South, and, to control all political and military operations for the present, they telegraphed to complete the plan of seizing forts, arsenals, and custom-houses, and advised the Conventions now in session, and soon to assemble, to pass ordinances for immediate secession; but, in order to thwart any operations of the Government here, the Conventions of the seceding States are to retain their representations in the Senate and the House.

They also advised, ordered, or directed the assembling of a Convention of Delegates from the seceding States at Montgomery on the 15th of February. This can of course only be done, by the revolutionary conventions usurping the powers of the people and sending delegates over whom they will lose all control in the establishment of a Provisional Government, which is the plan of the dictators.

This caucus also resolved to take the most effectual means to dragoon the Legislatures of Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Arkansas, Texas, and Virginia into following the seceding States. Maryland is also to be influenced by such appeals to popular passion as have led to the revolutionary steps which promise a conflict with the State and Federal Governments in Texas.

They have possessed themselves of all the avenues of information in the South—the telegraph, the press, and the general control of the postmasters. They also confidently rely upon defections in the army and navy.

The spectacle here presented is startling to contemplate. Senators intrusted with the representative sovereignty of the States, and sworn to support the Constitution of the United States, while yet acting as the privy councillors of the President, and anxiously looked to by their constituents to effect some practical plan of adjustment, deliberately conceive a conspiracy for the overthrow of the Government through the military organizations, the dangerous secret order of the Knights of the Golden Circle, "Committees of Safety," Southern Leagues, and other agencies at their command; they have instituted as thorough a military and civil despotism as ever cursed a maddened country.

It is not difficult to foresee the form of government which a Convention thus hurriedly thrown together at Montgomery will irrevocably fasten upon a deluded and unsuspecting people. It must essentially be "a monarchy founded upon military principles," or it cannot endure. Those who usurp power never fail to forge strong chains.

It may be too late to sound the alarm. Nothing may be able to arrest the action of revolutionary tribunals whose decrees are principally in "secret sessions." But I call upon the people to pause and reflect before they are forced to surrender every principle of liberty, or to fight those who are becoming their masters rather than their servants. EATON.

A letter from Washington to the Baltimore press, of the 10th, made this statement: "The leaders of the Southern movement are consulting as to the best mode of consolidating their interests into a Confederacy under a Provisional Government. The plan is to make Senator Hunter, of Virginia, Provisional President, and Jefferson Davis Commander-in-Chief of the army of defence. Mr. Hunter possesses in a more eminent degree the philosophical characteristics of Jefferson than any other statesman now living. Col. Davis is a graduate of West Point, was distinguished for gallantry at Buena Vista, and served as Secretary of War under President Pierce, and is not second to General Scott in military science or courage."

It is charged above that the caucus met on Saturday night, January 5th. A despatch from Washington, under the date of January 6th, appeared in the Charleston press on Monday, January 7th, relating to the same caucus, and was as follows:

"WASHINGTON, *January* 6.

"The Senators from those of the Southern States which have called Conventions of their people met in caucus last night, and adopted the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That we recommend to our respective States immediate secession.

"*Resolved*, That we recommend the holding of a General Convention of the said States, to be holden in the city of Montgomery, Alabama, at some period not later than the 15th day of February, 1861.

"These resolutions were telegraphed this evening to the Conventions of Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida. A third resolution is also known to have been adopted, but it is of a confidential character, not to be divulged at present. There was a good deal of discussion in the caucus on the question of whether the seceding States ought to continue their delegations in Congress till the 4th of March, to prevent unfriendly legislation, or whether the Representatives of the seceding States should all resign together, and leave a clear field to the Opposition to pass such bills, looking to coercion, as they may see fit. It is believed that the opinion that they should remain prevailed."

The Senators who represented the States above mentioned were as follows:

Alabama—Benjamin Fitzpatrick, C. C. Clay, jr.
Arkansas—R. W. Johnson, Wm. K. Sebastian.
Georgia—Robert Toombs, Alfred Iverson.
Louisiana—J. P. Benjamin, John Slidell.
Mississippi—Jefferson Davis, Albert G. Brown.
Texas.—John Hemphill, Louis T. Wigfall.
Florida—David L. Yulee,* S. R. Mallory.

* On the capture of Fernandina, in Florida, by the Federal troops, in March, 1862, numerous letters and papers were found in the houses abandoned by the inhabitants, among which was the following letter. Its statement of facts coincides so accurately with the representations of

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The subsequent progress of events has served to show how accurate was the intelligence, and how deliberate was the inception of the plot devised against the integrity of the Union and the stability of the Government; for the events which have marked the progress of secession since that time have been but the fulfilment of the programme prescribed by this Senatorial caucus. The leaders of the disunion movement did "assume to themselves the political power of the South." They did control "all political and military operations." Forts, arsenals, and custom-houses were seized in obedience to telegraphic orders. (*See* FORTS.) State Conventions did pass ordinances of immediate and separate secession. A Convention of delegates from the seceding States was held at Montgomery in pursuance of the plan proposed, and these delegates were arbitrarily appointed by the several State Conventions whose members had been elected with no reference whatever to any such ulterior functions. (*See* CONGRESS, CONFEDERATE.) "Defections from the army and navy" were openly rewarded by promotions in the "Southern service."

The principal features in all these proceedings in the different States were these: they were prompt, conducted in secret sessions, and afterwards enforced by the State authorities. The people had no calm, deliberate voice in the matter. In some instances the authority calling the State Convention expressly forbid the passage of an ordinance of secession which should be binding, unless it was ratified by the people.

On the 19th of January a committee in the Mississippi Legislature reported a series of resolutions to provide for a Southern Confederacy and the establishment of a Provisional Government. On this same day, Gov. Pickens, of South Carolina, sent by telegraph the following despatch to the Commissioner, A. B. Jackson, from that State to Mississippi: "Please urge Mississippi to send delegates to the Montgomery meeting of States, at as early a day as possible—say 4th February—to form immediately a strong Provisional Government. It is the only thing to prevent war, and let that Convention elect immediately a Commander-in-Chief for the seceding States."

The State Conventions of South Carolina and Alabama urged the Montgomery Congress, and hence, in the Conventions of all the seceding States, delegates were appointed to this Congress. Among others was Howell Cobb, of Georgia, who resigned his position of Secretary of the Treasury of the United States on the 10th day of December, 1860.

So loyal, however, were the people of some of the States, and particularly Louisiana, to the Union, that notwithstanding all the steps of disunion, they still hoped the end would be a reunion. They looked to the fact that the border States remained in the Union as an assurance that they, through the mediation of these States, could be received back after the delirium of secession was over. They openly declared that if, as people of the Gulf States, they could obtain the assurance of a faithful enforcement of the Constitution, in some such form as the Crittenden bill suggested, they would coerce the seceders. They said that at that time there was in favor of the Union and the clearly guaranteed rights of the South under the Constitution of the United States, a vast majority of the people of the Gulf States; and that a compromise on such a basis would put down all who should exclaim against its provisions.

These sentiments in favor of reconstruction were rebuked in the most decided manner by the Georgia State Convention. That body refused to vote for any person as a member of the Confederate Congress, until he had given assurance that he would, under no contingency, favor reconstruction. It has been stated that the authorities of each State aided the efforts of the Conventions by enforcing the ordinance of secession. These efforts were thoroughly done. All the United States property, whether forts, arsenals, custom-houses, or light-houses, was taken. Not a vestige of the authority of the Federal Government was suffered to remain excepting the Post-Office Department. On the 4th of February the delegates to the Confederate Congress assembled at Montgomery, in Alabama. (*See* CONGRESS, CONFEDERATE.) Their first duties consisted in preparing a form of organization for themselves and the

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others who are well known, that there can be no doubt of its authenticity.

WASHINGTON, *January* 7, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR:—On the other side is a copy of resolutions adopted at a consultation of the Senators from the seceding States, in which Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, Mississippi, and Florida were present. The idea of the meeting was that the States should go out at once and provide for the early organization of a Confederate Government, not later than the 15th of February. This time is allowed to enable Louisiana and Texas to participate. It seemed to be the opinion that if we left here, *force, loan, and volunteer bills might be passed*, which would put Mr. Lincoln in immediate condition for hostilities; whereas, by remaining in our places until the 15th of March, it is thought we can keep the hands of Mr. Buchanan tied, and disable the Republicans from effecting any legislation which will strengthen the hands of the incoming Administration.

The resolutions will be sent by the delegation to the President of the Convention. I have not been able to find Mr. Mallory this morning. Hawkins [the Representative from Florida] is in Connecticut. I have, therefore, thought it best to send you this copy of the resolutions.

In haste, yours truly. D. L. YULEE.

J. S. FINNEGAN, Sovereign Convention.

Resolved, That in our opinion, each of the Southern States should, as soon as may be, secede from the Union.

Resolved, That provision should be made for a Convention to organize a Confederacy of the seceding States, the Convention to meet not later than the 15th of February, at the City of Montgomery, in the State of Alabama.

Resolved, That in view of the hostile legislation that is threatened against the seceding States, and which may be consummated before the 4th of March, we ask instructions whether the delegations are to remain in Congress until that date for the purpose of defeating such legislation.

Resolved, That a Committee be and are hereby appointed, consisting of Messrs. Davis, Slidell, and Mallory, to carry out the objects of this meeting.

In accordance with these resolutions, the ordinances of secession were passed as follows:—Mississippi, January 9th; Alabama and Florida, January 11th; Louisiana, January 26th; Texas, February 1st. The Confederate Congress met at Montgomery on February 4th, and President Davis was inaugurated February 18th.

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States which they represented. This resulted in a Provisional Constitution, to continue in operation for one year. Under this Constitution, Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, was elected President, and Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, Vice-President. On the 16th of February, Mr. Davis arrived at Montgomery, to be inaugurated and to enter upon the duties of his office. He was greeted with an ovation, to which he responded in an address reviewing the position of the South. He said: "The time for compromise has now passed, and the South is determined to maintain her position, and make all who oppose her smell Southern powder and feel Southern steel if coercion is persisted in. He had no doubts as to the result. He said we will maintain our rights and government at all hazards. We ask nothing, we want nothing; we will have no complications. If the other States join our Confederation they can freely come in on our terms. Our separation from the old Union is now complete. No compromise, no reconstruction is now to be entertained."

After reaching the Exchange Hotel he again addressed the crowd from the balcony as follows: "Fellow-citizens and brethren of the Confederated States of America—for now we are brethren, not in name merely, but in fact—men of one flesh, one bone, one interest, one purpose, of identity of domestic institutions—we have henceforth, I trust, a prospect of living together in peace, with our institutions subject to protection, and not to defamation. It may be that our career will be ushered in in the midst of a storm; it may be that, as this morning opened with clouds, rain, and mist, we shall have to encounter inconveniences at the beginning; but, as the sun rose and lifted the mist, it dispersed the clouds and left us the pure sunlight of heaven. So will progress the Southern Confederacy, and carry us safe into the harbor of constitutional liberty and political equality. We shall fear nothing, because of homogeneity at home and nothing abroad to awe us; because, if war should come, if we must again baptize in blood the principles for which our fathers bled in the Revolution, we shall show that we are not degenerate sons, but will redeem the pledges they gave, preserve the rights they transmitted to us, and prove that Southern valor still shines as bright as in 1776, in 1812, and in every other conflict."

In concluding his speech, Mr. Davis said: "I thank you, my friends, for the kind manifestations of favor and approbation you exhibit on this occasion. Throughout my entire progress to this city I have received the same flattering demonstrations of support. I did not regard them as personal to myself, but tendered to me as the humble representative of the principles and policy of the Confederate States. I will devote to the duties of the high office to which I have been called all I have of heart, of head, and of hand. If, in the progress of events, it shall become necessary that my services be needed in another position—if, to be plain, necessity require that I shall again enter the ranks of soldiers—I hope you will welcome me there. And now, my friends, again thanking you for this manifestation of your approbation, allow me to bid you good night."

The inauguration took place at Montgomery, on the 18th of February. The hill on which the Capitol is situated, was crowded with the wealth and beauty, the soldiers and citizens from the different States. In the evening the city was gorgeously illuminated. The President held a levee at Estelle Hall—bands of music played, fireworks were displayed, and a grand and general demonstration was made. (For Inaugural Address *see* PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.)

The cabinet officers of this new Government were as follows: Secretary of State, Robert Toombs; Secretary of the Treasury, Chas. G. Memminger; Secretary of War, L. Pope Walker. Mr. Stephens appeared in Congress and took the oath of office and entered upon his duties. (*See* CONGRESS, CONFEDERATE.)

Several new questions now arose for immediate decision. All the other States of the Union were to the new Confederacy parts of a foreign country. Goods from those States were required to enter at the custom-houses of the Confederacy, and all vessels bound to foreign ports received a clearance in the name of the Confederate States.

The mouths of the Mississippi River being in the State of Louisiana, that State, upon her secession from the Union, undertook to collect the duties upon the foreign goods imported, and to appropriate them to her own use. These goods, when destined to ports up the Mississippi or Ohio, within the United States, became subject to the duties imposed by the tariff of the Union. How should this difficulty be adjusted? The Convention of Louisiana passed a resolution pledging the faith of the State to preserve the navigation of the Mississippi free. But this proposition looked to the future, and never was of any benefit. The prospect of a close shutting up of the mouths of the Mississippi to the trade of the Western States, was the most alarming and irritating event which could be presented to the minds of their citizens. It was equally alarming to see that outlet in the possession of a foreign power. Even Kentucky could not retain her calmness under such an anticipation. This was her language: "No doubt, when the Cotton States Government shall go into full operation, the revenue laws of Louisiana, so far as the exaction of duties is concerned, will be substituted by the revenue laws of that Government, and we greatly fear that, unless the favorite old Southern theory of free trade shall prevail, the Government will exact, as Louisiana now does, duties on goods passing up the Mississippi for States out of the Southern Confederacy. It is in vain for any man to attempt to disguise or conceal the fact that, unless the Southern States that have suffered themselves to be precipitated into revolution can be won back, the most dreadful of all

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national calamities, a bloody and devastating and desolating war, enlisting the fiercest and most destructive energies of hundreds of thousands of men, is as inevitable as the fulfilment of the decrees of God."

It was a question in which much interest was manifested, after the inauguration of the new Government, what its policy would be in relation to the Federal Union. It was soon indirectly made known in the following language: "It will be the policy of the new Government to preserve the status quo of affairs until the 4th of March, when the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln will enable him to indicate the course his Administration will pursue towards the Southern Confederacy. The hope is not yet entirely relinquished that more rational counsels may prevail at Washington, and that, 'making a virtue of necessity,' the Republicans will abandon their idea of coercion, and by a peaceful and conciliatory policy endeavor to preserve all that their folly has not entirely lost to them—commercial relations with the South. It is probable that one of the first acts of the new Government will be to send a commission to Washington, to treat for a peaceable and equitable arrangement of matters between the two Republics—the acknowledgment of our independence, the surrender of the forts, a fair division of the public property and of the public debt. Until it is known how our commissioners will be received, and whether the Federal Government is willing to treat for the peaceable and equitable adjustment of these matters, it would be unwise to take any steps that would be likely to precipitate hostilities. We should prepare for the worst while we hope for the best. As the moral sense of a very large portion of the North is on our side, we should do nothing rashly to forfeit our just claim to the fair judgment of that portion of our late confederates, who are blameless for the causes which led to the disruption of the Union and forced the South to assume her present attitude towards the Federal Government."

Military preparations, however, were not neglected. The States of the South, like those of the North, were, with insignificant exceptions, destitute of any well-organized military force. Excepting officers of the army and navy of the United States, and a few others who had survived the Mexican war, military experience and knowledge were most defective. Munitions of war were also lacking. Nevertheless the military spirit of the people was of the first order. Signs of a new life were seen. The powder mills in Pickens district, South Carolina, commenced manufacturing some fifty kegs a day. A contract for three thousand shot and shells for South Carolina was taken in Savannah; another for casting cannon-balls and grape was taken in Mobile. Recruiting for the regular army of Georgia commenced in all parts of the State. Small squads of recruits from Tennessee were passing to South Carolina. One of the delegates of the Confederate Congress publicly declared their purpose in these words: "We intend to put the strongest force in the field which can be raised, and the President will accept from the States all the men that may be tendered. They will be received with their own officers, but the President must settle all questions of rank and position under the authority of Congress."

The plan adopted at this time by Congress, for the regular army of the Confederate States was that it should consist of 10,488 men, rank and file—100 of whom will be of the engineer corps; 3,372 of the artillery; 763 of the cavalry; 6,296 of the infantry. There will be 111 companies, 9 colonels, 8 lieutenant-colonels, 21 majors, 115 captains, 150 first lieutenants, 180 second lieutenants, 450 sergeants, 450 corporals, 8,878 privates, and 222 musicians. The pay of a colonel is $2,340 to $2,520, according to the corps of the service; of a lieutenant-colonel, $2,040 to $2,220; of a major, $1,800 to $1,944; of a captain, $1,560 to $1,680; of a first lieutenant, $1,080 to $1,200; of a second lieutenant, $960 to $1,080. Sergeants or master-workmen of engineer corps, $34 per month; corporals or overseers, $20; privates of first-class, or artificers, $17; do. second-class, or laborers and musicians, $13; sergeant-major of cavalry, $21 per month; first sergeant, $20; sergeant, $17; farriers and blacksmiths, $13; privates, $12; in infantry, privates $11. Forage, fuel, and quarters additional to pay, and ten cents per mile mileage when travelling on duty.

As each State adopted an ordinance of secession, large numbers of their citizens who were officers of the Federal army and navy, resigned their commissions and entered the service of the Confederate States. On the 3d of March Gen. G. T. Beauregard, one of these officers who had thus resigned, was ordered from New Orleans, to take the command of the Confederate forces at Charleston.

On the 6th of March Congress passed an act, which was approved by President Davis, authorizing a military force of 100,000 men to be raised.

The principles upon which this new nation, now rising up before the world, as its authors believed, was to be founded, were very fully declared by the second officer of the Government, Mr. Stephens, in a speech delivered to the citizens of Savannah, Georgia. In the first place, the Constitution of the United States was adopted, with some alterations and additions. In those alterations and additions consisted all the objections that could be entertained to their previous form of government. After stating several changes of minor importance, he thus proceeded to explain the great and cardinal feature of distinction between the Government of the Confederate States and that of the United States:

"The new Constitution has put at rest forever all the agitating questions relating to our

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peculiar institutions—African slavery as it exists among us—the proper *status* of the negro in our form of civilization. This was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution. Jefferson, in his forecast, had anticipated this, as the 'rock upon which the old Union would split.' He was right. What was conjecture with him, is now a realized fact. But whether he fully comprehended the great truth upon which that rock stood and stands, may be doubted. The prevailing ideas entertained by him and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitution were, that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature; that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally, and politically. It was an evil they knew not well how to deal with; but the general opinion of the men of that day was, that, somehow or other, in the order of Providence, the institution would be evanescent and pass away. This idea, though not incorporated in the Constitution, was the prevailing idea at the time. The Constitution, it is true, secured every essential guarantee to the institution while it should last, and hence no argument can be justly used against the constitutional guarantees thus secured, because of the common sentiment of the day. Those ideas, however, were fundamentally wrong. They rested upon the assumption of the equality of races. This was an error. It was a sandy foundation, and the idea of a Government built upon it was wrong—when the 'storm came and the wind blew, it fell.'

"Our new Government is founded upon exactly the opposite ideas; its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and moral condition. This, our new Government, is the first in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth. This truth has been slow in the process of its development, like all other truths in the various departments of science. It is so even amongst us. Many who hear me, perhaps, can recollect well that this truth was not generally admitted, even within their day. The errors of the past generation still clung to many as late as twenty years ago. Those at the North who still cling to these errors with a zeal above knowledge, we justly denominate fanatics. All fanaticism springs from an aberration of the mind; from a defect in reasoning. It is a species of insanity. One of the most striking characteristics of insanity, in many instances, is forming correct conclusions from fancied or erroneous premises; so with the anti-slavery fanatics: their conclusions are right if their premises are. They assume that the negro is equal, and hence conclude that he is entitled to equal privileges and rights with the white man. If their premises were correct, their conclusions would be logical and just; but their premises being wrong, their whole argument fails. I recollect once of having heard a gentleman from one of the Northern States, of great power and ability, announce in the House of Representatives, with imposing effect, that we of the South would be compelled, ultimately, to yield upon this subject of slavery; that it was as impossible to war successfully against a principle in politics, as it was in physics or mechanics. That the principle would ultimately prevail. That we, in maintaining slavery as it exists with us, were warring against a principle—a principle founded in nature, the principle of the equality of man. The reply I made to him was, that upon his own grounds we should succeed, and that he and his associates in their crusade against our institutions would ultimately fail. The truth announced, that it was as impossible to war successfully against a principle in politics as well as in physics and mechanics, I admitted, but told him that it was he and those acting with him who were warring against a principle. They were attempting to make things equal which the Creator had made unequal.

"In the conflict thus far, success has been on our side, complete throughout the length and breadth of the Confederate States. It is upon this, as I have stated, our social fabric is firmly planted; and I cannot permit myself to doubt the ultimate success of a full recognition of this principle throughout the civilized and enlightened world.

"As I have stated, the truth of this principle may be slow in development, as all truths are, and ever have been, in the various branches of science. It was so with the principles announced by Galileo—it was so with Adam Smith and his principles of political economy. It was so with Harvey, and his theory of the circulation of the blood. It is stated that not a single one of the medical profession, living at the time of the announcement of the truths made by him, admitted them. Now they are universally acknowledged. May we not therefore look with confidence to the ultimate universal acknowledgment of the truths upon which our system rests? It is the first Government ever instituted upon principles in strict conformity to nature, and the ordination of Providence, in furnishing the materials of human society. Many Governments have been founded upon the principles of certain classes; but the classes thus enslaved, were of the same race, and in violation of the laws of nature. Our system commits no such violation of nature's laws. The negro by nature, or by the curse against Canaan, is fitted for that condition which he occupies in our system. The architect, in the construction of buildings, lays the foundation with the proper material—the granite—then comes the brick or the marble. The substratum of our society is made of the material fitted by nature for it, and by experience we know that it is the best, not only for the superior but for the inferior race, that it should be so. It is, indeed, in conformity with the

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Creator. It is not for us to inquire into the wisdom of His ordinances or to question them. For His own purposes He has made one race to differ from another as He has made 'one star differ from another in glory.'

"The great objects of humanity are best attained, when conformed to his laws and decrees, in the formation of Governments as well as in all things else. Our Confederacy is founded upon principles in strict conformity with these laws. This stone which was rejected by the first builders, 'is become the chief stone of the corner' in our new edifice.

"I have been asked, what of the future? It has been apprehended by some, that we would have arrayed against us the civilized world. I care not who or how many they may be, when we stand upon the eternal principles of truth we are obliged and must triumph.

"Thousands of people, who begin to understand these truths, are not yet completely out of the shell; they do not see them in their length and breadth. We hear much of the civilization and Christianization of the barbarous tribes of Africa. In my judgment, those ends will never be obtained but by first teaching them the lesson taught to Adam, that 'in the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread,' and teaching them to work, and feed, and clothe themselves.

"But to pass on. Some have propounded the inquiry, whether it is practicable for us to go on with the Confederacy without further accessions. Have we the means and ability to maintain nationality among the powers of the earth? On this point I would barely say, that as anxious as we all have been, and are, for the Border States, with institutions similar with ours, to join us, still we are abundantly able to maintain our position, even if they should ultimately make up their minds not to cast their destiny with ours. That they ultimately will join us, be compelled to do it, is my confident belief; but we can get on very well without them, even if they should not.

"We have all the essential elements of a high national career. The idea has been given out at the North, and even in the Border States, that we are too small and too weak to maintain a separate nationality. This is a great mistake. In extent of territory we embrace 564,000 square miles and upwards. This is upwards of 200,000 square miles more than was included within the limits of the original thirteen States. It is an area of country more than double the territory of France or the Austrian Empire. France, in round numbers, has but 212,000 square miles. Austria, in round numbers, has 248,000 square miles. Ours is greater than both combined. It is greater than all France, Spain, Portugal, and Great Britain, including England, Ireland, and Scotland together. In population we have upwards of 5,000,000, according to the census of 1860; this includes white and black. The entire population, including white and black, of the original thirteen States, was less than 4,000,000 in 1790, and still less in 1776, when the independence of our fathers was achieved. If they, with a less population, dared maintain their independence against the greatest power on earth, shall we have any apprehension of maintaining ours now?"

The population of the seceding States in 1860, was as follows:

	White.	Free Colored.	Slave.
Alabama	526,534	2,690	435,132
Arkansas	324,186	137	111,104
Florida	77,778	908	61,753
Georgia	591,688	3,459	462,232
Louisiana	357,642	18,638	333,010
Mississippi	353,969	731	436,696
North Carolina	631,489	30,097	331,081
South Carolina	291,023	9,648	402,541
Tennessee	826,828	7,235	275,784
Texas	421,411	339	180,682
Virginia	1,047,613	57,574	490,887

On the 12th of February the Congress assumed charge of the questions pending between the several States of the Confederacy and the Government of the United States, relating to the occupation of forts, arsenals, dockyards, and other public establishments, and directed that act to be communicated to the several States; and, again, on the 15th of March, they recommended the several States to cede the forts, arsenals, dockyards, and other public establishments within their respective limits, to the Confederate States, and in case of such cession, authorized and empowered the President to take charge of this property. It was also provided, by an act passed on the 28th of February, that the President be authorized and directed to assume control of all military operations between the Confederate States, or any of them, and powers foreign to them; and he was authorized to receive from the several States the arms and munitions of war acquired from the United States, and then in the forts, arsenals, and navy yards of said States, and all other arms and munitions which they might desire to turn over and make chargeable to the Confederate Government.

In response to these ordinances, the State of Georgia, on the 20th of March, authorized the Confederate States to occupy, use, and hold possession of all forts, navy yards, arsenals, custom-houses, and other public sites, with their appurtenances, within the limits of said State, and lately in possession of the United States, and to repair, rebuild, and control the same at its discretion until the ordinance should be repealed by a Convention of the people of that State. By another ordinance of the same date and authority, the control of all military operations in that State having reference to or connected with questions between that State, or any of the Confederate States, and powers foreign to them, was transferred to the charge of the Confederate Government. In like manner, the arms and munitions of war, armed vessels and steamers, acquired from the United

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States, were transferred to the Confederate Government, which thereupon became accountable for the same.

In like manner South Carolina transferred the public property seized from the United States by her authorities to the Confederate Government. This was done on the 8th of April.

Texas transferred the same within her limits on the 20th of March.

Subsequently Arkansas transferred the arsenal at Little Rock, and the site, buildings, and appurtenances of the hospital at Napoleon, subject to certain conditions and stipulations. The States of Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Florida, and North Carolina pursued the same course. Mississippi transferred also the arms obtained by purchase before her secession. These were sufficient to supply ten or eleven regiments.

Early in the month of March commissioners were sent to England, France, Russia, and Belgium, to ask the recognition of the Confederate States as a member of the family of nations, and to make with each of those powers treaties of amity and commerce. These appointments were made and the instructions given in pursuance of resolutions adopted at the previous session of Congress.

Commissioners were also sent to Washington, who arrived at that city on the 5th of March. They were John Forsyth, Martin J. Crawford, and A. B. Roman, appointed under a resolution of Congress requesting it, and for the purpose of making a settlement of all questions of disagreement between the Government of the United States and that of the Confederate States "upon principles of right, justice, equity, and good faith." Upon the arrival of the commissioners at Washington, an informal notice was given to the Secretary of State, and the explanation of the object of their mission was postponed to the 12th of March. On that day they addressed Secretary Seward, informing him of the purpose of their arrival, and stating their wish to make to the Government of the United States overtures for the opening of negotiations, and assuring that Government that the President, Congress, and people of the Confederate States desired a peaceful solution of the questions of disagreement between them; and that it was neither their interest nor their wish to make any demand which was not founded on the strictest principles of justice, nor to do any act of injury to their late sister States.

A memorandum, bearing date March 15th, was delivered, as the reply to this communication, on the 8th of April, and then upon the request of the secretary of the commissioners, for an answer to their note. This length of time was permitted to elapse by the commissioners, who waived all questions of form with the design of avoiding war if possible. For the details of this correspondence *see* UNITED STATES. All negotiation upon the basis on which the commissioners desired to place it, failed. Official intercourse with them was declined by Secretary Seward.

Meantime the Government of the Confederacy was becoming more completely organized. All the courts, with the exception of those of Mississippi and Texas, had been organized by the appointment of marshals and district attorneys, and were prepared for the exercise of their functions. The applications for patents averaged seventy per month, although the laws fully organizing the department had not been enacted. Regulations were devised and put in execution, respecting the collection of revenue on goods brought by the various railways entering the territory of the Confederate States. These were carried into effect as early as the 20th of March. The Circular of Instructions of Secretary Memminger, provides for the location of "revenue stations" near the frontier of the Confederate States. At each station an officer was appointed, to act as a "revenue guard," whose duties were of a supervisory nature over all merchandise introduced. "Revenue depots" were also established, each having a chief officer, with all the powers of collectors of the customs over importations by sea at ports of entry. The circular thus prescribes the duties of the officers:

"Immediately on the arrival of any railroad carriage or train, from any foreign territory contiguous to the Confederate States, at any of the revenue stations, the conductor or other person in charge shall be required to produce to the revenue guard at the first station, a manifest in triplicate of all the goods, wares, or merchandise brought into the Confederate States on board such railway carriage or train. And it is made the duty of the revenue guard, at the revenue station, to board all railway trains arriving at said station, from said foreign territory, at all hours of the day and night, to receive the manifest, and on its presentation to see that the goods described therein are placed in separate cars from those in which mails or passengers are conveyed, and to place on each of said freight cars revenue locks of the Confederate States of America. The original manifest, properly certified, shall be returned to the conductor, and a duplicate forwarded, under seal, to the revenue officer at the first revenue depot to which the cars are destined by the shortest route.

"On the arrival of the railway train or cars at the first revenue depot within the limits of the Confederate States, the conductor shall deliver to the chief revenue officer residing thereat, the original manifest presented to and endorsed with the certificate of the revenue guard at the station aforesaid, and also deliver to the said chief revenue officer all the merchandise described in said manifest, by either leaving at said depot all the locked cars containing the same, or depositing said goods in a warehouse of deposit at said depot, to be provided for that purpose, under the regulations now

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governing bonded warehouses, or as may be otherwise provided. On such delivery being made and an examination being instituted of the train by said revenue officer, he shall, if satisfied that all the merchandise has been delivered, furnish to the conductor or other person in charge of the train, a permit to proceed to a further destination.

"The baggage of all passengers passing over the railroad routes, on arrival at the revenue station or depots, shall be subject to the inspection and examination of either the revenue guard at such stations, or revenue officer at such revenue depots; and any baggage that may be intended to be landed at places between the revenue stations and first revenue depots, may be examined by the revenue guard, and if containing no articles subject to duty, shall be landed at the intermediate place named, by having a permit, signed by the said revenue guard, pasted permanently on the trunk, valise, carpet-bag, or other envelope of such baggage.

"Should, however, dutiable articles be found in such baggage, the trunk or other package containing the same must be placed in the car with the merchandise, and under the revenue lock as before required, and the fact noticed in the manifest. And such baggage shall be delivered, with the other merchandise, to the chief revenue officer at the revenue depot, under the foregoing regulations.

"Passenger baggage destined for places beyond or more interior than the revenue depot, must be examined by the chief revenue officer at said revenue depot; and if they are found not to contain any merchandise subject to duty, may pass to their destination by having a permit, signed by the chief revenue officer, pasted thereon. Should, however, such baggage contain dutiable merchandise, the trunks or other package in which said baggage is contained, shall be deposited at said revenue depot."

The civil list passed by Congress, at its first session, placed the amount of appropriations for this class of objects within very moderate bounds. The items of the act were of the following proportions for each department of the Government:

"Legislative, $55,740; Executive, $33,050; Department of State, $44,200; Treasury Department, $70,800; War Department, $59,000; Navy Department, $17,300; Post-Office Department, $44,900; Judiciary, $63,200; Mint and Independent Treasury, $80,000; Foreign Intercourse, $100,000; Light-houses, $150,000; Expenses of Collecting Revenue, $545,000; Executive Mansion, $5,000; Miscellaneous, $200,000; Total, $1,468,190."

This does not embrace the aggregate for general purposes. A single bill appropriates $1,323,767, for the equipment and support of three thousand troops for twelve months. Other bills appropriated for general purposes equally large amounts, but the gigantic expenditures which were at hand, were not then contemplated. Affairs were, however, rapidly approaching a crisis. The curtain was about to be raised, which would exhibit in all their magnitude and dreadful reality the consequences which secession was about to bring upon the Confederate States.

The Commissioners to Washington were refused an audience. The United States Government had prepared to send supplies to the handful of troops besieged in Fort Sumter. Notice of this intention was given to the Governor of South Carolina, and if the Confederate Government was in earnest in what had been done, the hour had come when the sword must be drawn. Its determination was soon taken, and its action quickly followed.

On the 8th of April, the following telegraphic correspondence commenced between the Secretary of War for the Confederate States and the Commander of the Confederate forces at Charleston harbor:

CHARLESTON, *April 8th.*

L. P. Walker, Secretary of War:

An authorized messenger from President Lincoln just informed Governor Pickens and myself that provisions will be sent to Fort Sumter peaceably, or otherwise by force. G. T. BEAUREGARD.

MONTGOMERY, *10th.*

Gen. G. T. Beauregard, Charleston:

If you have no doubt of the authorized character of the agent who communicated to you the intention of the Washington Government to supply Fort Sumter by force, you will at once demand its evacuation; and if this is refused, proceed in such a manner as you may determine, to reduce it. Answer.

L. P. WALKER, *Secretary of War.*

CHARLESTON, *April 10.*

L. P. Walker, Secretary of War:

The demand will be made to-morrow at twelve o'clock. G. T. BEAUREGARD.

MONTGOMERY, *April 10.*

General Beauregard, Charleston:

Unless there are especial reasons connected with your own condition, it is considered proper that you should make the demand at an early hour.

L. P. WALKER, *Secretary of War.*

CHARLESTON, *April 10.*

L. P. Walker, Secretary of War:

The reasons are special for twelve o'clock.

G. T. BEAUREGARD.

CHARLESTON, *April 11, 1861.*

To Hon. L. P. Walker:

The demand was sent at 2 P. M., and until 6 was allowed for the answer. G. T. BEAUREGARD.

MONTGOMERY, *April 11, 1861.*

General Beauregard, Charleston:

Telegraph the reply of Major Anderson.

L. P. WALKER.

CHARLESTON, *April 11, 1861.*

To Hon. L. P. Walker:

Major Anderson replies: "I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication demanding the evacuation of this fort, and to say in reply thereto that it is a demand with which I regret that my sense of honor and of my obligation to my Government prevent my compliance." He adds, verbally, "I will await the first shot, and, if you do not batter us to pieces, we will be starved out in a few days."

G. T. BEAUREGARD.

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MONTGOMERY, *April* 11, 1861.

To General Beauregard:

Do not desire needlessly to bombard Fort Sumter. If Major Anderson will state the time at which, as indicated by himself, he will evacuate, and agree that, in the mean time, he will not use his guns against us unless ours should be employed against Fort Sumter, you are authorized thus to avoid the effusion of blood. If this or its equivalent be refused, reduce the fort, as your judgment decides to be the most practicable.

L. P. WALKER.

CHARLESTON, *April* 12, 1861.

To Hon. L. P. Walker:

He would not consent. I write to-day.

G. T. BEAUREGARD.

CHARLESTON, *April* 12, 1861.

To Hon. L. P. Walker:

We opened fire at 4.30.

G. T. BEAUREGARD.

The fire opened at 4.30 A. M. on the 12th of April on Fort Sumter, resulted in compelling the commander of the fort to surrender. (*See* SUMTER.) On the evening of the same day, when the people of Montgomery, Alabama, were rejoicing in the prospect that Fort Sumter would fall, the following telegraphic despatch was sent forth from that city to all parts of the United States:

"MONTGOMERY, FRIDAY, APRIL 12, 1861.—An immense crowd serenaded President Davis and Secretary Walker, at the Exchange Hotel, tonight.

"The former is not well, and did not appear. Secretary Walker appeared and declined to make a speech, but in a few words of electrical eloquence told the news from Fort Sumter, declaring, in conclusion, that before many hours the flag of the Confederacy would float over that fortress.

"No man, he said, could tell where the war this day commenced would end, but he would prophesy that the flag which now flaunts the breeze here would float over the dome of the old Capitol at Washington before the first of May. Let them try Southern chivalry and test the extent of Southern resources, and it might float eventually over Faneuil Hall itself."

On the 15th of April, immediately after the surrender of Fort Sumter, President Lincoln issued his message, calling forth the militia of the several States of the Union to the aggregate number of seventy-five thousand. This was immediately after an act of hostility had been committed under the authority of the Confederate Government, and forty days after an act had passed the Confederate Congress authorizing a force of one hundred thousand men to be raised.

Who commenced hostilities, is a question which must be considered as decided. "The war this day commenced," says the Secretary of War of the Confederate States. "We opened fire at 4.30 A. M.," says General Beauregard, in his despatch to the Secretary of War of the Confederate States, dated April 12th. Hostilities were commenced by order of the Government of the Confederate States. For this act President Davis felt it to be necessary to present to the world some grounds of justification. This he attempted to do in his message to the Confederate Congress, dated April 29th. In that document he states that commissioners from the Confederate States arrived in Washington on the 15th of March, authorized in a peaceful manner to adjust all questions between the two Governments. He states their communication addressed to Secretary Seward on the 12th of March, and proceeds thus:

"To this communication no formal reply was received until the 8th of April. During the interval, the commissioners had consented to waive all questions of form, with the firm resolve to avoid war if possible. They went so far even as to hold, during that long period, unofficial intercourse through an intermediary, whose high position and character inspired the hope of success, and through whom constant assurances were received from the Government of the United States of its peaceful intentions—of its determination to evacuate Fort Sumter, and further, that no measure would be introduced changing the existing status prejudicial to the Confederate States; that in the event of any change in regard to Fort Pickens, notice would be given to the commissioners.

"The crooked paths of diplomacy can scarcely furnish an example so wanting in courtesy, in candor, in directness, as was the course of the United States Government towards our commissioners in Washington. For proof of this I refer to the annexed documents, taken in connection with further facts, which I now proceed to relate:

"Early in April the attention of the whole country was attracted to extraordinary preparations for an extensive military and naval expedition in New York and other Northern ports. These preparations commenced in secrecy, for an expedition whose destination was concealed, and only became known when nearly completed; and on the 5th, 6th, and 7th of April, transports and vessels of war with troops, munitions, and military supplies, sailed from northern ports, bound southward.

"Alarmed by so extraordinary a demonstration, the commissioners requested the delivery of an answer to their official communication of the 12th of March, and the reply dated on the 15th of the previous month, from which it appears that during the whole interval, whilst the commissioners were receiving assurances calculated to inspire hope of the success of their mission, the Secretary of State and the President of the United States had already determined to hold no intercourse with them whatever—to refuse even to listen to any proposals they had to make, and had profited by the delay created by their own assurances, in order to prepare secretly the means for effective hostile operations.

"That these assurances were given has been virtually confessed by the Government of the United States, by its act of sending a messenger

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to Charleston to give notice of its purpose to use force if opposed in its intention of supplying Fort Sumter.

"No more striking proof of the absence of good faith in the conduct of the Government of the United States towards the Confederacy can be required, than is contained in the circumstances which accompanied this notice.

"According to the usual course of navigation, the vessels composing the expedition, and designed for the relief of Fort Sumter, might be looked for in Charleston harbor on the 9th of April. Yet our commissioners in Washington were detained under assurances that notice should be given of any military movement. The notice was not addressed to them, but a messenger was sent to Charleston to give notice to the Governor of South Carolina, and the notice was so given at a late hour on the 8th of April, the eve of the very day on which the fleet might be expected to arrive.

"That this manœuvre failed in its purpose, was not the fault of those who controlled it. A heavy tempest delayed the arrival of the expedition, and gave time to the commander of our forces at Charleston to ask and receive instructions of the Government. Even then, under all the provocation incident to the contemptuous refusal to listen to our commissioners, and the treacherous course of the Government of the United States, I was sincerely anxious to avoid the effusion of blood, and directed a proposal to be made to the commander of Fort Sumter, who had avowed himself to be nearly out of provisions, that we would abstain from directing our fire at Fort Sumter if he would promise to not open fire on our forces unless first attacked. This proposal was refused. The conclusion was, that the design of the United States was to place the besieging force at Charleston between the simultaneous fire of the fleet and fort. The fort should, of course, be at once reduced. This order was executed by General Beauregard with skill and success."

Subsequently, at the session of the Confederate Congress held in July, President Davis sent a message to that body in which he referred to his message of the 29th of April, in which he says:

"I referred to the course of conduct of the Government of the United States towards the commissioners of this Government, sent to Washington for the purpose of effecting, if possible, a peaceful adjustment of the pending difficulties between the two Governments. I also made allusion to 'an intermediary, whose high position and character inspired the hope of success;' but I was not then at liberty to make my communication on this subject as specific as was desirable for a full comprehension of the whole subject.

"It is now, however, in my power to place before you other papers, which I herewith address to you. From them you will perceive that the intermediary referred to was the Hon. John A. Campbell, a Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, who made earnest effort to promote the successful issue of the mission entrusted to our Commissioners, and by whom I was kept advised, in confidential communications, of the measures taken by him to secure so desirable a result. It is due to you, to him, and to history, that a narration of the occurrences with which he was connected, should be known."

He also states that he was prompted to call the Congress together, in extraordinary session, on April 29th, "not by reason of the declarations contained in the proclamation of President Lincoln of the 15th of April. My proclamation convoking you was issued on the 12th of April, and was prompted by the declaration of hostile purposes contained in the message sent by President Lincoln to the Governor of South Carolina, on the 8th of April."

The documents referred to in this message of President Davis consist of two letters of Judge Campbell to Secretary Seward, and one to President Davis, as follows:

WASHINGTON CITY, *April* 13, 1861.

SIR: On the 15th of March ultimo I left with Judge Crawford, one of the commissioners of the Confederate States, a note in writing to the effect following:

"I feel entire confidence that Fort Sumter will be evacuated in the next five days. And this measure is felt as imposing great responsibility on the Administration.

"I feel entire confidence that no measure changing the existing status prejudicially to the Southern Confederate States, is at present contemplated.

"I feel an entire confidence that an immediate demand for an answer to the communication of the commissioners will be productive of evil and not of good. I do not believe that it ought at this time to be pressed."

The substance of this statement I communicated to you the same evening by letter. Five days elapsed and I called with a telegram from General Beauregard to the effect that Sumter was not evacuated, but that Major Anderson was at work making repairs.

The next day, after conversing with you, I communicated to Judge Crawford, in writing, that the failure to evacuate Sumter was not the result of bad faith, but was attributable to causes consistent with the intention to fulfil the engagement, and that, as regarded Pickens, I should have notice of any design to alter the existing status there. Mr. Justice Nelson was present at these conversations, three in number, and I submitted to him each of my written communications to Judge Crawford, and informed Judge C. that they had his (Judge Nelson's) sanction. I gave you, on the 22d of March, a substantial copy of the statement I had made on the 15th.

The 30th of March arrived, and at that time a telegram came from Governor Pickens inquiring concerning Colonel Lamon, whose visit to Charleston he supposed had a connection with the proposed evacuation of Fort Sumter. I left that with you, and was to have an answer the following Monday, (1st of April.) On the 1st of April I received from you the statement in writing: "I am satisfied the Government will not undertake to supply Fort Sumter without giving notice to Governor P." The words "I am satisfied" were for me to use as expressive of confidence in the remainder of the declaration.

The proposition as originally prepared was, "The President may desire to supply Sumter, but will not do so," &c., and your verbal explanation was that you did not believe any such attempt would be made, and that there was no design to reinforce Sumter.

There was a departure here from the pledges of the

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previous month, but, with the verbal explanation, I did not consider it a matter then to complain of. I simply stated to you that I had that assurance previously.

On the 7th of April I addressed you a letter on the subject of the alarm that the preparations by the Government had created, and asked you if the assurances I had given were well or ill-founded. In respect to Sumter your reply was, "Faith as to Sumter, fully kept—wait and see." In the morning's paper I read, "An authorized messenger from President Lincoln informed Governor Pickens and General Beauregard that provisions will be sent to Fort Sumter—peaceably, or otherwise by force." This was the 8th of April, at Charleston, the day following your last assurance, and is the evidence of the full faith I was invited to wait for and see. In the same paper, I read that intercepted despatches disclosed the fact that Mr. Fox, who had been allowed to visit Major Anderson, on the pledge that his purpose was specific, employed his opportunity to devise a plan for supplying the fort by force, and that this plan had been adopted by the Washington Government, and was in process of execution. My recollection of the date of Mr. Fox's visit carries it to a day in March. I learn he is a near connection of a member of the Cabinet. My connection with the commissioners and yourself was superinduced by a conversation with Justice Nelson. He informed me of your strong disposition in favor of peace, and that you were oppressed with a demand of the commissioners of the Confederate States for a reply to their first letter, and that you desired to avoid it if possible at that time.

I told him I might perhaps be of some service in arranging the difficulty. I came to your office entirely at his request and without the knowledge of either of the commissioners. Your depression was obvious to both Judge Nelson and myself. I was gratified at the character of the counsels you were desirous of pursuing, and much impressed with your observation that a civil war might be prevented by the success of my mediation. You read a letter of Mr. Weed to show how irksome and responsible the withdrawal of troops from Sumter was. A portion of my communication to Judge Crawford on the 15th March was founded upon these remarks, and the pledge to evacuate Sumter is less forcible than the words you employed. These words were: Before this letter reaches you (a proposed letter by me to President Davis) Sumter will have been evacuated.

The commissioners who received those communications conclude they have been abused and overreached. The Montgomery Government hold the same opinion. The commissioners have supposed that my communications were with you, and upon the hypothesis were prepared to arraign you before the country in connection with the President. I placed a peremptory prohibition upon this as being contrary to the term of my communications with them. I pledged myself to them to communicate information upon what I considered as the best authority, and they were to confide in the ability of myself, aided by Judge Nelson, to determine upon the credibility of my informant.

I think no candid man who will read over what I have written, and considers for a moment what is going on at Sumter, but will agree that the equivocating conduct of the Administration, as measured and interpreted in connection with these promises, is the proximate cause of the great calamity.

I have a profound conviction that the telegrams of the 8th of April of General Beauregard, and of the 10th of April of General Walker, the Secretary of War, can be referred to nothing else than their belief that there has been systematic duplicity practised on them through me. It is under an impressive sense of the weight of this responsibility that I submit to you these things for your explanation.

Very respectfully,
JOHN A. CAMPBELL,
Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, U. S.
Hon. Wm. H. Seward, *Secretary of State.*

DESPATCHES.

Charleston, *April* 8, 1861.

To L. P. Walker, Secretary of War:

An authorized message from President Lincoln just informed Governor Pickens and myself that provisions will be sent to Fort Sumter peaceably, or otherwise by force.
G. T. BEAUREGARD.

Montgomery, *April* 10, 1861.

Gen. G. T. Beauregard:

If you have no doubt as to the authorized character of the agent who communicated to you the intention of the Washington Government to supply Fort Sumter by force, you will at once demand its evacuation, and if this is refused, proceed in such manner as you may determine to reduce it.
L. P. WALKER.

Washington, *April* 20, 1861.

Sir: I enclose you a letter, corresponding very nearly with one I addressed to you one week ago, (18th April,) to which I have not had any reply. The letter is simply one of inquiry in reference to facts concerning which, I think, I am entitled to an explanation. I have not adopted any opinion in reference to them which may not be modified by explanation; nor have I affirmed in that letter, nor do I in this, any conclusion of my own unfavorable to your integrity in the whole transaction. All that I have said and mean to say is, that an explanation is due from you to myself. I will not say what I shall do in case this request is not complied with, but I am justified in saying that I shall feel at liberty to place these letters before any person who is entitled to ask an explanation of myself.

Very respectfully,
JOHN A. CAMPBELL,
Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, U. S.
Hon. Wm. H. Seward, Secretary of State.

No reply has been made to this letter.
April 24, 1861.

Montgomery, (Ala.,) *May* 7, 1861.

Sir: I submit to you two letters that were addressed by me to Hon. W. H. Seward, Secretary of State of the United States, that contain an explanation of the nature and result of an intervention by me in the intercourse of the commissioners of the Confederate States with that officer. I considered that I could perform no duty in which the entire American people, whether of the Federal Union or of the Confederate States, were more interested than that of promoting the counsels and the policy that had for their object the preservation of peace. This motive dictated my intervention. Besides the interview referred to in these letters, I informed the Assistant Secretary of State of the United States, (not being able to see the Secretary,) on the 11th of April ultimo, of the existence of a telegram of that date from General Beauregard to the commissioners, in which he informed the commissioners that he had demanded the evacuation of Sumter, and if refused he would proceed to reduce it. On the same day I had been told that President Lincoln had said that none of the vessels sent to Charleston were war vessels, and that force was not to be used in the attempt to supply the fort. I had no means of testing the accuracy of this information, but offered that, if the information was accurate, I would send a telegram to the authorities at Charleston, and it might prevent the disastrous consequences of a collision at that fort between the opposing forces. It was the last effort that I would make to avert the calamities of war. The Assistant Secretary promised to give the matter attention, but I had no other intercourse with him or any other person on the subject, nor have I had any reply to the letters submitted to you.

Very respectfully, JOHN A. CAMPBELL.
Gen. Davis, President of the Confederate States.

The last letter of the commissioners to Secretary Seward was dated April 9th, in which

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the commissioners say: "On the 1st of April they were again informed that there might be an attempt to supply Fort Sumter with provisions, but that Governor Pickens should have previous notice of this attempt. There was no suggestion of any reinforcements." (*See* UNITED STATES.)

In his Message to Congress in July, President Lincoln thus describes his actions relative to the relief of Fort Sumter:

"On the 5th of March, (the present incumbent's first full day in office,) a letter of Major Anderson, commanding at Fort Sumter, written on the 28th of February, and received at the War Department on the 4th of March, was, by that department, placed in his hands. This letter expressed the professional opinion of the writer, that reënforcements could not be thrown into that fort within the time for his relief, rendered necessary by the limited supply of provisions, and with a view of holding possession of the same, with a force of less than twenty thousand good and well-disciplined men. This opinion was concurred in by all the officers of his command, and their memoranda on the subject, were made enclosures of Major Anderson's letter. The whole was immediately laid before Lieutenant-General Scott, who at once concurred with Major Anderson in opinion. On reflection, however, he took full time, consulting with other officers, both of the army and navy, and, at the end of four days, came reluctantly, but decidedly, to the same conclusion as before. He also stated at the same time that no sufficient force was then at the control of the Government, or could be raised and brought to the ground within the time when the provisions in the fort would be exhausted. In a purely military point of view, this reduced the duty of the Administration in the case, to the mere matter of getting the garrison safely out of the fort.

"It was believed, however, that to so abandon that position, under the circumstances, would be utterly ruinous; that the necessity under which it was to be done, would not be fully understood; that by many, it would be construed as a part of a voluntary policy; that at home, it would discourage the friends of the Union, embolden its adversaries, and go far to insure to the latter a recognition abroad; that, in fact, it would be our national destruction consummated. This could not be allowed. Starvation was not yet upon the garrison; and ere it would be reached, Fort Pickens might be reënforced. This last would be a clear indication of policy, and would better enable the country to accept the evacuation of Fort Sumter, as a military necessity. An order was at once directed to be sent for the landing of the troops from the steamship Brooklyn, into Fort Pickens. This order could not go by land, but must take the longer and slower route by sea. The first return news from the order was received just one week before the fall of Fort Sumter. The news itself was, that the officer commanding the Sabine, to which vessel the troops had been transferred from the Brooklyn, acting upon some *quasi* armistice of the late Administration, (and of the existence of which the present Administration, up to the time the order was despatched, had only too vague and uncertain rumors to fix attention,) had refused to land the troops. To now reënforce Fort Pickens, before a crisis would be reached at Fort Sumter, was impossible—rendered so by the near exhaustion of provisions in the latter-named fort. In precaution against such a conjuncture, the Government had, a few days before, commenced preparing an expedition, as well adapted as might be, to relieve Fort Sumter, which expedition was intended to be ultimately used, or not, according to circumstances. The strongest anticipated case for using it was now presented; and it was resolved to send it forward. As had been intended, in this contingency, it was also resolved to notify the Governor of South Carolina that he might expect an attempt would be made to provision the fort; and that, if the attempt should not be resisted, there would be no effort to throw in men, arms, or ammunition, without further notice, or in case of an attack upon the fort. This notice was accordingly given; whereupon the fort was attacked, and bombarded to its fall, without even awaiting the arrival of the provisioning expedition."

On the 8th of April General Beauregard sent a despatch by telegraph to Secretary Walker, that a notice had that day been given to Governor Pickens and himself, "that provisions will be sent to Fort Sumter, peaceably or otherwise by force." Such are the facts. If the garrison of Fort Sumter had received no supplies, they must have abandoned it in a few days. If they had received supplies of provisions merely, they would have been fully as unable to have defended the fort at a future day, as they proved to have been when it was attacked. If Fort Sumter had been reënforced with men and provisions, it had no power of aggression, but its final capture by the Confederate Government would have been more difficult and distant. President Davis, however, says: "The conclusion was, that the design of the United States was to place the besieging force at Charleston between the simultaneous fire of the fleet and the fort."

There were some other facts which occurred at this time of sufficient importance to excite the inquiry whether the capture of Fort Sumter was not a political necessity with the Confederate Government.

The Convention of the State of Virginia was in session at this time, but manifested no disposition to adopt an ordinance of secession, or to join the Confederate States. The bombardment of Fort Sumter begun at 4.30 o'clock on the morning of the 12th of April. At 10 o'clock on the same day the following despatch was sent by telegraph to the President of the State Convention:

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MONTGOMERY, *April* 12—10 A. M.

Ex-President JOHN TYLER, *State Convention:*

I am authorized by Hon. L. P. Walker, Secretary of War, C. S. A., to send you the following despatches and explanatory note, preceding the bombardment of Fort Sumter, for publication.

Your son, JOHN TYLER, JR.

[Mr. Tyler was a clerk in the War Department of the Confederate States.]

The despatches consisted of copies of the telegraphic correspondence between General Beauregard and the Secretary of War of the Confederate States, to be found on a previous page.

On the evening of the day previous to the attack on the fort, ex-Congressman Pryor of Virginia, in a speech to the citizens of Charleston, made the following declarations:

"As sure as to-morrow's sun will rise upon us, just so sure will Old Virginia be a member of this Southern Confederation. (Applause.)

"And I will tell you, gentlemen, what will put her in the Southern Confederation in less than an hour by Shrewsbury clock. Strike a blow! (Tremendous applause.)

"I do not mean to say any thing for effect upon military operations. I am but a poor civilian, who never set a squadron in the field—

"'Nor the division of a battle note
More than a spinster:'

but I was speaking with respect to the political effects of revolution. The very moment that blood is shed, Old Virginia will make common cause with her sisters of the South. It is impossible she should do otherwise. (Applause.)

"In conclusion, accept my word for it, the moment the conflict begins, Old Virginia will dispute with South Carolina the precedence in this great combat."

Meanwhile an unquenchable military spirit was aroused in the Confederate States by the events of a few days. They determined to be fully prepared for the coming struggle, and declared that they would "meet the Northern forces with full confidence in the justice of their cause." At this time they had a large number of troops in the field, chiefly at Charleston and Pensacola. The requisition for fifteen hundred troops from Mississippi was answered by more than three thousand volunteers, and heavy bonuses were offered for many places of those accepted. On the 17th, two days later than the proclamation of President Lincoln, one was also issued by President Davis, offering letters of marque to all persons who might desire by service in private armed vessels to aid the Government. The proclamation was as follows:

Whereas Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, has by proclamation announced the intention of invading the Confederacy with an armed force for the purpose of capturing its fortresses, and thereby subverting its independence and subjecting the free people thereof to the dominion of a foreign power; and whereas it has thus become the duty of this Government to repel the threatened invasion and defend the rights and liberties of the people by all the means which the laws of nations and usages of civilized warfare place at its disposal:

Now, therefore, I, Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America, do issue this my proclamation, inviting all those who may desire by service in private armed vessels on the high seas to aid this Government in resisting so wanton and wicked an aggression, to make application for commissions or letters of marque and reprisal, to be issued under the seal of these Confederate States; and I do further notify all persons applying for letters of marque to make a statement in writing, giving the name and suitable description of the character, tonnage, and force of the vessel, name of the place of residence of each owner concerned therein, and the intended number of crew, and to sign such statement, and deliver the same to the Secretary of State or collector of the port of entry of these Confederate States, to be by him transmitted to the Secretary of State; and I do further notify all applicants aforesaid, before any commission or letter of marque is issued to any vessel or the owner or the owners thereof and the commander for the time being, they will be required to give bond to the Confederate States, with at least two responsible sureties not interested in such vessel, in the penal sum of five thousand dollars, or if such vessel be provided with more than one hundred and fifty men, then in the penal sum of ten thousand dollars, with the condition that the owners, officers, and crew who shall be employed on board such commissioned vessel shall observe the laws of these Confederate States and the instructions given them for the regulation of their conduct that shall satisfy all damages done contrary to the tenor thereof by such vessel during her commission, and deliver up the same when revoked by the President of the Confederate States; and I do further specially enjoin on all persons holding offices, civil and military, under the authority of the Confederate States, that they be vigilant and zealous in the discharge of the duties incident thereto; and I do, moreover, exhort the good people of these Confederate States, as they love their country, as they prize the blessings of free government, as they feel the wrongs of the past and those now threatened in an aggravated form by those whose enmity is more implacable because unprovoked, they exert themselves in preserving order, in promoting concord, in maintaining the authority and efficacy of the laws, and in supporting and invigorating all the measures which may be adopted for a common defence, and by which, under the blessing of Divine Providence, we may hope for a speedy, just, and honorable peace.

In witness whereof, I have set my hand and have caused the seal of the Confederate States of America to be attached this seventeenth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one. JEFFERSON DAVIS.

ROBERT TOOMBS, Secretary of State.

The following is a copy of the form in which these letters of marque were issued:

Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America, to all who shall see these presents, greeting: Know ye that, by virtue of the power vested in me by law, I have commissioned, and do hereby commission, have authorized and do authorize the schooner or vessel called the ——, (more particularly described in the schedule herewith annexed,) —— is commander, to act as a private armed vessel in the service of the Confederate States, on the high seas, against the United States of America, their ships, vessels, goods, and effects, and those of their citizens, during the pendency of the war now existing between the said Confederate States and the said United States; this commission to continue in force until revoked by the President of the Confederate States for the time being.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Confederate States, at Montgomery, this — day of ——, A. D. 1861.

By the President: JEFFERSON DAVIS.

R. TOOMBS, Secretary of State.

All privateers which sailed under one of

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these letters of marque were required to obey the following instructions:

1. The tenor of your commission, under the act of Congress entitled "An act recognizing the existence of war between the United States and the Confederate States, and concerning letters of marque, prizes, and prize goods," a copy of which is hereto annexed, will be kept constantly in your view. The high seas referred to in your commission you will understand generally to refer to the low-water mark, but with the exception of the space within one league, or three miles, from the shore of countries at peace with the United States and the Confederate States. You will nevertheless execute your commission within that distance of the shore of the nation at war with the United States, and even on the waters within the jurisdiction of such nation, if permitted to do so.

2. You are to pay the strictest regard to the rights of neutral powers and the usages of civilized nations, and in all your proceedings towards neutral vessels you are to give them as little molestation or interruption as will consist with the right of ascertaining their neutral character, and of detaining and bringing them in for regular adjudication in the proper cases. You are particularly to avoid even the appearance of using force or seduction with the view to deprive such vessels of their crews or the passengers, other than persons in the military service of the enemy.

3. Towards enemy's vessels and their crews you are to proceed, in exercising the rights of war, with all the justice and humanity which characterize this Government and its citizens.

4. The master, and one or more of the principal persons belonging to the captured vessels, are to be sent, as soon after the capture as may be, to the judge or judges of the proper court in the Confederate States, to be examined upon oath touching the interest or property of the captured vessel and her lading, and at the same time are to be delivered to the judge or judges all papers, charter parties, bills of lading, letters, and other documents and writings found on board; and the said papers to be proved by the affidavit of the commander of the captured vessel, or some other person present at the capture, to be produced as they were received, without fraud, addition, subtraction, or embezzlement.

5. Property, even of the enemy, is exempt from seizure on neutral vessels, unless it be contraband of war. If goods contraband of war are found on any neutral vessel, and the commander thereof shall offer to deliver them up, the offer shall be accepted, and the vessel left at liberty to pursue its voyage, unless the quantity of contraband goods shall be greater than can be conveniently received on board your vessel, in which case the neutral vessel may be carried into port, for the delivery of the contraband goods.

The following articles are declared by this Government contraband of war, as well as all others that are so declared by the laws of nations, viz.: All arms and implements serving for the purpose of war by land or sea, such as cannons, mortars, guns, muskets, rifles, pistols, petards, bombs, grenades, balls, shot, shell, pikes, swords, bayonets, javelins, lances, horse furniture, holsters, belts, and generally all other implements of war. Also, timber for ship-building, pitch, tar, rosin, copper in sheets, sails, hemp, cordage, and generally whatever may serve directly to the equipment of vessels, wrought iron and planks only excepted.

Neutral vessels conveying enemies' despatches or military persons in the service of the enemy forfeit their neutral character, and are liable to capture and condemnation. But this rule does not apply to neutral vessels bearing despatches from the public ministers or ambassadors of the enemy residing in neutral countries.

By the command of the President of the Confederate States.

ROBERT TOOMBS,
Secretary of State.

The passage of the ordinance of secession by the State Convention of Virginia on the 18th of April, was received throughout the Confederate States with unbounded joy. In all the principal cities bells were rung, salutes of a hundred guns were fired, and other exciting demonstrations made. The war spirit now stirred up was unparalleled. Men and money were lavishly offered, and hundreds of battalions and regiments of volunteers began to form, some openly, and some secretly, to be prepared to meet the North.

The refusal of the Governors of Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Missouri, and Arkansas, to furnish the quota of troops required under the proclamation of President Lincoln, afforded much gratification to the authorities and people of the Confederate States. Virginia and North Carolina were regarded as sure to join the Confederate States with their whole military strength. The course of Kentucky was considered as somewhat doubtful, and an early effort was therefore made to secure her coöperation. For this purpose the Governor was addressed by the Secretary of War as follows:

MONTGOMERY, *April* 22, 1861.

HON. B. MAGOFFIN:

SIR: Your patriotic response to the requisition of the President of the United States for troops to coerce the Confederate States justifies the belief that your people are prepared to unite with us in repelling the common enemy of the South. Virginia needs our aid. I therefore request you to furnish one regiment of infantry, without delay, to rendezvous at Harper's Ferry, Virginia. It must consist of ten companies of not less than sixty-four men each. * * * * Staff officers are appointed by the President. They will be mustered into the service of the Confederate States at Harper's Ferry, but transportation and subsistence will be provided from the points of departure. They will furnish their own uniforms. By communicating, arms and ammunition will be sent to Harper's Ferry, or to such points as you may designate. Answer and say whether you will comply with this request, and when.

L. P. WALKER,
Sec. of War of the Confederate States.

The military force of the Confederate States now in the field was 35,000 men. Of this number there were at Charleston, Pensacola, Forts Morgan, Jackson, St. Philip, and Pulaski 19,000 men. The remainder were on the route to Virginia, to wit, 16,000. The Navy Department had become organized, and commenced by the purchase of the steamers Sumter and McRea, which were fitted out at New Orleans. At the same time contracts were made in that city with two different establishments for the casting of ordnance—cannon, shot, and shell—with the view to encourage the manufacture of these articles.

The loan of five millions of dollars authorized by Congress had now not only all been taken, but an excess of three millions had also been subscribed. The entire subscription was, however, accepted, amounting to eight millions of dollars.

The question now presented before the Confederate Government for their decision, related to the course to be pursued in the war. Should

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it be an offensive war or conducted only for defence, and to prevent an invasion of the Southern States? What should be the plan? The more radical and extreme portion of the Southern people clamored for an attack upon Washington at once. The Secretary of War had said on the eve of the attack on Fort Sumter that "the flag which now flaunts the breeze here would float over the dome of the old Capitol at Washington before the 1st of May." Others said: "the desire for taking Washington increases every hour, and all things seem tending to this consummation." "Nothing is more probable than that President Davis will soon march an army through North Carolina and Virginia to Washington." "From mountain tops and valleys to the shores of the sea there is one wild shout of fierce resolve to capture Washington City at all and every human hazard."

President Davis, in his message on the 29th of April, although giving no decisive information upon the purposes of the Government, manifested a disposition to pursue a defensive policy. He said: "We protest solemnly, in the face of mankind, that we desire peace at any sacrifice, save that of honor." "In independence we seek no conquest, no aggrandizement, no cession of any kind from the States with which we have lately confederated. All we ask is to be let alone—that those who never held power over us should not now attempt our subjugation by arms. This we will, we must resist, to the direst extremity." "The moment that this pretension is abandoned, the sword will drop from our grasp, and we shall be ready to enter into treaties of amity and commerce, that cannot but be mutually beneficial."

On the night of the 30th of April, on his return from Richmond, where the terms were arranged under which Virginia joined the Confederate States, the Vice-President, Mr. Stephens, addressed an audience at Atlanta, Ga., as follows:

"What is to take place before the end, I know not. A threatening war is upon us, made by those who have no regard for right. We fight for our homes, our fathers and mothers, our wives, brothers, sisters, sons, and daughters, and neighbors; they for money. The hirelings and mercenaries of the North are all hand to hand against you.

"As I told you when I addressed you a few days ago, Lincoln may bring his seventy-five thousand soldiers against us; but seven times seventy-five thousand men can never conquer us. We have now Maryland and Virginia, and all the Border States with us. We have ten millions of people with us, heart and hand, to defend us to the death. We can call out a million of people, if need be; and when they are cut down, we can call out another, and still another, until the last man of the South finds a bloody grave, rather than submit to their foul dictation. But a triumphant victory, and independence with an unparalleled career of glory, prosperity, and progress await us in the future. God is on our side, and who shall be against us? None but His omnipotent hand can defeat us in this struggle.

"A general opinion prevails that Washington City is soon to be attacked. On this subject I can only say, our object is peace. We wish no aggressions on any one's rights, and will make none. But if Maryland secedes, the District of Columbia will fall to her by reversionary right—the same as Sumter to South Carolina, Pulaski to Georgia, and Pickens to Florida, When we have the right, we will demand the surrender of Washington, just as we did in the other cases, and will enforce our demands at every hazard and at whatever cost. And here let me say that our policy and conduct from the first have been right, and shall be to the last. I glory in this consciousness of our rectitude.

"It may be that 'whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad.' But for Lincoln's wicked and foolish war proclamation, the Border States—some of them at least, would still have lingered in the hope that the Administration and its designs were not so basely treacherous as that document has shown them to be. Tennessee and other States would have lingered for some time. Now, all the slave States are casting in their lot with us, and linking their destinies with ours. We might afford to thank Lincoln a little for showing his hand. It may be that soon the Confederate flag with fifteen stars will be hoisted upon the dome of the ancient Capitol. If so, God's will be done, is my prayer. Let us do nothing that is wrong. Let us commit our cause into His hand—perform our whole duty, and trust in Him for the crowning results.

"I have many things I would like to say to you, but my strength will not admit, even if it were necessary for your encouragement—but it is not. I find that you are fully up to the music, that you thoroughly comprehend our condition, and are resolved to do your whole duty. I find our people everywhere are alive to their interests and their duty in this crisis. Such a degree of popular enthusiasm was never before seen in this country."

The plan of the war was evidently decided by circumstances beyond the control of the Government. Commencing as an organized Confederacy on the 22d of February, on the 12th of April Fort Sumter was attacked, and the Confederacy launched into a gigantic war. An agricultural people entering upon a war of invasion within three months after their organization as a nation, and against a commercial and manufacturing people, superior in numbers and general intelligence, is an event as yet unknown in history. Peace was the only source of life to the Confederate States—at least a peace of such length of time as would allow of concentration and national organization. The movement to send supplies to Fort Sumter was followed by the attack on that fort, and sub-

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sequently by the union of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas to the Confederacy. Thus stood the South at war against the North. Should the South make the war one of invasion? She had nothing to clothe, equip, or move an army with, unless it had been bought abroad, and imported within her territory. How could the Confederacy undertake a war of invasion, destitute of all facilities for a strong and sustained effort? These facts decided the character of the war on the part of the Confederacy. On the other hand the United States, composed of a commercial and manufacturing people, with every facility to raise and equip an army, and possessing the army and navy of the nation when undivided, was unable to commence a movement of invasion with success until months had passed away. How much less could such a movement be made by mere agricultural States? The character of the war on the part of the Confederacy was thus decided by circumstances. The true position of affairs was early seen by President Davis. "All we ask is to be let alone," are the words in his message to Congress. The attack upon Washington urged by many juvenile minds in the Confederacy was impracticable from the outset. It served, however, to gratify a kind of contemptuous spirit which prompted its utterance, and to rouse the United States to the utmost activity and energy for its defence. The war therefore necessarily became a defensive one on the part of the Confederacy.

The leaders of secession in the Southern States who foresaw where their proceeding would end, had flattered themselves that when the war came they should derive advantage from numerous auxiliaries. They believed the demand for cotton in England and France would put a speedy end to any blockade the United States might attempt. They believed the great democratic party of the North would stand aloof from the Government in its attempt to repossess the forts and arsenals. They believed that the prowess of the North had degenerated, and that it would prove an inefficient foe. They saw, when it was too late, that England and France were bound by every principle of honor to respect an efficient blockade, which the navy and the commercial marine of the United States could establish. They now found the North united as one man in support of the Union, and were soon to bring to a test the energy of her prowess.

A proclamation was immediately issued by President Davis after the capture of Fort Sumter, calling a meeting of the Confederate Congress at Montgomery on the 29th of April. On that day this body assembled, and the President's message was delivered. (*See* PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.) It recommended such measures as were necessary to conduct a vigorous defensive war. The course to be pursued by the Confederate Government was soon fixed. The acquisition of Virginia made her a portion of the Confederacy, and in assuming the obligations she became entitled to the protection of the Government. The instructions of the Secretary of the Treasury to the collectors of revenue on the 12th of May were in these words:

"Virginia is now one of the Confederate States. Of course no duties are to be collected on imports from thence. Suspend collections of duties from North Carolina and Tennessee."

On the 21st of May Congress adjourned to meet in Richmond, Virginia, on the 20th of July. The reasons for this change of capital are given by the President of Congress, Howell Cobb, in a speech at Atlanta, Ga., on the 22d of May. He also states the future intentions of the Government relative to the war:

"I presume that a curiosity to know what we have been doing in the Congress recently assembled at Montgomery, has induced you to to make this call upon me.

"We have made all the necessary arrangements to meet the present crisis. Last night we adjourned to meet in Richmond on the 20th of July. I will tell you why we did this. The 'Old Dominion,' as you know, has at last shaken off the bonds of Lincoln, and joined her noble Southern sisters. Her soil is to be the battle-ground, and her streams are to be dyed with Southern blood. We felt that her cause was our cause, and that if she fell we wanted to die by her. We have sent our soldiers on to the posts of danger, and we wanted to be there to aid and counsel our brave 'boys.' In the progress of the war further legislation may be necessary, and we will be there, that when the hour of danger comes, we may lay aside the robes of legislation, buckle on the armor of the soldier, and do battle beside the brave ones who have volunteered for the defence of our beloved South.

"The people are coming up gallantly to the work. When the call was made for twelve-months volunteers, thousands were offered; but when it was changed to the full term of the war, the numbers increased! The anxiety among our citizens is not as to who shall go to the wars, but who shall stay at home? No man in the whole Confederate States—the gray-haired sire down to the beardless youth—in whose veins was one drop of Southern blood, feared to plant his foot upon Virginia's soil, and die fighting for our rights.

"But we not only need soldiers, we must have treasure to carry on the war. Private contributions have been offered to a vast amount. I will mention an instance which occurred on the Mississippi a few days ago. An aged man—whose gray hairs and tottering limbs forbade his entering the ranks, and whose children of the first and second generations were in the ranks of his country's defenders—was asked how much he would give to carry on the war. The spirit of the old man rose up in him—'Tell them,' he said, 'that my yearly crop of 1,000 bales of cotton they may have. Only give me enough to sustain me, and let the balance

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go to my country!' Offers of this sort come pouring in upon the Government from all parts of the country.

"But the Government does not require contributions from individuals; she has the means within herself of sustaining this war. No donations are necessary, except for the equipment of your own volunteers, and those you can and will provide for. But I tell you what you may do. Those of you who raise large crops of cotton, when your cotton is ready for market, give it to your Government at its market value, receive in return its bonds, and let it sell your produce to Europe for the specie to sustain our brave 'boys' in Virginia. This was agreed on at Montgomery, and we promised to throw out the suggestion, that the people might think about it. I raise some cotton, and every thing above my necessary expenses my Government shall have. When this was proposed in Congress, a gentleman from Mississippi rose up and said that he did not raise cotton; it was his misfortune not to be able to help his country in that manner. 'But,' said he, 'I will go home and canvass my section, and every man that I meet, who raises cotton, sugar, and rice, I will persuade him to sell it to his Government.'"

On the next evening the Vice-President, Mr. Stephens, being at Atlanta, also made an address, in which the plan of the Government is more fully unfolded:

"The time for speech-making has passed. The people have heard all that can be said. The time for prompt, vigorous, and decisive action is upon us, and we must do our duty. Upon the surface affairs appear to be quiet, and I can give you no satisfaction as to their real condition. It is true that threats of an attack on Pensacola have been made, but it is uncertain whether any attack will be made. As you know, an attack was made at Sewall's Point, near Norfolk, but the vessel making it was repulsed and disabled. But the general opinion and indications are that the first demonstration will be at Harper's Ferry, and that there, where John Brown inaugurated his work of slaughter, will be fought a fierce and bloody battle. As for myself, I believe that there the war will begin, and that the first boom of cannon that breaks upon our ears will come from that point. But let it begin where it will, and be as bloody and prolonged as it may, we are prepared for the issue!

"Some think there will be no war; as to that I know not. But whatever others wanted, the object of the Confederate Government is *peace*. Come peace or war, however, it is determined to maintain our position at every hazard and at every cost, and to drive back the myrmidons of Abolitionism.

"We prefer and desire peace if we can have it; but if we cannot, we must meet the issue forced upon us. We must meet Lincoln and his myrmidons on their own ground, and on their own terms—on constitutional principles.

"So far our progress has been all that we could expect. A Government has been organized, executive departments and offices supplied, all needful laws passed, and all necessary arrangements made to meet any contingency. At the head of our Government is President Davis, who led the Mississippi Rifles at Buena Vista, and whose flag never yet trailed in the dust. This noble and true son of the South goes to Richmond to take command in person of our soldiers there, and to lead them upon the battle-field against all the military power and the talent they can summon—even to their veteran chieftain, Gen. Scott himself. Whether brought to a bloody conflict or not, we are prepared. Our people everywhere are full of enthusiasm, and strong in their determination never to submit to the rule of Lincoln."

The views of President Davis, expressed in his message to Congress on the 29th of April, were repeated in a letter to commissioners from Maryland. The Legislature of that State had appointed commissioners to visit Montgomery, and suggest to the Confederate Government the cessation of the hostilities now impending, until the meeting of Congress at Washington in July, in order that the Congress might, if possible, arrange for an adjustment of the existing troubles by means of negotiations rather than the sword. Similar commissioners were sent to Washington. The reply was dated May 25th, at Montgomery:

"The Government of the Confederate States is at a loss how to reply without a repetition of the language it has used on every possible occasion that has presented itself since the establishment of its independence.

"In deference to the State of Maryland, however, it again asserts, in the most emphatic terms, that its sincere and earnest desire is for peace, and that while the Government would readily entertain any proposition from the Government of the United States, tending to a peaceful solution of the present difficulties, the recent attempts of this Government to enter into negotiations with that of the United States were attended with results which forbid any renewal of proposals from it to that Government.

"If any further assurance of the desire of this Government for peace were necessary, it would be sufficient to observe, that being formed of a confederation of sovereign States, each acting and deciding for itself, the right of every other sovereign State to assume self-action and self-government is necessarily acknowledged.

"Hence conquests of other States are wholly inconsistent with the fundamental principles and subversive of the very organization of this Government. Its policy cannot but be peace—peace with all nations and people."

The Confederate Congress, in compliance with the call of the President, assembled at Montgomery on the 29th of April. During its adjournment the Constitution, framed for the establishment of a permanent Government of the Confederate States, had been ratified by the

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regular Conventions of each of the States, to which it had been referred. This was the first confirmation which the Government had received. It came only from the State Conventions, and its extent was to approve of the existence of the Provisional Constitution and Provisional Government, which were to remain in force for one year, then to be supplanted by a regular Constitution and officers duly elected under it.

At this session measures were taken to place the finances of the Confederacy upon such a basis as would enable it to meet the great struggle at hand. Treasury notes were adopted as a means of circulation. The first issue authorized was made payable at the expiration of twelve months. But at this session the time of payment was extended until six months after the close of the war. This currency drove all other out of circulation, and became the only medium of exchange in some of the Confederate States. The discount on these notes for specie was variable during the year, but often at thirty per cent., and even more. To give the stamp of value, and attract confidence to the financial movements of the Government, it was necessary to secure to it a substantial income. The revenue from imports under a stringent blockade could not be calculated upon, and probably would not equal the expenses of collection. Direct taxes, if laid, could not be collected in any amount sufficient to strengthen the credit of the Government. The deposits in all the banks of the Confederate States on the 20th of March amounted to $75,000,000. A people devoted to agriculture without the accumulations of commerce have no resources but the products of the land. Rich as the Southern States may be when their crops of cotton, rice, and tobacco are gathered and ready for market, yet without a market these crops are of no value. A strict blockade annihilated their market, and destroyed any immediate value these crops otherwise would have. Nothing but credit remained, and to improve it a plan was devised by Congress which proposed to make cotton a basis of security. The plan was that the planters should subscribe for the use of the Government a certain sum of money out of the proceeds of a certain number of bales of cotton when sold. The planter was to retain the cotton in his custody, and have the exclusive right of declaring when he would sell it and at what price it should be sold. By this plan the Government would get nothing at once, and there was room for many contingencies whether it would ever get any thing. The planter might become bankrupt and his cotton be seized by creditors, or it might be surreptitiously disposed of. The Government received nothing but an order on the commission agent who might conduct the sale, to pay the Government the amount subscribed from the proceeds of sale, whenever he should receive the cotton and effect its sale. In consequence of the events of the last year there was not only no sale for the cotton, but it was kept from the seaboard cities to prevent its falling into the hands of their enemies. On the 20th of July the subscriptions to the cotton loan merely, exceeded fifty millions of dollars. Other articles were afterwards included, and President Davis speaks of the plan in these words: "Scarcely an article required for the consumption of our army is provided otherwise than by subscription to the produce loan so happily devised by the wisdom of Congress." This plan, although it failed to produce money for the Government, served to supply it liberally with such articles as were necessary for the consumption of the army. In each district or county proper individuals were appointed to solicit subscriptions. The instructions given to them by the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Memminger, were as follows:

"Sir: The Congress of the Confederate States, at its last session, passed an act authorizing the issue of bonds for the proceeds of the sale of raw produce and manufactured articles.

"It has been deemed advisable, in carrying out this law, to circulate in advance lists for subscription, in which every planter can indicate the portion of his crop which he is disposed to lend for the support of the Government. It is proposed that no disturbance shall be made of the usual arrangements of each planter for selling his crop, but that he shall simply indicate the portion he is willing to subscribe, the time and place of delivery, and the factor in whose hands it is placed for sale; and shall order the factor to exchange the proceeds of sale of the subscribed portion for Confederate bonds, bearing eight per cent. interest. Several of these lists are herewith sent you, and you are requested to act as commissioner in bringing the same to the attention of the people of your district or county. You will use your discretion as to the best mode of bringing the matter forward; but it is suggested that it would be desirable to use any public occasion, and to induce as many gentlemen as you can to make individual applications to their fellow-citizens. As soon as you shall have procured as many signatures as you can to any one list, you will please forward it to this Department. To provide against loss of any list, it is desirable that they should be signed in duplicate, and forwarded by different mails."

It remains to be seen what the fruits of this measure will be, so far as relates to placing in the hands of the Government actual resources, with which to pay its debts or to provide such munitions of war as can be obtained only with funds of value in foreign markets. The large amount of cotton and tobacco subscribed, are of no value unless they can reach a market outside of the Confederate States. The Confederate Congress subsequently recommended that all these articles should be burned as the Federal armies approach. The object of this recommendation was to prevent the seizure and sale of these articles by the Federal Government.

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Further, as a State is recovered or brought under the control of the Federal arms, like Florida and Tennessee, there will be no opportunity to convert the subscriptions to the advantage of the Confederate Government, however favorably disposed the subscribers might continue. The ultimate loss of the amount subscribed must be complete, if the Federal arms are successful.

The views of the Government itself, on the character of this loan, were very fully explained by Vice-President Stephens, in an address to the cotton-planters at Augusta, Ga., on the 11th of July:

"I am here to-day to discuss before you the fifty million loan, but I am frank to tell you it may be one hundred millions, and I think it probably will be. The proposition that the Government makes is not to tax the people. The object of a wise and good Government is to make the burdens fall as light upon the people as possible to meet every exigency. The proposition the Government makes, therefore, is to take a loan in produce. In the grain-growing sections, the members of Congress solicit the loan in grain, army subsistence, meat, corn, wheat, and flour. We are not a grain-growing country. Our supply is cotton. I address you, therefore, solely on the subject of cotton.

"The object is to get along with as little tax as possible; but, my countrymen, do not suppose the Government will not tax you if necessary; for I tell you the Government does not intend to be subjugated; and if we do not raise the money by loans, if the people do not contribute, I tell you we intend to have the money, and taxation will be resorted to, if nothing else will raise it. Every life and dollar in the country will be demanded, rather than you and every one of us shall be overrun by the enemy. On that you may count. The Government, while it desires to carry on the war, establish your independence, and maintain the Government, at the same time wishes to do it in such a way as not to cripple industry; and while our men are in the field fighting the battles of their country, their brethren at home are discharging an equal duty, so that no serious detriment to public property will be sustained; and we have the element to do this that no other people in the world have.

"Now, then, if four millions of bales of cotton are made, upon an average price they will bring two hundred millions of dollars. If the cotton-planter will but lend, not give—lend to the Government the proceeds of but one-half, that will be one hundred millions of dollars, double what the Government wants, or did want when we adjourned—quite enough to keep two hundred thousand men in the field—the balance you can use as you please.

"I now will read to you, just at this part of my address, the proposition upon which I shall make some comments, for I wish every gentleman to understand it. It is not asking a donation; the Government simply wishes to control the proceeds of your cotton. The Government proposes to give you a bond bearing eight per cent. interest, paying the interest semi-annually. It is not a gift or donation, but simply your surplus cotton, as much as you can spare. This is the proposition:

"'We, the subscribers, agree to contribute to the defence of the Confederate States that portion of our crop set down to our respective names; the same to be placed in warehouse or in the hand of our factors, and sold on or before the —— next.'

"Fix the day of sale as soon as you please; the 1st of January, the 1st of February, or the 1st of March, if you please; though I am aware the Government wishes you to sell it as soon as convenient; but let each planter consult his interest, and in the mean while consult the market. But to proceed:

"'And our net proceeds of sale we direct to be paid over to the Treasurer of the Confederate States, for bonds for the same amount, bearing eight per cent. interest.'

"There is the whole of it. The cotton-planter directs his cotton to be sent into the hands of his factor or his commission merchant. He only tells the Government in the subscription the portion he can lend. He directs it to be sold, and the proceeds to be invested in Confederate bonds. I understand that a committee will be appointed before this meeting adjourns, to canvass this county. Every planter, therefore, of Richmond County, will be waited upon and afforded an opportunity to subscribe. I wish, therefore, to say to that committee, and everybody, subscribe. I prefer your putting down first, your name; second, the number of bales; and I prefer you putting down the proportion of your crop. I want, especially, the number of bales, but would like also to know the proportion it bears to your crop. Let everybody, therefore, put down a portion of their crop, if it be two bales, or fifty bales, or one hundred bales, or five hundred bales.

"Inquiries have been made of me, and I take this opportunity to answer them: 'Whether these bonds will circulate as money—will they pay debts?' On this point I wish no mistake. They are not intended as currency; they are unfitted to answer the purpose of circulation. The bonds are larger than this paper, (a letter sheet.) The obligation is on the upper part of it, and the whole of the lower part is divided into forty squares or checks. In each one of these checks the interest is counted for each six months, or for twenty years. The checks are called coupons, and all the party holding them has to do is every six months to clip off the lower coupon, send it to the Treasury, and get his interest. The bond is not suitable to carry in your pocket-book and use. It would wear out. It is intended to represent a fixed capital or permanent investment—just so much as you can spare from your cotton crop. That is all. Instead of putting your surplus in lands, ne-

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groes, houses, furniture, useless extravagance, or luxuries, just put it in Confederate bonds.

"But while I said it was not intended to circulate or to pay debts, I have not the least doubt that anybody who will sell his crop entire for bonds, will find no difficulty in getting the money for them, for they draw interest, and are better than money; and any man holding a note, will give it up and take a bond, for a note draws but seven per cent., and this draws eight. I have no doubt that all minors' and trust property will soon be invested in it. The entire amount of private funds in the State of Georgia, on private loans, I suppose is ten or twenty millions of dollars, at seven per cent. All that amount will immediately find its way into these bonds; and hence a planter who sells his entire crop, and needs money, can get it from the money-lenders on these bonds.

"I have been frequently asked if these bonds were good. Well, I want to be equally frank upon that point. If we succeed, if we establish our independence, if we are not overridden, if we are not subjugated, I feel no hesitancy in telling you it is the best Government stock in the world that I know of. It is eight per cent. interest; and if we succeed in a short time, in a few years, if not more than one hundred millions or two hundred millions are issued, I have but little doubt they will command a considerable premium. The old United States stock (six per cent. bonds) five years ago commanded fifteen and sixteen per cent., and went as high as twenty per cent. Take the Central Railroad. The stock of that company commands fifteen per cent. premium now. These bonds pay eight per cent. semi-annually; therefore, if there is a short war, these bonds very soon will command fifteen or twenty per cent. But candor also compels me to state that if Lincoln overruns us—if we are subjugated, these bonds will not be worth a single dime, and nothing else you have will be worth any thing. If we are overrun, they will be worth just as much as any thing else you have, and nothing else you have got will be worth any thing. So that is the whole of it."

To push forward the measure, a convention of cotton-planters was held at Atlanta, at which resolutions were passed expressing their willingness to aid the Government with the entire cotton crop, if the same should be needed for its use, and recommending to the planters to invest at least one-half of the proceeds of their entire crops in the eight per cent. bonds of the Confederate States, and to capitalists and others having money to lend, that they invest in like manner in these bonds. They also recommended to Congress to authorize the issue of Treasury notes of denominations suited for circulation as currency, for an amount equal to the exigencies of the Government, such notes to be paid out as money in payment of all Government dues, and made receivable for all taxes and duties, and convertible into eight per cent. bonds of the Confederate States at the pleasure of the holder. Congress, at its session at Richmond, in July, authorized the issue of one hundred millions of Treasury notes, and laid a direct tax, estimated to produce about fifteen millions of dollars. The Government thus had at its control for financial purposes, a loan of fifteen millions, authorized in February, duties on imports, which yielded nothing worthy of consideration, the authorized issue of Treasury notes to the amount of one hundred millions, the direct tax of fifteen millions assumed by the States, and the loans on produce, of which cotton was calculated to be the chief. The cotton would not yield any thing until sold. These were the authorized resources previous to November, 1861, to carry on a war, requiring the equipment, and transportation, and maintenance of an army of three hundred thousand men. There was one source of help to the Confederate Government which has not been mentioned. The States undertook to raise, and equip, and pay, to a certain extent, the troops of each. For this purpose the Legislatures authorized loans, amounting from five hundred thousand to two millions of dollars. With several of them the prospect of borrowing on this authorized loan was hopeless. Arkansas authorized her loan to be made available by issuing notes of five dollars and upwards in amount. These were paid to her soldiers and others, and depreciated until, as one of the former observed, "a hatful was required to obtain a dollar in specie." Tennessee authorized an almost unlimited expansion by her bank, until its paper depreciated like Arkansas State notes. In Virginia, military officers of State troops took from the people whatever their forces required, and gave a certificate of indebtedness upon the State of Virginia. These measures strengthened the Confederate Government for a period, by reducing the demands upon it, but they rendered more certain its ultimate bankruptcy. They enfeebled the resources of the people, upon which all Governments must rely. Upon the people the operation was most disastrous. Specie disappeared. Paper money was issued by a multitude of corporations and cities. It depreciated thirty per cent. compared with specie. Nearly double in amount was now required to purchase food, clothing, and other necessary articles. Apart from the influence of the blockade in reducing the supply of such as were of foreign manufacture, charges of extortion were raised against dealers, and public meetings were held to denounce them, which were composed of citizens who were ignorant that the source of all the evil consisted in the worthless currency. The Governor of Tennessee sent a message to the Legislature, relative to the extortions introduced "by those who had at heart their own interests more than the good of their fellow-mortals and of the country." The subject was acted upon by the Legislature. The Governor of Alabama, in a message to the Legislature, denounced the speculation that had commenced in articles

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of first necessity. The Governors of Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi, requested the attention of their respective Legislatures to this subject of complaint. It was urged at Richmond that the Confederate Government should make it treason, and punishable by death, for any one to ask or receive a percentage for exchanging one sort of money for another, whether it was specie for paper, or one sort of paper for another; that every State in the Confederacy should receive at par any paper money lawfully issued by any corporation or individual within its jurisdiction; that the "public funds and securities" should be used to redeem any paper money in the Confederacy; and that every bank in the Confederacy should be forced to redeem the bills of every other bank. Those must be fearful evils from which an escape is sought by such means.

The following is a copy of one of the Treasury Notes of the Government:

Six months after the ratification of a treaty of peace between the Confederate States and the United St'es

THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA

20

Goddess of Liberty holding shield engraved Rec'vable in payment of all dues except export dues.

Fem. with sickle.
Do. horn of plenty.
Do. quadrant.

A AMERICA A

No. 13,160.
Will pay TWENTY DOLLARS to Bearer.
RICHMOND, VA., Sept. 2, 1861.
J. HOOD, for Treasurer.
C. C. THAYER, for Register.

Fundable in Confederate State Stocks bearing eight per cent. interest.

XX

Hover & Ludwig, Richmond.

To obtain some relief from their embarrassments, the planters applied to the Government. The office of the produce loan was burdened with their letters suggesting and requesting modes of relief under the conditions of their subscriptions to the Government. Nearly all of these letters gave the same account of the necessities of the planting interest, and held out the certain prospect of large additions to the subscriptions to the loan in case the Government should make small advances suitable to the actual necessities of the planters. In reply, the Secretary of the Treasury addressed a circular to the commissioners of subscription under date of October 17th, which presents a more distinct view of the condition of the Confederate Treasury. It shows that the Government wanted credit exceedingly; that its promissory notes supplanted all others; that it was carrying on a war for existence on credit, and the sole wonder was that it should be so successful as it had, up to that time, been. Nor was the condition of the planters much better. As they were to lend to the Government something hereafter, they asked the Government to lend them something now to carry them over the trying interval previous to the sale of their cotton. The circular was as follows:

To the Commissioners Appointed to Receive Subscriptions to the Produce Loan:

GENTLEMEN: Inquiries have been made from various quarters:

1. Whether, during the continuance of the blockade, any efforts should be made to procure further subscriptions.

2. Whether the Government will authorize promises to be held out of aid to the planters as an inducement to such further subscriptions.

The first inquiry seems to imply a misunderstanding of the scheme of the subscriptions. Many persons have supposed that the Government was to have some control of the produce itself; others that the time of sale appointed by the subscription was to be absolute and unconditional. The caption at the head of the lists, when examined, will correct both these errors.

The subscription is confined to the proceeds of sales, and contains an order on the commission merchant or factor of the planter to pay over to the Treasurer the amount subscribed in exchange for Confederate bonds. The transaction is simply an agreement by the planter to lend the Government so much money, and in order to complete the transaction, a time and place are appointed when the parties may meet to carry it out. The important point is that it shall certainly be completed at some time, and that is secured by the engagement of the planter. Whether that time be December or June is simply a question of convenience, and works no injury to either party. The Government is sure of the eventual payment, and derives from that certainty so much credit; and it loses nothing, because it gives its bond only when the money is paid.

It is obvious, therefore, that the subscriptions are as valuable to the Government during the blockade as after it. The blockade simply suspends the completion of the engagement. It becomes the interest of both parties to wait for a good price, and the Government will readily consent to a postponement of the sale.

You perceive, therefore, that it is desirable to continue your exertions to increase the subscriptions, and you are authorized to say that the Government will consent to a reasonable extension of the time appointed for sale.

3. The next inquiry is as to a promise of material aid from the Government to the planters.

In answering this inquiry I am to speak in advance of any act of Congress. What that body may see fit to do is not for me to determine. I can merely express the views of the Department; these must govern your actions until reversed by a higher authority. It would be a sufficient answer to the inquiry to say that the action of the Government is settled by the Constitution. No power is granted to any Department to lend money for the relief of any interest. Even the power of Congress, in relation to money, is confined to borrowing, and no clause can be found which would sanction so stupendous a scheme as purchasing the entire crop with a view to aid its owners.

But it may be said that the Constitution of the Provisional Government may be altered by Congress, and it is the duty of this Department to prepare the way for such alteration, if in its judgment the financial necessities of the country demand the change. I am not disposed, then, to close the inquiry with the abrupt denial thus made by the Constitution, and will proceed to consider the subject upon its intrinsic merits.

Two plans of relief have been proposed:

The one is that the Government should purchase the entire crop of the country; the other that an advance should be made of part of its value. In either case the payment is to be made by the issuance of Treasury notes; and, therefore, if we put aside for the present the many and serious objections to the possession, transportation, and management of the crop by the Government, it becomes simply a question of amount. To purchase the whole crop would require its whole

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value, less the amount of subscription—cotton at $200,000,000 and the subscription at $50,000,000. The purchase would then require $150,000,000 of Treasury notes, and if to this sum be added the amount of value for other agricultural products, which would certainly claim the same benefit, the sum required would probably reach $175,000,000.

The amount called for by the other plan of making an advance would depend upon the proportion of that advance. Few of the advocates of this plan have put it lower than five cents per pound on cotton, and at the same rate on other produce. It may, therefore, be very fairly set down at about $100,000,000.

If we consider, first, the least objectionable of these plans, it is certainly that which requires the smaller sum; and if this be found impracticable, the larger must of necessity be rejected.

Our inquiry, then, may be narrowed down to a proposal that the Government should issue one hundred millions of Treasury notes, to be distributed among the planting community upon the pledge of the forthcoming crop.

The first remarkable feature in this scheme is, that it proposes that a new Government, yet struggling for existence, should reject all the lessons of experience, and undertake that which no Government, however long established, has yet succeeded in effecting. The "organization of labor" has called forth many ingenious attempts, both speculative and practical, among well-established Governments, but always with disastrous failure. With us, however, the experiment is proposed to a new Government, which is engaged in a gigantic war, and which must rely on credit to furnish means to carry on that war. Our enemies are in possession of all the munitions and work-shops that have been collected during forty-five years of peace; their fleets have been built at our joint expense. With all these on hand, they yet are obliged to expend nearly ten millions of dollars per week to carry on the war. Can we expect to contend with them at less than half that expenditure?

Suppose that it may require two hundred millions of dollars, then the proposal is, that at a time when we are called upon to raise this large sum for the support of the Government, we shall raise a further sum of one hundred millions for the benefit of the planting interests. For it must be observed, first, that the Government receives no benefit whatever from this advance. The money is paid to each individual planter; and, in exchange, the Government receives only his bond or note; or, if the cotton be purchased, the Government receives only certain bales of cotton. That is to say, the Government pays out money which is needful to its very existence, and receives in exchange planter's notes or produce, which it does not need, and cannot in any way make use of.

It must be observed, in the next place, that Treasury notes have now become the currency of the country. They are, therefore, the measures of value. In this view, it is the duty of Government to limit their issue, as far as practicable, to that amount which is the limit of its currency. Every person acquainted with this branch of political science is aware that, if the currency passes this point, it not only becomes depreciated, but it disturbs the just relations of society, precisely as though an arbitrary power should change the weights and measures of a country. If the currency of a country should be suddenly extended from one hundred to two hundred millions of dollars, that which was measured by one dollar is now measured by two, and every article must be paid for at double its former price. The Government, from the necessities of war, is the largest of all purchasers, and thus, by a kind of suicidal act, compels itself to pay two dollars for what one would formerly have purchased, and at this rate of advance two hundred millions of dollars can effect no more than one hundred millions of dollars would have effected before; or, in other words, one hundred millions of dollars are actually sunk in the operation.

Such a condition of the currency the Government has anxiously endeavored to guard against. The war tax was laid for the purpose of creating a demand for Treasury notes, and a security for their redemption. Their redundancy has been carefully guarded against by allowing them to be funded in eight per cent. bonds. If necessity shall compel the Government to issue, for the defence of the country, and to keep out two hundred millions, it is plain that every accession must impair and may defeat all the precautions.

If the Government should undertake, for the sake of private interests, so large an increase of issue, it may hazard its entire credit and stability. The experiment is too dangerous, and relief for the planters must be sought in some other direction. And may not that remedy be found?

In the first place let the planters immediately take measures for winter crops, to relieve the demand for grain and provisions. Let them proceed to divert part of their labor from cotton and make their own clothing and supplies. Then let them apply to the great resource presented by the money capital in banks and private hands. Let this capital come forward and assist the agricultural interest. Heretofore the banks have employed a large part of their capital in the purchase of Northern exchange; let them apply this portion to factors' acceptances of planters' drafts, secured by pledge of the produce in the planters' hands. An extension of the time usually allowed on these drafts would overcome most of the difficulties. This extension could safely reach the probable time of sale of the crops, inasmuch as the suspension of specie payments throughout the entire Confederacy relieves each bank from calls for coin. The banks are accustomed to manage loans of this character, and will conduct the operation with such skill as will make them mutually advantageous. The amount of advance asked from the banks would be greatly less than if advances were offered by the Government, and all the abuses incidental to Government agencies would be avoided.

It seems to me, therefore, that it is neither necessary nor expedient that the Government should embark upon this dangerous experiment. It is far better that each class of the community should endeavor to secure its own existence by its own exertions, and if an effort be at once made by so intelligent a class as the planters, it will result in relief. Delay in these efforts, occasioned by vague expectations of relief from Government, which cannot be realized, may defeat that which is yet practicable. C. G. MEMMINGER,
Secretary of the Treasury.

At the same time that this circular was issued, a commercial convention had assembled in Memphis, Tennessee. A series of resolutions, expressing violent hostility to the North, and demanding prohibitory legislation against Northern trade, were presented before that body, and voted down, or rejected under such circumstances as were declared to mean that a reconstruction of commercial and political relations with the North was desired by a majority in that convention.

The military spirit raised by President Lincoln's proclamation reached an indescribable state of excitement during the months of April and May. It was estimated that a hundred thousand men were then organized, armed, and awaiting orders from the Confederate Government, in the seven States which first seceded. In Virginia sixty thousand were under arms. This number included the troops from the other States, together with the militia of Virginia. This latter class were ready and disposed, in all parts of the State except the western, to turn out almost *en masse*. This enthusiasm, the prosperous condition of the people generally,

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and the cause of self-defence and self-preservation in which they conceived they were about to fight, rapidly furnished the Government with the men and munitions required. Any attack upon Washington, however, was frustrated by the early arrival of Federal troops in such numbers as to render its success hopeless to the Confederate force. A line of defence was therefore adopted by the Government, the object of which was to prevent the invasion of Virginia by Federal troops. Immediately upon the secession of Virginia a force was despatched by Governor Letcher to seize the U. S. arsenal at Harper's Ferry. This effort failed in consequence of the destruction of the property by the officers in charge of it, but it served to place a considerable force in the northern border of the State, which ultimately became the left wing of the army in front of Washington. The centre was stationed in a fortified camp at Manassas Junction, and the right wing was posted near the Potomac River. Such was the position of this force at its most flourishing period. At other times, when its numbers were more reduced, the left wing held an independent position, and the centre became a distinct force, resting behind its entrenchments. There were periods during the year when this army was almost destitute of the necessaries of subsistence, and its general supplies were often of the coarsest kind. This force was under the command of Gen. Johnston, who occupied a position with the troops forming the right wing, while the centre at Manassas was under the command of Gen. Beauregard. Upon taking command of this portion of the army, he issued the following proclamation:

HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, }
CAMP PICKENS, *June* 1, 1861. }

A Proclamation to the People of the Counties of Loudon, Fairfax, and Prince William:

A reckless and unprincipled tyrant has invaded your soil. Abraham Lincoln, regardless of all moral, legal, and constitutional restraints, has thrown his Abolition hosts among you, who are murdering and imprisoning your citizens, confiscating and destroying your property, and committing other acts of violence and outrage too shocking and revolting to humanity to be enumerated.

All rules of civilized warfare are abandoned, and they proclaim by their acts, if not on their banners, that their war-cry is "Beauty and Booty." All that is dear to man—your honor, and that of your wives and daughters, your fortunes and your lives—are involved in this momentous contest.

In the name, therefore, of the constituted authorities of the Confederate States; in the sacred cause of constitutional liberty and self-government, for which we are contending; in behalf of civilization itself, I, G. T. Beauregard, Brigadier-General of the Confederate States, commanding at Camp Pickens, Manassas Junction, do make this my proclamation, and invite and enjoin you, by every consideration dear to the hearts of freemen and patriots, by the name and memory of your Revolutionary fathers, and by the purity and sanctity of your domestic firesides, to rally to the standard of your State and country, and, by every means in your power compatible with honorable warfare, to drive back and expel the invaders from your land.

I conjure you to be true and loyal to your country and her legal and constitutional authorities, and especially to be vigilant of the movements and acts of the enemy, so as to enable you to give the earliest authentic information at these head-quarters, or to the officers under this command.

I desire to assure you that the utmost protection in my power will be given to you all.

G. T. BEAUREGARD,
Brigadier-General Commanding.

Official.—THOMAS JORDAN,
Acting Assistant Adjutant-General.

To oppose this force, Federal troops were concentrated at Washington, who soon took up a fortified position on the Virginia side of the Potomac, opposite the city. This force was under the immediate command of Gen. Scott until his retirement, and subsequently under Gen. McClellan. Another force was stationed farther up the Potomac, opposite the left wing of the Confederate army and on the Maryland side of the Potomac. Frequent skirmishes occurred between the opposing forces, none of which were of such a serious character as to exert a decisive influence upon the campaign of the year, except the battle of Bull Run. (*See* BULL RUN.)

Meantime, as a state of hostilities had become fully developed between the Federal and Confederate Governments, both powers now resorted to those extreme measures which follow in the hideous train of War.

In the first place, Congress, on the 21st of May, passed an act prohibiting all persons indebted to individuals or corporations in the United States, except the States of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and the District of Columbia, from paying the same to their respective creditors during the war. These debtors were authorized to pay the amounts so due into the Confederate Treasury, for which they would be entitled to receive certificates bearing like interest with the debt, and payable on presentation after the close of the war. Texas, Georgia, and some of the other Confederate States, passed similar acts.

It was generally estimated that the amount due from citizens of Southern States to citizens of Northern States was two hundred millions of dollars. The payment of these debts ceased, as a matter of course, upon the development of the contest, and the necessary cessation of all imports and exports between the hostile countries. The act of Congress was designed to transfer a large portion of the amount of these debts into the Confederate Treasury. In this respect it was a failure. Very few individuals would acknowledge their indebtedness, much less pay the amount into the hands of the Government. On the contrary, those who found favorable opportunities, and anticipated the ultimate defeat of the Confederacy, were generally willing to acknowledge and pay their debts to Northern citizens.

Congress, at its session in July, also passed an act, banishing, within forty days, all persons who were not citizens, from the limits of the Confederate States. The following proclamation was issued by President Davis, in compliance with this act:

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PROCLAMATION.

Whereas the Congress of the Confederate States of America did, by an act approved on the 8th day of August, 1861, entitled "An Act respecting Alien Enemies," make provision that proclamation should be issued by the President in relation to alien enemies, and in conformity with the provisions of said act:

Now, therefore, I, Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America, do issue this my proclamation: and I do hereby warn and require every male citizen of the United States, of the age of fourteen years and upwards, now within the Confederate States, and adhering to the Government of the United States, and acknowledging the authority of the same, and not being a citizen of the Confederate States, to depart from the Confederate States within forty days from the date of this proclamation. And I do warn all persons above described, who shall remain within the Confederate States after the expiration of said period of forty days, that they will be treated as alien enemies.

Provided, however, That this proclamation shall not be considered as applicable, during the existing war, to citizens of the United States residing within the Confederate States with intent to become citizens thereof, and who shall make a declaration of such intention in due form, acknowledging the authority of this Government; nor shall this proclamation be considered as extending to the States of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, the District of Columbia, the Territories of Arizona and New Mexico, and the Indian Territory south of Kansas, who shall not be chargeable with actual hostility or other crime against the public safety, and who shall acknowledge the authority of the Government of the Confederate States.

And I do further proclaim and make known that I have established the rules and regulations hereto annexed, in accordance with the provisions of said law.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Confederate States of America, at the City of Richmond, on the 14th day of August, A. D. 1861.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

By the President,
R. M. T. HUNTER, Secretary of State.

The following regulations are hereby established respecting alien enemies, under the provisions of an act approved the 8th of August, 1861, entitled "An Act respecting Alien Enemies":

1. Immediately after the expiration of the term of forty days from the date of the foregoing proclamation, it shall be the duty of the several district attorneys, marshals, and other officers of the Confederate States, to make complaint against any aliens or alien enemies coming within the purview of the act aforesaid, to the end that the several courts of the Confederate States, and of each State having jurisdiction, may order the removal of such aliens or alien enemies beyond the territory of the Confederate States, or their restraint and confinement, according to the terms of said law.

2. The marshals of the Confederate States are hereby directed to apprehend all aliens against whom complaints may be made under said law, and to hold them in strict custody until the final order of the court, taking special care that such aliens obtain no information that could possibly be made useful to the enemy.

3. Whenever the removal of any alien beyond the limits of the Confederate States is ordered by any competent authority, under the provisions of the said law, the marshal shall proceed to execute the order in person, or by deputy, or other discreet person, in such manner as to prevent the alien so removed from obtaining any information that could be used to the prejudice of the Confederate States.

4. Any alien who shall return to these States during the war, after having been removed therefrom under the provisions of said law, shall be regarded and treated as an alien enemy, and, if made prisoner, shall be at once delivered over to the nearest military authority, to be dealt with as a spy or a prisoner of war, as the case may require.

This act was designed to compel all persons to sustain the Government, otherwise they would be declared alien enemies, and compelled to leave the country. The number who returned to the United States in consequence of this act was small. It served to secure a tacit acquiescence in the authority of the Confederate Government, by all who were opposed to it, and thereby enabled it to present an aspect of greater strength and efficiency.

Another act was passed by Congress, declaring all citizens of the United States, except those of Maryland, Kentucky, Delaware, Missouri, and the District of Columbia who do not aid the Federal Government, to be alien enemies of the Confederate States, and confiscating all their lands, stocks, bonds, debts, and property of whatever description, within the limits of the Confederacy. The following were the instructions of the Government relative to the mode of proceeding under the act:

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
RICHMOND, *September* 12, 1861.

Instructions to Receivers under the act entitled "An Act for the sequestration of the estates, property, and effects of alien enemies, and for the indemnity of citizens of the Confederate States, and persons aiding the same in the existing war against the United States," approved August 8, 1861.

The following persons are subject to the operation of the law as alien enemies:

All citizens of the United States, except citizens or residents of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, or Missouri, or the District of Columbia, or the Territories of New Mexico, Arizona, or the Indian Territory south of Kansas.

All persons who have a domicil within the States with which this Government is at war, no matter whether they be citizens or not: thus the subjects of Great Britain, France, or other neutral nations, who have a domicil, or are carrying on business or traffic within the States at war with this Confederacy, are alien enemies under the law.

All such citizens or residents of the States of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, or Missouri, and of the Territories of New Mexico, Arizona, and the Indian Territory south of Kansas, and of the District of Columbia, as shall commit actual hostilities against the Confederate States, or aid or assist the United States in the existing war against the Confederate States.

Immediately after taking your oath of office, you will take possession of all the property of every nature and kind whatsoever within your district belonging to alien enemies as above defined.

You will forthwith apply to the clerk of the court for writs of garnishment under the 8th section of the law, and will propound to the garnishees the interrogatories of which a form is annexed. These interrogatories you will propound to the following persons, viz.:

1st. All attorneys and counsellors practising law within your district.

2d. The presidents and cashiers of all banks, and principal administrative officers of all railroad and other corporations within your district.

All agents of foreign corporations, insurance agents, commission merchants engaged in foreign trade, agents of foreign mercantile houses, dealers in bills of exchange, executors and administrators of estates, assignees and syndics of insolvent estates, trustees, and generally all persons who are known to do business as agents for others.

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In the first week of each month you will exhibit to the judge a statement showing the whole amount of money in your hands as receiver, and deposit the same for safe keeping in such bank or other depository as may be selected for that purpose by the judge, reserving only such amount as may be required for immediate necessary expenditure in the discharge of your duties as receivers.

Whenever, in the discharge of your duties, you discover that any attorney, agent, former partner, trustee, or other person holding or controlling any property, rights, or credits of an alien enemy, has wilfully failed to give you information of the same, you will immediately report the fact to the district attorney for your district, to the end that the guilty party may be subjected to the pains and penalties prescribed by the third section of the law.

J. P. BENJAMIN,
Attorney-General.

The following interrogatories to garnishees have been prepared for your use, together with a note annexed for the information of the garnishee:

1. Have you now, or have you had, in your possession or under your control, since the twenty-first day of May last, (1861,) and if yea, at what time, any land or lands, tenement or tenements, hereditament or hereditaments, chattel or chattels, right or rights, credit or credits, within the Confederate States of America, held, owned, possessed, or enjoyed for or by an alien enemy, or in or to which any alien enemy had, and when, since that time, any right, title, or interest, either directly or indirectly?

2. If you answer any part of the foregoing interrogatory in the affirmative, then set forth, specifically and particularly, a description of such property, right, title, credit, or interest, and if you have disposed of it in whole or in part, or of the profit, or rent, or interest accruing therefrom, then state when you made such disposition, and to whom, and where such property now is, and by whom held?

3. Were you, since the twenty-first day of May, 1861, and if yea, at what time, indebted, either directly or indirectly, to any alien enemy or alien enemies? If yea, state the amount of such indebtedness, if one, and of each indebtedness if more than one; give the name or names of the creditor or creditors, and the place or places of residence, and state whether and to what extent such debt or debts have been discharged, and also the time and manner of the discharge.

4. Do you know of any land or lands, tenement or tenements, hereditament or hereditaments, chattel or chattels, right or rights, credit or credits, within the Confederate States of America, or any right or interest held, owned, possessed, or enjoyed, directly or indirectly, by or for one or more alien enemies, since the twenty-first day of May, 1861, or in or to which any one or more alien enemies had since that time any claim, title, or interest, direct or indirect? If yea, set forth specially and particularly what and where the property is, and the name and residence of the holder, debtor, trustee, or agent.

5. State all else that you know which may aid in carrying into full effect the sequestration act of the 30th of August, 1861, and state the same as fully and particularly as if thereunto specially interrogated.

A. B., Receiver.

NOTE.—The garnishee in the foregoing interrogatories is specially warned that the sequestration act makes it the duty of each and every citizen to give the information asked in said interrogatories.—[Act 30th August, 1861, sec. 2.] And if any attorney, agent, former partner, trustee, or other person holding or controlling any property or interest therein of or for any alien enemy shall fail speedily to inform the receiver of the same, and to render him an account of such property or interest, he shall be guilty of a high misdemeanor, and, upon conviction, shall be fined in a sum not exceeding five thousand dollars, and imprisoned not longer than six months, and be liable to pay besides to the Confederate States double the value of the property or interest of the alien enemies so held or subject to his control.—[Sec. 3.]

The constitutionality of this act was called in question in the Confederate Court for the District of South Carolina, Judge Magrath presiding. J. S. Pettigru, a citizen of Charleston, was served with the writ of garnishment, and, being a member of the bar, he appeared in open court to oppose it. The arguments which he boldly advanced show the conflict of the act with the principles of civil and constitutional liberty. In this connection, the following sentence from the speech of President Davis at Richmond, on June 1st, is worthy of notice: "Upon us is devolved the high and holy responsibility of preserving the constitutional liberty of a free government." The objections to this confiscation act were of the following nature:

"Where is the authority given? Where is the power to call upon the citizen, in a new and unheard-of manner, to answer questions upon oath for the purpose of enforcing the confiscation law? Shall it be said that it is to furnish the means for carrying on the war? How can that be said to be necessary which is absolutely never known to have been done before? Was there anybody that ever fought before General Beauregard? War unfortunately is not a new thing. Its history is found on every page. Was there ever a law like this endured, practised, or heard of? It certainly is not found among the people from whom we derive the common law. No English monarch or Parliament has ever sanctioned or undertaken such a thing. It is utterly inconsistent with the common law to require an inquisitorial examination of the subjects of the laws of war. It is no more a part of the law of war than it is a part of the law of peace. * * *

"All that can be said in favor of the end and object proposed, can be said in favor of the Star Chamber and the Spanish Inquisition. Torquemada set on the latter institution with the best of motives. It was to save men's souls. He labored most earnestly, in season and out of season; and when high necessity commanded, he burnt their bodies to save their souls. * * *

"We do not consider that the end justifies the means in these days, but Torquemada might have burnt Jews and Protestants, without calling upon their best friends to inform against them, and making it penal not to do so. * * *

"The war power includes as an incident every thing which is necessary or usual. It cannot be pretended that this is necessary or usual, since it never was done before. This is not the first war that ever was waged; and the laws of war are not the subject of wild speculation. Now, the means granted to attain this end are based upon the supposition that the end deserves all commendation; that nothing in the world is more calculated to advance the repute of the country than to be keen in searching out the property of enemies, and proceeding

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against them when they have no opportunity of being heard, and to impoverish them by taking away the earnings of their industry and applying it to other uses. * * * It would be the most intolerable hardship for me, for a citizen, at every quarter session to be obliged to tell all he knows or suspects against his neighbor. It is pretended that it is an innocent proceeding. How can that be innocent which calls upon one to commit a breach of trust? * * *

"It is an extraordinary stretch of power, in an extraordinary time, when we are endeavoring to make good before the world our right to its respect as an enlightened people—a people capable of self-government, and of governing themselves in a manner worthy of the civilization and light of the age; and this act, borrowed from the darkest period of tyranny, is dug up from the very quarries of despotism, and put forth as our sentiments. They are not my sentiments; and sorry will I be if in this sentiment I am solitary and alone. * * * With regard to that which requires the violation of professional confidence, he must be better instructed before making up his mind to the order of responsibility or not. There are cases where it is dishonor or death—and death will certainly be chosen by every man who deserves the name." (*See* S. CAROLINA.)

All property in corporations, such as stock or bonds of railroad companies, banks, &c., held by citizens of the Northern States, was easily traced out and very generally sequestrated. Such property also as was the basis of mercantile and commercial enterprise, was extensively confiscated, but interests in estates, and that class of property which passes through kindred and friends, was extensively covered up. The enforcement of the law gradually ceased with the decline of that bitterness of spirit which existed at the time of its passage. It was also understood that, as a measure of severity against Northern citizens, it would be of no avail. Where allegiance was given by a citizen, protection was due by the Government. Under this principle the Government of the United States would in justice be required to compensate its citizens for their losses. A sequestration act was passed by the Federal Congress. (*See* UNITED STATES.) Its enforcement was temporary.

On the 8th of July, while Colonel Porter was reconnoitring for a camp for his brigade about six miles from Arlington, on the Virginia side of the Potomac, opposite Washington, Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor, an officer in the Confederate army, presented himself with a flag of truce. He stated that he was the bearer of despatches from the President of the Confederate States to President Lincoln. He was taken to the head-quarters at Arlington, and at evening conveyed to Washington. His letter was sent to President Lincoln, and the next day he returned. No answer was given to this communication, the contents of which were as follows:

RICHMOND, *July* 6, 1861.

To Abraham Lincoln, President and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States:

SIR: Having learned that the schooner Savannah, a private armed vessel in the service and sailing under a commission issued by authority of the Confederate States of America, had been captured by one of the vessels forming the blockading squadron off Charleston harbor, I directed a proposition to be made to the officer commanding that squadron for an exchange of the officers and crew of the Savannah for prisoners of war held by this Government, "according to number and rank." To this proposition, made on the 19th ultimo, Captain Mercer, the officer in command of the blockading squadron, made answer on the same day that "the prisoners (referred to) are not on board of any of the vessels under my command."

It now appears, by statements made without contradiction in newspapers published in New York, that the prisoners above mentioned were conveyed to that city, and have been treated, not as prisoners of war, but as criminals; that they have been put in irons, confined in jail, brought before the courts of justice on charges of piracy and treason; and it is even rumored that they have been actually convicted of the offences charged, for no other reason than that they bore arms in defence of the rights of this Government, and under the authority of its commission.

I could not, without grave discourtesy, have made the newspaper statements above referred to the subject of this communication, if the threat of treating as pirates the citizens of this Confederacy, armed for its service on the high seas, had not been contained in your proclamation of 19th April last; that proclamation, however, seems to afford a sufficient justification for considering these published statements as not devoid of probability.

It is the desire of this Government so to conduct the war now existing as to mitigate its horrors, as far as may be possible; and, with this intent, its treatment of the prisoners captured by its forces has been marked by the greatest humanity and leniency consistent with public obligation. Some have been permitted to return home on parole, others to remain at large under similar conditions within this Confederacy, and all have been furnished with rations for their subsistence, such as are allowed to our own troops. It is only since the news has been received of the treatment of the prisoners taken on the Savannah that I have been compelled to withdraw these indulgences and to hold the prisoners taken by us in strict confinement.

A just regard to humanity and to the honor of this Government now requires me to state explicitly that, painful as will be the necessity, this Government will deal out to the prisoners held by it the same treatment and the same fate as shall be experienced by those captured on the Savannah; and if driven to the terrible necessity of retaliation by your execution of any of the officers or crew of the Savannah, that retaliation will be extended so far as shall be requisite to secure the abandonment of a practice unknown to the warfare of civilized man, and so barbarous as to disgrace the nation which shall be guilty of inaugurating it.

With this view, and because it may not have reached you, I now renew the proposition made to the commander of the blockading squadron, to exchange for the prisoners taken on the Savannah an equal number of those now held by us, according to rank.

I am, sir, yours, &c.,
JEFFERSON DAVIS,
President and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the Confederate States.

In his message to Congress on the 20th of July, President Davis refers to this despatch sent to Washington, and after stating the reasons upon which it was sent, thus proceeds:

"To this end I despatched an officer under a flag of truce to President Lincoln, and informed

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him of my resolute purpose to check all barbarities on prisoners of war by such severity of retaliation on prisoners held by us as should secure the abandonment of the practice. This communication was received and read by an officer in command of the United States forces, and a message was brought from him by the bearer of my communication that a reply would be returned by President Lincoln as soon as possible. I earnestly hope this promised reply (which has not yet been received) will convey the assurance that prisoners of war will be treated, in this unhappy contest, with that regard for humanity which has made such conspicuous progress in the conduct of modern warfare. As measures of precaution, however, and until this promised reply is received, I shall retain in close custody some officers captured from the enemy, whom it had been my pleasure previously to set at large on parole, and whose fate must necessarily depend on that of prisoners held by the enemy."

Still later in the year, another case of this kind occurred. The captain and crew who were captured in the privateer Jefferson Davis were brought to Philadelphia and tried, and found guilty of piracy. The sentence of the law in such a case is death. For the purpose of rescuing these men, retaliatory measures were adopted by the Confederate Government. What the measures were, and the manner in which they were put in force, is shown by the orders of the Government authorities, as follows:

C. S. A. WAR DEPARTMENT,
RICHMOND, *Nov.* 9, 1861.

SIR: You are hereby instructed to choose, by lot, from among the prisoners of war of highest rank, one who is to be confined in a cell appropriated to convicted felons, and who is to be treated in all respects as if such convict, and to be held for execution in the same manner as may be adopted by the enemy for the execution of the prisoner of war Smith, recently condemned to death in Philadelphia.

You will also select thirteen other prisoners of war, the highest in rank of those captured by our forces, to be confined in the cells reserved for prisoners accused of infamous crimes, and will treat them as such so long as the enemy shall continue so to treat the like number of prisoners of war captured by them at sea, and now held for trial in New York as pirates.

As these measures are intended to repress the infamous attempt now made by the enemy to commit judicial murder on prisoners of war, you will execute them strictly, as the mode best calculated to prevent the commission of so heinous a crime.

Your obedient servant,
J. P. BENJAMIN,
Acting Secretary of War.

To Brig.-Gen. JOHN H. WINDER, Richmond, Va.

HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF HENRICO,
RICHMOND, VA., *Nov.* 11, 1861.

SIR: In obedience to your instructions contained in your letter of the 9th instant, one prisoner of war of the highest rank in our possession was chosen, by lot, to be held for execution in the same manner as may be adopted by the enemy for the execution of Smith, recently condemned to death in Philadelphia. The names of the six Colonels were placed in a can. The first name drawn was that of Colonel Corcoran, Sixty-ninth Regiment N. Y. S. M., who is the hostage chosen to answer for Smith.

In choosing the thirteen from the highest rank to be held for a like number of prisoners of war captured by the enemy at sea, there being only ten field officers, it was necessary to draw by lot three captains. The first names drawn were Captains J. B. Ricketts, H. McQuade, and J. W. Rockwood.

The list of thirteen will therefore stand: Colonels Lee, Cogswell, Wilcox, Woodruff, and Wood; Lieutenant-Colonels Bowman and Neff; Majors Potter, Revere, and Vogdes; Captains Ricketts, McQuade, and Rockwood.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,
JOHN H. WINDER, Brigadier-General.

Hon. J. P. BENJAMIN, Secretary of War.

HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF HENRICO,
RICHMOND, VA., *Nov.* 12, 1861.

SIR: In obedience to your instructions, all the wounded officers have been exempted as hostages, to await the result of the trial of prisoners captured by the enemy at sea. I have therefore made selections, by lot, of Captains H. Bowman and T. Keffer, to replace Captains Ricketts and McQuade, wounded.

The list of thirteen will now stand: Colonels Lee, Cogswell, Wilcox, Woodruff, and Wood; Lieutenant-Colonels Bowman and Neff; Majors Potter, Revere, and Vogdes; Captains Rockwood, Bowman, and Keffer.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,
JOHN H. WINDER, Brigadier-General.

Hon. J. P. BENJAMIN, Sec'y of War, Richmond.

The privateersmen were ultimately put on the footing of prisoners of war by the orders of the Federal Government, and these prisoners in the Confederate States were early released, with the exception of Colonel Corcoran.

These extreme measures, whether adopted by the Federal or Confederate Governments, were not prosecuted for any length of time with that bitterness or vindictiveness which might be anticipated from the language in which they are expressed. Neither was the treatment of prisoners on either side, with some exceptions, marked by that harshness and severity which characterized former wars, and especially civil wars. The sentiment of mankind forbade, either at the North or South, any thing like a system of cruelty to captives.

The internal affairs of the Confederate States were early placed upon an organized and efficient system. The withdrawal from the United States, and the creation of a Confederacy, caused but few changes, and these consisted rather in the persons who held public offices, than in any change in the nature of the offices themselves.

The transmission of the mails was gradually suspended by the Federal Government, after the secession of each State, and was entirely assumed by the Confederate Government within the limits of the Confederate States after the 31st of May.

All postmasters, route agents, and special agents acting under the authority of the United States, were directed, on and after the 1st day of June, to continue in the discharge of their duties, subject to the laws and regulations of the Confederate Government, to which they were required to apply for new commissions. They were also instructed to render their final accounts up to the 31st day of May, to the Post-

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Office Department at Washington, and to return, at the same time, all postage stamps and stamped envelopes belonging to the United State, and to retain in their possession all the revenue which should have accrued from the postal service previous to the 1st of June, to meet the orders of the Postmaster-General of the United States for the payment of mail-service within the Confederate States.

Postmasters were forbidden to collect postage on mail matter sent to or received from the United States until a postal treaty should be made by that Government with the Southern Confederacy; and, until postage stamps and stamped envelopes were furnished, all mail matter was required to be paid for in money.

Five cents were charged for every single sealed letter conveyed over a distance of less than five hundred miles within the limits of the Confederacy; and for any distance exceeding that point, double that rate. Newspapers published within the Confederate States and sent from the office to subscribers residing in the said States, were charged as follows: weeklies, ten cents per quarter; semi-weeklies, double that amount; tri-weeklies, treble that amount; papers published six times a week, sixty cents; and dailies seventy cents. Periodicals published oftener than biennially were charged as newspapers. Books, bound or unbound, not weighing over four pounds, were charged at two cents an ounce for any distance. Double the rates above specified were to be charged upon all newspapers published beyond the limits of the Confederate States.

The new postage stamp did not make its appearance until the 18th of October. It was green, with a portrait of President Davis, within a double oval border, surrounded with the inscription, "Confederate States of America." Outside of the circle, and at the head of the stamp, is the word "postage," and at the lower edge its denomination, "five cents."

The Courts of the United States were also organized as courts of the Confederate States, and the officers of the army and navy of the United States, who resigned, became officers in the army and navy of the Confederate States. Revenue officers in like manner continued as such under the new Government.

At the session of Congress in July at Richmond, the report of the Secretary of War stated the number of regiments of troops then accepted was 194, and 32 battalions, besides various detachments of artillery, and companies of cavalry. He urged the continued acceptance of troops until the number reached 300 regiments. The success at Bull Run awakened such a degree of enthusiasm and confidence in the ultimate triumph of the Confederacy, that the army, in a short time, increased to a greater number than had been anticipated. Forward movements were made from Manassas and Centreville, and the flag of the "Stars and Bars" was flaunted from the summit of Munson's Hill, where the inhabitants of the city of Washington could see its folds proudly waving. At this time, a division of opinion existed even in the Cabinet of President Davis, on the policy of a forward movement of the army. It was apprehended by those who were opposed, that an attack upon and destruction of the Capital would thoroughly arouse the North. Some asserted that the true policy at that time, was to await the action of the French and English Governments, and thus the difficulties might be arranged without further effusion of blood. At the same time, the army was desirous of a forward movement, the capture of Washington, the recovery of Maryland, and the possession of Baltimore for their winter-quarters. The final decision was adverse to a forward movement. The rapid increase in the Federal force, its improving discipline and reorganization, rendered doubtful the result. A change was also made in the war policy of the Federal Government, the design of which now was to attack the Confederate States elsewhere than in Virginia. All these circumstances exerted a controlling influence when united with others which existed within the Confederacy itself. These consisted in a lack of transportation, and those more indispensable means to the success of an attempt at invasion, an abundance of money. Nevertheless, the military efforts of the Government were on a most extensive scale. Troops were organized and sent to intrenched camps in Kentucky. (*See* KENTUCKY.) Forces were maintained in Western Virginia, and an active campaign carried on. (*See* VIRGINIA.) In Missouri, although left in a manner by the Government to take care of herself, the most active military operations took place. (*See* MISSOURI.) The talents and skill of the Commanding General, Price, enabled him to sustain himself, and carry on an active campaign with less assistance and encouragement from the Government than any officer in the army.

At this moment, the solvent or specie-paying banks refused to receive the Confederate Treasury notes, and were calling in all their own circulation. They also refused to receive the bills of suspended banks, and both Treasury notes and suspended bills sunk from eight to fifteen per cent., and in the cities of the Gulf States were refused by mechanics and tradesmen. Embarrassment, discouragement, and uncertainty settled upon whole communities. The valuable paper was rapidly decreasing and disappearing, while the other was as rapidly increasing. All who could, drew specie from the banks, and millions of dollars were hid away or buried.

From this period, which was the month of September, the favorable aspect of affairs in the Confederate States began to decline, and before the close of the year, the subject of drafting soldiers to serve in the army was actively discussed. The entire forces in the field at any time scarcely exceeded 290,000 men, and many of those were militia, rather than soldiers enlisted for a long war.

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Financial affairs became more and more embarrassed, and the sale of the year's crops, upon which an agricultural people always relies, being cut off, the planters and agriculturalists found themselves sadly crippled. Clothing and arms were deficient for the army, and the means of increasing the latter were too defective to promise a sufficient supply, unless they could be obtained in Europe, and imported in spite of the blockade.

On the 6th of November, an election was held for a President and Vice-President under the permanent constitution. President Davis and Vice-President Stephens were the candidates without opposition. The electoral votes of the States respectively were as follows:

Alabama	11	North Carolina	12
Arkansas	6	South Carolina	8
Florida	4	Tennessee	13
Georgia	12	Texas	8
Louisiana	8	Virginia	18
Mississippi	9		
		Total	109

Messrs. Davis and Stephens were elected President and Vice-President for the term of six years. They entered upon the duties of their offices under this election, in the ensuing month of February.

The extent of attachment for the Federal Union, which remained among the people of the Confederate States, can never be justly known. It was not prudent to express such sentiments, however ardently they might have been entertained. Neither was it any less imprudent to express sentiments in favor of secession in the United States. Doubtless a large number of the people were disposed to acquiesce in the result, whichever side triumphed. In some parts of the Confederate States, such as Western Virginia, the Union sentiment was irresistible; in other parts it was kept in subjection by the strong arm of military power. Such was the case in Eastern Tennessee. The following correspondence between the Colonel commanding a post in that region of country, and the Confederate Secretary of War, reveals the strength of the Union attachment among the people:

KNOXVILLE, *Nov.* 20, 1861.

J. P. Benjamin, Secretary of War:

SIR: The rebellion in East Tennessee has been put down in some of the counties, and will be effectually suppressed in a few weeks in all the counties. Their camps in Sweet and Hamilton counties have been broken up, and a large number of them made prisoners. Some are confined in jail at this place, and others sent to Nashville. In a former communication I inquired of the Department what I should do with them. It is a mere farce to arrest them, and turn them over to the courts—instead of having the effect to intimidate, it really gives encouragement and emboldens them in their traitorous conduct.

We have now in custody some of their leaders: Judge Patterson, the son-in-law of Andrew Johnson; Colonel Pickens, the Senator in the Legislature from Sevier and other counties; and several members of the Legislature, besides others of influence and some distinction in their counties. These men have encouraged this rebellion, but have so managed as not to be found in arms; nevertheless, all their actions and words have been hostile to the Confederate States. The influence of their wealth, position, and connection has been exerted in favor of the Lincoln Government, and they are the parties most to blame for the troubles in East Tennessee. They really deserve the gallows, and if consistent with the laws, ought speedily to receive their deserts. But there is such a gentle spirit of conciliation in the South, that I have no idea that one of them will receive such a sentence at the hands of any jury empanelled to try them. I have been here at this station for three months, half the time in command of the post, and I have had a good opportunity of learning the feeling pervading the country; it is hostile to the Confederate Government. They are the followers and slaves of Johnson and Maynard, and never intend to be otherwise. When accosted, they suddenly become very submissive, and declare they are for peace, and not supporters of the Lincoln Government, but yet they claim to be Union men. At one time, when our forces were at Knoxville, they gave it out that great changes were taking place in East Tennessee, and the people were becoming reconciled and loyal.

At the withdrawal of the army from here to the Gap, and the first intimation of the approach of the Lincoln army, they were in arms, and there was scarcely a man but who was ready to join the enemy and make war upon us.

I have to suggest at least that the prisoners I have taken be treated, if not as traitors, as prisoners of war. To release them would be ruinous—to convict them in a court next to an impossibility. But if they are kept in prison six months, it will have a good effect. The bridge-burners ought to be tried at once.

Very respectfully,

W. B. WOOD,

Colonel commanding post.

BENJAMIN'S REPLY.

WAR DEPARTMENT, RICHMOND, *Nov.* 23, 1861.

COL. W. B. WOOD—SIR: Your report of the 20th inst. is received, and I now proceed to give you the desired instructions in relation to the prisoners taken by you amongst the traitors of East Tennessee.

1st. All such as can be identified in having been engaged in bridge-burning are to be tried summarily by drum-head court-martial, and if found guilty, executed on the spot by hanging. It would be well to leave their bodies hanging in the vicinity of the burnt bridges.

2d. All such as have not been so engaged, are to be treated as prisoners of war, and sent with an armed guard to Tuscaloosa, Alabama, there to be kept imprisoned at the depot selected by the Government for prisoners of war.

Whenever you can discover that arms are concentrated by these traitors, you will send out detachments, search for, and seize the arms. In no case is one of the men known to have been up in arms against the Government, to be released on any pledge or oath of allegiance. The time for such measures is past. They are all to be held as prisoners of war, and held in jail till the end of the war. Such as come in voluntarily, take the oath of allegiance, and surrender their arms, are alone to be treated with leniency. Your vigilant execution of these orders is earnestly urged by the Government.

Your obedient servant,

J. P. BENJAMIN, Secretary of War.

P. S.—Judge Patterson, Colonel Pickens, and other ring-leaders of the same class, must be sent at once to Tuscaloosa to jail, as prisoners of war.

The year finally closed with one of the most decisive blows to the hopes of the Confederate States for a speedy triumph, which could possibly occur. The chief reliance for success, entertained by the Confederate authorities and people, was founded upon the expectation of certain interference by England and France to

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break up the blockade and open their trade. Messrs Mason and Slidell were sent out as Commissioners, the former to England and the latter to France, to negotiate treaties with those Governments. They were captured when on board an English steamer, (*see* TRENT,) on their way to England, and taken to Boston, and incarcerated in Fort Warren. It was believed in the Confederate States that the crisis had now come—England would demand the surrender of these Commissioners, which the United States would refuse, and war would immediately ensue between the latter power and Great Britain. All eyes were now turned with intense interest to view the conduct of England. The stormy weather delayed the arrival of the news. The first report brought, stated the immense military preparations she was making. The next brought a demand for the immediate surrender of the Commissioners, or the alternative of the retirement of the British Minister. Three days of great public anxiety ensued. On the fourth day the Commissioners were surrendered, (*see* DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE,) and the hopes of the Confederate States for foreign intervention were dashed to the ground, never to rise again. The Government of the Confederate States at the close of the year was as follows:

JEFFERSON DAVIS, of Mississippi, President.
ALEX. H. STEPHENS, of Georgia, Vice-President.
Col. JOSEPH DAVIS, of Mississippi, Aid to the President.
Capt. R. JOSSELYN, of Mississippi, Private Secretary of the President.
R. M. T. HUNTER, Va., Secretary of State. WILLIAM M. BROWNE, Assistant Secretary of State. P. P. DANDRIDGE, Chief Clerk.
C. G. MEMMINGER, S. C., Secretary of the Treasury. P. CLAYTON, Ga., Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. H. D. CAPERS, Chief Clerk of the Department. LEWIS CRUGER, S. C., Comptroller and Solicitor. ROLLING BAKER, Ga., 1st Auditor. W. H. S. TAYLOR, La., 2d Auditor. ROBERT TYLER, Va., Register. E. C. ELMORE, Ala., Treasurer.
J. P. BENJAMIN, La., Secretary of War. A. T. BLEDSOE, Va., Chief Clerk of the Department. S. COOPER, Va., Adjutant and Inspector-General of the C. S. Army. Lieut.-Col. B. CHILTON and Capt. J. WITHERS, S. C., Assistants Adjutant and Inspector-General. Col. R. TAYLOR, Ky., Quartermaster-General. Col. A. C. MYERS, S. C., Assistant Quartermaster-General. Lieut.-Col. NORTHROP, S. C., Commissary-General. Col. J. GORGAS, Va., Chief of Ordnance. Col. S. P. MOORE, (M. D.,) S. C., Surgeon-General. Capt. C. H. SMITH, (M. D.,) Va., Assistant Surgeon-General. Capt. LEG. G. CAPERS, (M. D.,) S. C., Chief Clerk of the Medical Department. Major D. HUBBARD, Ala., Commissioner of Indian Affairs.
S. R. MALLORY, Fla., Secretary of the Navy. Com. E. M. TIDBALL, Va., Chief Clerk of the Department. Com. D. N. INGRAHAM, S. C., Chief of Ordnance, Construction, and Repair. Capt. GEORGE MINOR, Va., Inspector of Ordnance. Com. L. ROSSEAU, La., Chief of Equipment, Recruiting Orders, and Detail. Capt. W. A. SPOTTSWOOD, (M. D.,) Va., Chief of Medicine and Surgery. Capt. JOHN DEBREE, Chief of Clothing and Provisions.
Ex-Gov. BRAGG, N. C., Attorney-General. WADE KEYS, Ala., Assistant Attorney-General. R. R. RHODES, Miss., Commissioner of Patents. G. E. W. NELSON, Ga., Superintendent of Public Printing. R. M. SMITH, Va., Public Printer.
JOHN H. REAGAN, Texas, Postmaster-General. H. S. OFFUT, Va., Chief Contract Bureau. B. N. CLEMENTS, Tenn., Chief Appointment Bureau. J. L. HARRELL, Ala., Chief Finance Bureau. W. D. MILLER, Texas, Chief Clerk of Department.

CONGRESS, CONFEDERATE. No sooner was secession an organized fact in South Carolina with a certainty that other States would soon arrive at the same result, than suggestions were made for a Southern Confederacy. A committee in the Legislature of Mississippi, on Jan. 19, reported resolutions to provide for a Southern Confederacy and establish a Provisional Government. Florida, Alabama, and Georgia at once approved of this general design, and delegates were appointed to a Congress to be held at Montgomery. The design of this Congress, as then understood, was to organize a new Confederacy of the seceding slaveholding States, and such other slaveholding States as should secede and join them; and to establish first, a Provisional Government, intended to prepare for the general defence of those States which were linked together by a common interest in the peculiar institution, and which were opposed to the Federal Union; second, make treaties with the United States and "other foreign" countries; third, obtain decisive legislation in regard to the negro; and, fourthly, determine what States should constitute the Confederacy.

On the 4th of February this Congress met at Montgomery, in a hall, on the walls of which, portraits of Marion, Clay, Andrew Jackson, and several of Washington were hanging. It was composed of the following members, except those from Texas who were not appointed until Feb. 14:

South Carolina.—R. B. Rhett, James Chesnut, jr., W. P. Miles, T. J. Withers, R. W. Barnwell, C. G. Memminger, L. M. Keitt, and W. W. Boyce.
Georgia.—Robert Toombs, Howell Cobb, Benjamin H. Hill, Alexander H. Stephens, Francis Bartow, Martin J. Crawford, E. A. Nisbett, Augustus B. Wright, Thomas R. R. Cobb, and Augustus Keenan.
Alabama.—Richard W. Walker, Robert H. Smith, Colin J. McRae, John Gill Shorter, S. F. Hale, David P. Lewis, Thomas Fearn, J. L. M. Curry, and W. P. Chilton.
Mississippi.—Willie P. Harris, Walker Brooke, A. M. Clayton, W. S. Barry, J. T. Harrison, J. A. P. Campbell, and W. S. Wilson.
Louisiana.—John Perkins, jr., Duncan F. Kenner, C. M. Conrad, E. Spencer, and Henry Marshall.
Florida.—Jackson Morton, James Powers, and J. P. Anderson.
Texas.—L. T. Wigfall, J. H. Reagan, J. Hemphill, T. N. Waul, Judge Gregg, Judge Oldham, and Judge W. B. Ochiltree.

All the members were present except Mr. Morton, of Florida, and the members from Texas. A permanent organization was made by the election of Howell Cobb, of Georgia, as Chairman, and J. J. Hooper, of Montgomery, Alabama, Secretary.

Mr. Cobb, on taking the chair, made an address. He said:

"Accept, gentlemen of the Convention, my sincere thanks for the honor you have conferred upon me. I shall endeavor, by a faithful and impartial discharge of the duties of the Chair, to merit, in some degree, at least, the confidence you have reposed in me.

"The occasion which assembles us together, is one of no ordinary character. We meet as representatives of sovereign and independent States, who, by their solemn judgment, have dissolved the political association which connected them with the Government of the United States. Of the causes which have led

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to this decision it is unnecessary now to speak. It is sufficient to announce that by the judgment of our constituents they have been pronounced ample and sufficient. It is now a fixed and irrevocable fact. The separation is perfect, complete, and perpetual.

"The great duty is now imposed upon us of providing for these States a Government for their future security and protection. We can and should extend to our sister States—our late sister States—who are identified with us in interest, feeling, and institutions, a cordial welcome to unite with us in a common destiny—desirous at the same time of maintaining with our former confederates, as with the world, the most peaceful and friendly relations, both political and commercial.

"Our responsibilities, gentlemen, are great, and I doubt not we shall prove equal to the occasion. Let us assume all the responsibility which may be necessary for the successful completion of the great work committed to our care, placing before our countrymen and the world our acts and their results, as the justification for the course we may pursue, and the policy we may adopt. With a consciousness of the justice of our cause, and with confidence in the guidance and blessings of a kind Providence, we will this day inaugurate for the South a new era of peace, security, and prosperity."

The rules of the Convention were drawn on the principle that it was a Congress of sovereign and independent States, and the members should therefore vote by States.

On the 7th of February, the Committee on a Provisional Government reported a plan which was discussed in secret session. On the 8th, the Constitution of the United States was adopted with some amendments, as follows:

Alterations.—1st. The Provisional Constitution differs from the Constitution of the United States in this: That the legislative powers of the Provisional Government are vested in the Congress now assembled, and this body exercises all the functions that are exercised by either or both branches of the United States Government.

2d. The Provisional President holds his office for one year, unless sooner superseded by the establishment of a permanent government.

3d. Each State is erected into a distinct judicial district, the judge having all the powers heretofore vested in the district and circuit courts; and the several district judges together compose the supreme bench—a majority of them constituting a quorum.

4th. Wherever the word "Union" occurs in the United States Constitution the word "Confederacy" is substituted.

Additions.—1st. The President may veto any separate appropriation without vetoing the whole bill in which it is contained.

2d. The African slave trade is prohibited.

3d. Congress is empowered to prohibit the introduction of slaves from any State not a member of this Confederacy.

4th. All appropriations must be upon the demand of the President or heads of departments.

Omissions.—1st. There is no prohibition against members of Congress holding other offices of honor and emolument under the Provisional Government.

2d. There is no provision for a neutral spot for the location of a seat of government, or for sites for forts, arsenals, and dock-yards; consequently there is no reference made to the territorial powers of the Provisional Government.

3d. The section in the old Constitution in reference to capitation and other direct tax is omitted; also the section providing that no tax or duty shall be laid on any exports.

4th. The prohibition against States keeping troops or ships of war in time of peace is omitted.

5th. The Constitution being provisional merely, no provision is made for its ratification.

Amendments.—1st. The fugitive slave clause of the old Constitution is so amended as to contain the word "slave," and to provide for full compensation in cases of abduction or forcible rescue on the part of the State in which such abduction or rescue may take place.

2d. Congress, by a vote of two-thirds, may at any time alter or amend the Constitution.

Temporary Provisions.—1st. The Provisional Government is required to take immediate steps for the settlement of all matters between the States forming it and their late confederates of the United States in relation to the public property and the public debt.

2d. Montgomery is made the temporary seat of government.

3d. This Constitution is to continue one year, unless altered by a two-thirds vote or superseded by a permanent government.

The tariff clause provided that "Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises for revenue necessary to pay the debts and carry on the Government of the Confederacy, and all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the Confederacy."

The first section of Article I. is as follows:

"All legislative powers herein delegated shall be vested *in this Congress, now assembled*, until otherwise ordained."

The fifth article is as follows:

"The Congress, by a vote of two-thirds, may, at any time, alter or amend this Constitution."

The other portions of the Constitution are nearly identical with the Constitution of the United States.

On the next day after the adoption of the Provisional Constitution, at the opening of Congress, the President of the body was sworn by R. W. Walker to support the new Constitution, and the oath was then administered in turn by the President to all the members, in the order in which they were called by States.

At a quarter past twelve o'clock in the afternoon the Congress threw open its doors, after having previously gone into secret session, and proceeded to elect a President. The ballots were taken by States, each State being allowed one vote. On counting, it was found that Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, had received six votes, the whole number cast. The same formality was gone through in the election of Vice-President, resulting likewise in the unanimous election of Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia.

An immense crowd had gathered on the floor and in the galleries to witness the election of the first President of "the Confederate States of America." The election of Davis and

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Stephens was greeted with loud cheers and applause from the spectators.

The President of the Convention was directed to appoint Committees on Foreign Affairs, Finance, Military and Naval Affairs, the Judiciary, Postal Affairs, Commerce, Patents, and Printing.

A bill was passed continuing in force, until repealed or altered by Congress, all the laws of the United States which were in force on the 1st of November, 1860, not inconsistent with the Constitution of the Provisional Government.

A resolution was adopted instructing the Finance Committee to report promptly a tariff bill for raising a revenue for the support of the Provisional Government.

A resolution was also adopted authorizing the appointment of a Committee to report a Constitution for a permanent Government of the Confederacy.

The name "Confederate States of North America" was also adopted for the Union represented at Montgomery.

At the session on the next day, Mr. Stephens appeared and announced his acceptance of the office of Vice-President, and said:

"I have been notified by the committee of my election as Vice-President of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America. The committee requested that I should make known to this body, in a verbal response, my acceptance of the high position I have been called upon to assume, and this I now do in this august presence—before you, Mr. President, before this Congress, and this large concourse of people, under the bright sun and brilliant skies which now smile so felicitously upon us.

"I take occasion to return my most profound acknowledgments for this expression of confidence on the part of this Congress. There are especial reasons why I place an unusually high estimate on it. The considerations which induced me to accept it, I need not state. It is sufficient for me to say that it may be deemed questionable if any good citizens can refuse to discharge any duty which may be assigned them by their country in her hour of need.

"It might be expected that I should indulge in remarks on the state of our public affairs—the dangers which threaten us, and the most advisable measures to be adopted to meet our pressing exigencies; but allow me to say, in the absence of the distinguished gentleman called to the Chief Executive Chair, I think it best that I should refrain from saying any thing on such matters. We may expect him here in a few days—possibly by Wednesday—if he is not providentially detained. When he comes you will hear from him on these difficult questions; and I doubt not we shall cordially and harmoniously concur in any line of policy his superior wisdom and statesmanship may indicate.

"In the mean time, we may be profitably employed in directing attention to such matters as providing the necessary postal arrangements, making provision for the transfer of the custom-houses from the separate States to the Confederacy, and the imposition of such duties as are necessary to meet the present expected exigencies in the exercise of power, and raise a revenue. We are limited in the latter object to a small duty, not exceeding ten per centum upon importations. We can also be devoting attention to the Constitution of a permanent Government, stable and durable, which is one of the leading objects of our assembling.

"I am now ready to take the oath."

The oath was accordingly administered.

A committee of two from each State was appointed to form a permanent Constitution for the Confederacy.

On the 12th resolutions were offered to continue in office the revenue officers of the respective States.

It was also resolved "That this Government takes under its charge all questions and difficulties now existing between the sovereign States of this Confederacy and the Government of the United States relating to the occupation of forts, arsenals, navy-yards, custom-houses, and all other public establishments, and the President of this Congress is directed to communicate this resolution to the Governors of the respective States of the Confederacy."

On the 13th of February, the Committee on Naval Affairs, and also the Committee on Military Affairs, were instructed to include in any plans they might propose for the army and navy, provisions for such officers as might tender their resignations.

A resolution was also adopted instructing the Committee on Commercial Affairs to inquire and report upon the expediency of repealing the navigation laws.

A debate took place on the subject of a National flag, proposing to make only such changes as might be necessary to distinguish it easily from that of the United States.

Mr. Brooks, in the course of his remarks, said the flag of stars and stripes is the idol of the heart, around which cluster memories of the past which time cannot efface, or cause to grow dim.

Mr. Miles, in reply, said he had regarded from his youth the stars and stripes as the emblem of oppression and tyranny.

The Committee to whom the subject was referred made a report, which was unanimously adopted. It recommended that the flag of the Confederate States should consist of three bars of red and white—the upper red, middle white, lower red. The lower bar should extend the whole width of the flag, and just above it, next to the staff in the upper left hand corner of the flag, should be a blue Union with seven stars in a circle.

The form of Government adopted by the Congress was chiefly objected to, so far as it held out any encouragement for reconstruction, or

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any inducement to the Border Slave States to remain in the Union with the North.

On the 15th, Congress made arrangements for the reception and inauguration of President Davis. An official copy of the Texas secession ordinance was presented, and the deputy present invited to a seat, although the ordinance had not been ratified.

There was then a secret session, during which a resolution was passed removing the injunction of secrecy from an act continuing in office the officers connected with the collection of customs at the time of the adoption of the Constitution of the Confederate States, with the salaries and powers as heretofore provided; the compensation not to exceed five thousand dollars. The collectors were required, within two weeks, to execute the same bonds as heretofore, and the subordinates to give bond. One week after the collectors were required to take the oath to discharge their duties, and support the Constitution of the Provisional Government. The Secretary of the Treasury had been instructed to report a plan, to go into effect on the first of April, diminishing the expenses of collecting the revenue at each custom-house at least fifty per cent.

The 18th was devoted to the splendors and gaieties of a Presidential inauguration, which was regarded as the grandest pageant ever witnessed in the Southern States.

On the 19th, measures were adopted to admit, duty free, all breadstuffs, provisions, munitions of war, or materials therefor, living animals, and agricultural products in their natural state; also goods, wares, and merchandise from the United States purchased before the 1st of March, and imported before the 14th of March. Texas was excepted from the operation of the tariff laws.

On the next day the Departments of War, Navy, Justice, Postal Affairs, State and Treasury, were organized.

On the 21st, a resolution was introduced by Mr. Cobb instructing the Committee on Finance to inquire into the expediency of laying a duty on cotton exported from the Confederate States to any foreign country.

Mr. Cobb, on presenting the resolution, said:

"I am not prepared to discuss the policy of levying such a duty. That we have the power to do so there can be no doubt. I apprehend that we are conscious of the power we hold in our hands by reason of our producing that staple so necessary to the world. I doubt not that power will exert an influence mightier than armies and navies. We know that by an embargo we could soon place, not only the United States, but many of the European Powers, under the necessity of electing between such a recognition of our independence as we require, or domestic convulsions at home.

"The information in our possession seems to justify such an inquiry as the resolution proposes. It is a fact that some of the cotton now produced in this Confederacy is already seeking a new channel to the sea. We are informed that at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, more than 20,000 bales of cotton have already been received, conveyed thither up the Mississippi and Ohio rivers. We are also informed that more than 20,000 bales of cotton from Rome, Georgia, have been sent by railroad to seek a port at Norfolk and Alexandria. We are further informed that the directors of the railroads connecting with the principal lines in our territory are now concerting schemes for the purpose of reducing freights on those roads, in order in that way to entice our cotton to markets in Northern ports.

"The result of such a course, if successful, would, in the first place, necessarily be to make the blockade of our ports a matter of no importance to foreign nations; secondly, it would destroy all commerce with our own seaports; and, thirdly, and most important of all, it would compel us to receive all the imported goods we might need after paying duties on them in New York City. These considerations have induced me to offer this resolution of inquiry. I do not think that the resolution should elicit discussion at the present time, but, after the Committee on Finance have made their report, it may become a grave matter for the consideration of this body."

The resolution was adopted.

The President then nominated, and the Congress confirmed, the following: Mr. Toombs, of Georgia, Secretary of State; Mr. Memminger, of South Carolina, Secretary of the Treasury; and L. Pope Walker, of Alabama, Secretary of War.

On the 22d, an act was unanimously passed declaring the free navigation of the Mississippi River to be established.

On the 26th, an act was passed defining more accurately the exemption of duty on certain goods; also, an act modifying the navigation laws; an act in relation to the slave trade, for which the punishment was defined; an act organizing the general staff of the army; and an act authorizing the establishment of additional ports of entry and delivery.

Subsequently the nomination of Gustave T. Beauregard, of Louisiana, as Brigadier-General of the Provisional Army, was confirmed.

An act to raise provisional forces for the Confederate States and for other purposes was passed. It directed, among other provisions, that the President should take charge of all the military operations between the Confederacy and other Powers.

An act was also passed to raise money to support the Government. It authorized the President to borrow $15,000,000, payable in ten years, at an interest of eight per cent. The last section directed an export duty of one-eighth per cent. on each pound of cotton exported after the 1st of August following, to create a fund to liquidate principal and interest of the loan.

The postal system of the Confederate States

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was adopted on the report of the Committee of Congress, made on the 25th of February. The report stated that the expenses, over and above receipts, for the post-office service in the six States (Texas not included) composing the Confederacy, were, for the year ending June 30, 1859, $1,660,595. The Committee recommended an increase of postage rates, by which they estimated an increase of receipts of $578,874. They also recommended a new mode of letting contracts, on what was called the "starbid system," by which it was hoped to save $619,033. Some routes were to be discontinued, by which $206,344 would be saved. Daily service was, in some cases, to be changed to tri-weekly, and thus another $206,344 would be saved. Minor post-offices were to be abolished, and $50,000 saved. These savings and the expected increase were estimated by the Committee to cover the deficiency. Present mail contracts were to be assumed by the Government until all the routes were re-let. The rates of postage proposed were: on each letter of half an ounce or less, five cents for five hundred miles, and ten cents for over five hundred miles; drop and advertised letters two cents. Newspaper postage was put at varying but not high rates. Stamps were to be used. The franking privilege was abolished, except in the case of the Post-Office Department. Letter registration was repealed.

On the 6th of March, the appointment of John H. Reagan, as Postmaster-General, was confirmed.

On the next day, a bill was reported providing that, in the event of a conflict or a refusal by the United States to recognize the independence of the Confederacy, no Court in the Confederate States should have cognizance of civil cases by citizens of the United States, and that all civil cases pending should be dismissed.

A resolution was adopted authorizing the President to instruct the Commissioners to the European Courts to enter into a treaty for an extension of international copyright privileges.

On the same day, an act was passed authorizing a military force of 100,000 men to be raised. The first section is in these words:

SEC. 1. *The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact*, That in order to provide speedily forces to repel invasion, maintain the rightful possession of the Confederate States of America in every portion of territory belonging to each State, and to secure the public tranquillity and independence against threatened assault, the President be and he is hereby authorized to employ the militia, military, and naval forces of the Confederate States of America, and ask for and accept the services of any number of volunteers, not exceeding one hundred thousand, who may offer their services, either as cavalry, mounted rifle, artillery, or infantry, in such proportion of these several arms as he may deem expedient, to serve for twelve months after they shall be mustered into service, unless sooner discharged.

On the 11th of March the permanent Constitution was adopted by Congress. In nearly all its parts it adopts the precise language, and follows in its articles and sections the order of arrangement of the Constitution of the United States. The parts in which it differs from the latter either by variations from, or additions thereto, are herewith presented. It begins with the following preamble:

We, the people of the Confederate States, each State acting in its sovereign and independent character, in order to form a permanent Federal Government, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity—invoking the favor and guidance of Almighty God—do ordain and establish this Constitution for the Confederate States of America.

The second section of the first article imposes the following restriction on the rights of suffrage, in order to correct an abuse which has sprung from the action of certain States in the Union which have granted the right of voting to unnaturalized aliens:

The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States; and the electors in each State shall be citizens of the Confederate States, and have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature; but no person of foreign birth not a citizen of the Confederate States, shall be allowed to vote for any officer, civil or political, State or Federal.

In adjusting the basis of representation and direct taxation, "three-fifths of all slaves" are enumerated, as in the Constitution of the United States, which substitutes for the word "slaves" the term "other persons." The number of Representatives given prior to an actual enumeration of the population, appointed to take place within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the Confederate States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, is as follows:

The State of South Carolina shall be entitled to choose six, the State of Georgia ten, the State of Alabama nine, the State of Florida two, the State of Mississippi seven, the State of Louisiana six, and the State of Texas six.

On the subject of impeachments, the following provision is made:

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment, except that any judicial or other Confederate officer, resident and acting solely within the limits of any State, may be impeached by a vote of two-thirds of both branches of the Legislature thereof.

It is provided that the Senators of the Confederate States shall be chosen by the State Legislatures "at the regular session next immediately preceding the commencement of the term of service."

It is provided that the concurrence of "two-thirds of the whole number" of each House shall be necessary to the expulsion of a member.

Congress is authorized to make the following provision in reference to heads of the Executive Departments:

Congress may by law grant to the principal officer in each of the Executive Departments a seat upon the floor of either House, with the privilege of discussing any measures appertaining to his Department.

The President is authorized to make the fol-

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lowing discrimination in giving his assent to appropriation bills:

The President may approve any appropriation and disapprove any other appropriation in the same bill. In such case he shall, in signing the bill, designate the appropriations disapproved, and shall return a copy of such appropriations with his objections to the House in which the bill shall have originated, and the same proceeding shall then be had as in case of other bills disapproved by the President.

The following prohibition of the "protective policy" is engrafted in the Constitution in enumerating the powers of Congress:

No bounties shall be granted from the Treasury, nor shall any duties or taxes on importations from foreign nations be laid to promote or foster any branch of industry.

Internal improvements by the Confederate Government are also prohibited:

Congress shall have power to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes; but neither this nor any other clause contained in the Constitution shall ever be construed to delegate the power to Congress to appropriate money for any internal improvement intended to facilitate commerce; except for the purpose of furnishing lights, beacons, and buoys, and other aids to navigation upon the coasts, and the improvement of harbors and the removing of obstructions in river navigation, in all of which cases such duties shall be laid on the navigation facilitated thereby as may be necessary to pay the costs and expenses thereof.

The Post-Office Department must pay its expenses from its own resources "after the first day of March, 1863."

In relation to the slave trade, the following provision is made:

The importation of negroes of the African race from any foreign country, other than the slaveholding States or Territories of the United States of America, is hereby forbidden; and Congress is required to pass such laws as shall effectually prevent the same. Congress shall also have power to prohibit the introduction of slaves from any State not a member of or Territory not belonging to this Confederacy.

The imposition of export duties is restricted by the following provision:

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State, except by a vote of two-thirds of both Houses.

The appropriation of money for other objects than those indicated and estimated for by the several Executive Departments is thus restrained:

Congress shall appropriate no money from the Treasury except by a vote of two-thirds of both Houses, taken by yeas and nays, unless it be asked and estimated for by some one of the Heads of Department, and submitted to Congress by the President, or for the purpose of paying its own expenses and contingencies, or for the payment of claims against the Confederate States, the justice of which shall have been judicially declared by a tribunal for the investigation of claims against the Government, which it is hereby made the duty of Congress to establish.

All bills appropriating money shall specify in Federal currency the exact amount of each appropriation, and the purposes for which it is made; and Congress shall grant no extra compensation to any public contractor, officer, agent, or servant, after such contract shall have been made or such service rendered.

Akin to these regulations is the following provision:

Every law or resolution having the force of law shall relate to but one subject, and that shall be expressed in the title.

Tonnage duties when levied by the several States are thus regulated:

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, except on sea-going vessels, for the improvement of its rivers and harbors navigated by the said vessels; but such duties shall not conflict with any treaties of the Confederate States with foreign nations; and any surplus of revenue thus derived, shall, after making such improvement, be paid into the common treasury; nor shall any State keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay. But when any river divides or flows through two or more States, they may enter into compacts with each other to improve the navigation thereof.

The President and Vice-President of the Confederate States hold office for the term of six years, the President not being re-eligible. The qualifications of eligibility are as follows:

No person except a natural born citizen of the Confederate States, or a citizen thereof at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, or a citizen thereof born in the United States prior to the 20th of December, 1860, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the limits of the Confederate States, as they may exist at the time of his election.

Appointments and removals are regulated as follows:

The principal officer in each of the Executive Departments, and all persons connected with the diplomatic service, may be removed from office at the pleasure of the President. All other civil officers of the Executive Department may be removed at any time by the President, or other appointing power, when their services are unnecessary, or for dishonesty, incapacity, inefficiency, misconduct, or neglect of duty; and when so removed, the removal shall be reported to the Senate, together with the reasons therefor.

The President shall have power to fill all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session; but no person rejected by the Senate shall be reappointed to the same office during their ensuing recess.

The following provisions are made in reference to the rights of transit and sojourn with slave property, recovery of fugitive slaves, &c.

The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States, and shall have the right of transit and sojourn in any State of this Confederacy, with their slaves and other property; and the right of property in said slaves shall not be thereby impaired.

A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime against the laws of such State, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the Executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

No slave or other person held to service or labor in any State or Territory of the Confederate States, under the laws thereof, escaping or lawfully carried into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regu-

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lation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such slave belongs, or to whom such service or labor may be due.

The following is the provision in reference to the admission of States into the new Confederacy:

Other States may be admitted into this Confederacy by a vote of two-thirds of the whole House of Representatives and two-thirds of the Senate, the Senate voting by States; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The "Territorial question" is thus disposed of:

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations concerning the property of the Confederate States, including the lands thereof.

The Confederate States may acquire new territory; and Congress shall have power to legislate and provide governments for the inhabitants of all territory belonging to the Confederate States lying without the limits of the several States; and may permit them, at such times and in such manner as it may by law provide, to form States to be admitted into the Confederacy. In all such territory the institution of negro slavery, as it now exists in the Confederate States, shall be recognized and protected by Congress and by the Territorial government; and the inhabitants of the several Confederate States and Territories shall have the right to take to such Territory any slaves lawfully held by them in any of the States or Territories of the Confederate States.

Amendments to the Constitution are to be thus initiated and consummated:

Upon the demand of any three States, legally assembled in their several Conventions, the Congress shall summon a Convention of all the States to take into consideration such amendments to the Constitution as the said States shall concur in suggesting at the time when the said demand is made; and should any of the proposed amendments to the Constitution be agreed on by the said Convention—voting by States—and the same be ratified by the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, or by Conventions in two-thirds thereof—as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the General Convention—they shall thenceforward form a part of this Constitution.

The following temporary provisions are enumerated:

The Government established by this Constitution is the successor of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America, and all the laws passed by the latter shall continue in force until the same shall be repealed or modified; and all the officers appointed by the same shall remain in office until their successors are appointed and qualified, or the offices abolished.

All debts contracted and engagements entered into before the adoption of this Constitution shall be as valid against the Confederate States under this Constitution as under the Provisional Government.

The mode of ratification and the number of States necessary to put the Constitution in force are thus designated:

The ratification of the Conventions of five States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

When five States shall have ratified this Constitution, in the manner before specified, the Congress under the Provisional Constitution shall prescribe the time for holding the election of President and Vice-President, and for the meeting of the Electoral College, and for counting the votes, and inaugurating the President. They shall also prescribe the time for holding the first election of members of Congress under this Constitution, and the time for assembling the same. Until the assembling of such Congress, the Congress under the Provisional Constitution shall continue to exercise the legislative powers granted them; not extending beyond the time limited by the Constitution of the Provisional Government.

An act was also passed authorizing the issue of one million dollars in Treasury notes, and an appropriation bill to meet current expenses.

The tariff bill reported to Congress was postponed to the 1st of May. As compared with the tariff of the United States, most of the articles paying 30 per cent. were reduced to 25 per cent.; the larger portion of those paying 24 and 19 per cent. were reduced to 15. There was also a large 10 per cent. schedule, and a very small free list.

The Commissioners appointed to visit Europe were Messrs. Yancey, A. Dudley Mann, and P. A. Rost, of Louisiana. They immediately proceeded by way of New Orleans and Havana to their place of destination.

The Congress also passed an act to authorize the transit of merchandise through the Confederate States; also, a resolution requesting the States to cede the forts, arsenals, navy-yards, dock-yards, and other public establishments within their limits to the Confederacy.

The act passed to prohibit the African slave trade was vetoed by President Davis on the ground of a conflict in the details of one of the sections with the provisions of the Constitution, to wit:

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Feb. 28, 1861.

Gentlemen of Congress: With sincere deference to the judgment of Congress, I have carefully considered the bill in relation to the slave trade, and to punish persons offending therein, but have not been able to approve it, and, therefore, do return it with a statement of my objections.

The Constitution—section seven, article one—provides that the importation of African negroes from any foreign country other than Slaveholding States of the United States is hereby forbidden, and Congress is required to pass such laws as shall effectually prevent the same. The rule herein given is emphatic, and distinctly directs the legislation which shall effectually prevent the importation of African negroes. The bill before me denounces as high misdemeanor the importation of African negroes, or other persons of color, either to be sold as slaves or to be held to service or labor, affixing heavy, degrading penalties on the act if done with such intent. To that extent it accords with the requirements of the Constitution, but in the sixth section of the bill provision is made for the transfer of persons who may have been illegally imported into the Confederate States to the custody of foreign States or societies, upon condition of deportation and future freedom, and, if the proposition thus to surrender them shall not be accepted, it is then made the duty of the President to cause said negroes to be sold at public outcry to the highest bidder in any one of the States where such sale shall not be inconsistent with the laws thereof. This provision seems to me to be in opposition to the policy declared in the Constitution—the prohibition of the importation of African negroes—and in derogation of its mandate to legislate for the effectuation of that object. Wherefore the bill is

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returned to you for your further consideration, and, together with the objections, most respectfully submitted. JEFFERSON DAVIS.

This veto of the President was sustained in Congress by the following vote—the question being, "Shall the bill pass notwithstanding the President's objections?"

YEAS—Messrs. Curry and Chilton, of Alabama; Morton and Owens, of Florida; Toombs, H. Cobb, T. R. R. Cobb, Barton, Nisbit, and Kenan, of Georgia; Rhett, Barnwell, Keitt, and Miles, of South Carolina; Ochiltree, of Texas—15.

NAYS—Messrs. Smith, Hale, Shorter, and Dean, of Alabama; Wright and Stephens, of Georgia; DeClonet, Conrad, Kenner, Sparrow, and Marshall, of Louisiana; Harris, Brooke, Wilson, Clayton, Barry, and Harrison, of Mississippi; Chesnut, Withers, and Boyce, of South Carolina; Reagan, Waul, Gregg, and Oldham, of Texas—24.

The clause in the permanent Constitution of the Confederate States prohibiting the African slave traffic was adopted in the Montgomery Congress by the vote of four States to two. South Carolina and Florida opposed the restriction, while Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi advocated it.

An act was also passed to accept from the State of Louisiana the offer of a certain amount of the moneys of the United States, taken possession of by order of the State authorities, from the mint and sub-treasury.

On the 29th of April Congress assembled at Montgomery, in compliance with the proclamation of President Davis. This proclamation convoking Congress, was issued on the 12th of April, "and was prompted," says President Davis, "by the declaration of hostile purposes contained in the Message sent by President Lincoln to the Government of South Carolina on the 8th of April.

H. C. Jones and Nicholas Davis, jr., elected to fill the vacancies occasioned by the resignations of David P. Lewis and Thomas Feavre, from Alabama, were qualified and took their seats.

Louis T. Wigfall appeared, from the State of Texas, and J. A. Orr, the successor of W. S. Wilson, of Mississippi, and were qualified.

The Message of President Davis was then read. (*See* PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.)

It announced the ratification of the Permanent Constitution by all the States of the Confederacy.

The President said the declaration of war made against the Confederacy by Abraham Lincoln rendered it necessary to convene Congress, to devise proper measures for the defence of the country.

He reviewed at length the relations heretofore existing between the States, and the events which resulted in the present warfare. Referring to the mission of the Confederate State Commissioners to Washington, he said the "crooked paths of diplomacy can scarcely furnish an example so wanting in courtesy, in candor, and directness, as was the course of the United States Government towards our Commissioners."

Commissioners had been sent to England, France, Russia, and Belgium, to ask their recognition of the Confederate States as a member of the family of nations, to make treaties, &c. He recommended the appointment of other diplomatic agents.

The Confederacy, he said, through Vice-President Stephens, had concluded a Convention with Virginia, by which Virginia had united her citizens and their fortunes with them. He had satisfactory assurances that other Southern States would soon unite with the Confederacy. Nearly all of the Executive departments were in successful operation. The Postmaster-General would soon be ready to assume the direction of postal affairs.

In conclusion, he congratulated the Confederacy on the patriotic devotion exhibited by her citizens—men of high official and social position and wealth were serving in the volunteer ranks. He spoke complimentarily of the railway companies for their liberal rates of transportation of troops and supplies, and of their proffer of liberal terms in transporting the mails, and to take pay in bonds of the Confederacy. He said: "A people thus united and resolved cannot fail of final success. We feel that our cause is just and holy, and protest solemnly in the face of mankind that we desire peace at any sacrifice, save that of honor and independence. We seek no conquest, no aggrandizement, no concessions from the Free States. All we ask is to be let alone—that none shall attempt our subjugation by arms. This we will and must resist to the direst extremity. The moment this pretension is abandoned the sword will drop from our hands, and we shall be ready to enter into treaties of amity and commerce mutually beneficial. So long as this pretension is maintained, with firm reliance on that Divine power which covers with its protection the just cause, we will continue to struggle for our inherent right to freedom, independence, and self-government."

On the 6th of May Congress passed an act recognizing a state of war with the United States, and authorizing the issue of letters of marque. The preamble and first section were as follows:

Whereas, The earnest efforts made by this Government to establish friendly relations between the Government of the United States and the Confederate States, and to settle all questions of disagreement between the two Governments upon principles of right, justice, equity, and good faith, have proved unavailing, by reason of the refusal of the Government of the United States to hold any intercourse with the Commissioners appointed by this Government for the purposes aforesaid, or to listen to any proposal they had to make for the peaceful solution of all causes of difficulties between the two Governments; and *whereas*, the President of the United States of America has issued his proclamation, making requisition upon the States of the American Union for seventy-five thousand men, for the purpose as therein indicated of

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capturing forts, and other strongholds within the jurisdiction of, and belonging to, the Confederate States of America, and has detailed naval armaments upon the coasts of the Confederate States of America, and raised, organized, and equipped a large military force to execute the purpose aforesaid, and has issued his other proclamation, announcing his purpose to set on foot a blockade of the ports of the Confederate States; and *whereas*, the State of Virginia has seceded from the Federal Union, and entered into a convention of alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Confederate States, and has adopted the Provisional Constitution of the said States, and the States of Maryland, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Arkansas, and Missouri have refused, and it is believed that the State of Delaware and the inhabitants of the Territories of Arizona and New Mexico, and the Indian Territory south of Kansas, will refuse to coöperate with the Government of the United States in these acts of hostilities and wanton aggression, which are plainly intended to overawe, oppress, and finally subjugate the people of the Confederate States; and *whereas*, by the acts and means aforesaid war exists between the Confederate States and the Government of the United States, and the States and Territories thereof, excepting the States of Maryland, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Arkansas, Missouri, and Delaware, and the Territories of Arizona, and New Mexico, and the Indian Territory south of Kansas: Therefore,

SEC. 1. *The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact*, That the President of the Confederate States is hereby authorized to use the whole land and naval force of the Confederate States to meet the war thus commenced, and to issue to private armed vessels, commissions, or letters of marque and general reprisal, in such form as he shall think proper, under the seal of the Confederate States, against the vessels, goods, and effects of the Government of the United States, and of the citizens or inhabitants of the States and Territories thereof, except the States and Territories hereinbefore named. *Provided*, however, that property of the enemy (unless it be contraband of war) laden on board a neutral vessel, shall not be subject to seizure under this Act; *and provided further*, that vessels of the citizens or inhabitants of the United States now in the ports of the Confederate States, except such as have been, since the 5th of April last, or may hereafter be, in the service of the Government of the United States, shall be allowed thirty days after the publication of this Act to leave said ports and reach their destination; and such vessels and their cargoes, excepting articles contraband of war, shall not be subject to capture under this Act, during said period, unless they shall have previously reached the destination for which they were bound on leaving said ports.

On the 7th, the ordinance of the Virginia State Convention uniting the State to the Confederate States, and the treaty concluded by Vice-President Stephens and the Commissioners of Virginia, were presented. Another ordinance was adopted ratifying the action of these Commissioners and recognizing Virginia as one of the Confederate States. J. W. Brockenbrough and Walter R. Staples, members elect from Virginia, were sworn in and took their seats as members of the Congress. The time of the Convention was passed almost entirely in secret session. George T. Ward, successor of J. P. Anderson, of Florida, also appeared.

On the 8th, Congress was in secret session, and engaged in perfecting arrangements for a vigorous prosecution of the war. It was estimated that the Government had control of sufficient arms, ordnance, and ammunition of every description to put into the field one hundred and fifty thousand men.

On the 9th, an act was passed to authorize the President to accept the services of volunteers without regard to the place of enlistment.

On the 11th, a bill was reported to establish a patent-office. This was passed on the 17th.

A Message was also received from President Davis, recognizing T. J. Clingman as a commissioner from North Carolina, and conveying the assurance that the State would coöperate with the Confederate States. Mr. Clingman was then invited to take a seat in the public and secret session of Congress, and to participate in the discussions. Many appointments of judges and marshals were then confirmed.

On the 18th, a bill was passed authorizing the issue of fifty millions of dollars in bonds, payable in twenty years, with interest not exceeding eight per centum, or, in lieu of bonds, the issue of twenty millions in Treasury notes in small sums without interest.

An act was passed abolishing the mints at New Orleans and Dahlonega after the 1st of June.

Arkansas was admitted as one of the Confederate States.

On the same day another bill was passed forbidding the people of the Confederate States to pay any debts due from them to the citizens of the Northern and Northwestern States. The following is the act:

SEC. 1. The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact, that all persons in any manner indebted to individuals or corporations in the United States of America, (except the States of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, and the District of Columbia,) be and are hereby prohibited from paying the same to their respective creditors, or their agents or assignees, pending the existing war waged by that Government against the Confederate States, or any of the slaveholding States before named.

SEC. 2. Any person indebted as aforesaid shall be and is hereby authorized to pay the amount of his indebtedness into the Treasury of the Confederate States in specie or Treasury notes, and shall receive from the Treasurer a certificate, countersigned by the Register, showing the amount paid and on what account, and the rate of interest which the same was bearing.

SEC. 3. Such certificate shall bear like interest with the original contract, and shall be redeemable at the close of the war and the restoration of peace, in specie or its equivalent, on presentation of the original certificate.

SEC. 4. All laws and parts of laws militating against this act shall be and the same are hereby repealed.

HOWELL COBB, President of the Congress.

Approved, May 21, 1861.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

On the 22d, an adjournment was made to meet at Richmond on the 20th July. The object of this removal was to strengthen the Government by its influence in Virginia.

The tariff bill was passed with some unimportant amendments; but such was the efficiency of the blockade of the ports of these Confederate States, that at the close of the year it had yielded no revenue to the Government.

A committee, consisting of Messrs. Rives, Hunter, and Memminger, was also appointed to make arrangements to transfer the military department to Richmond.

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On Saturday, July 20, the Congress again assembled. It convened in the hall of the House of Delegates at Richmond, in Virginia. About seventy members out of ninety-two were present. Messrs. Scott, Tyler, Prior, Bocock, Mason, and Preston were absent. The President's Message was received and read, and five thousand copies ordered to be printed. (*See* PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.) Afterwards a secret session commenced. A standing resolution required that all business relating to the public defence should be discussed in secret session, and although it did not extend to other subjects, yet these were soon included.

The report of the Secretary of War stated that one hundred and ninety-four regiments and thirty-two battalions had then been accepted, besides various detachments of artillery and companies of cavalry not made into regiments. He also recommended that Congress should call forth and accept three hundred regiments, in view of the immense additions to the forces of the Federal Government.

R. M. T. Hunter, of Virginia, was nominated and confirmed as Secretary of State in place of Robert Toombs, resigned.

The principal business of the session was to provide ways and means to sustain the operations of the Government. A disposition prevailed to look in a considerable measure to the action of the banks. (*See* FINANCES, U. S.) This action, however, was somewhat embarrassed by the banks at New Orleans, which continued to pay specie, as they otherwise would forfeit their charters. The banks of Mobile still continued to pay specie, although not subject to such a penalty on suspension.

An act was adopted which prescribed a uniform mode of taking, authenticating, and preserving the evidence of the abduction or reception by the enemy, of slaves owned by any of the Confederate States, as also of the age, sex, and value of said slaves, to the end that indemnity might hereafter be exacted from the enemy.

Another act was passed in relation to the telegraph, which illustrates the degree of power concentrated in the hands of the military leaders, and shows the prudent surveillance exercised by them over military matters. It was in these words:

"During the existing war the President is hereby authorized and empowered to take such control of such of the lines of telegraph in the Confederate States, and of such of the offices connected therewith, as will enable him effectually to supervise the communications passing through the same, to the end that no communications shall be conveyed of the military operations of the Government to endanger the success of such operations, nor any communication calculated to injure the cause of the Confederate States, or to give aid or comfort to their enemies.

"The President shall appoint trustworthy agents in such offices and at such points on the various lines as he may think fit, whose duty it shall be to supervise all communications sent or passing through said lines, and to prevent the transmission of any communication deemed to be detrimental to the public service.

"In case the owners and managers of said lines shall refuse to permit such supervision, or shall fail or refuse to keep up and continue the business on said lines, the President is hereby empowered to take possession of the same for the purposes aforesaid.

"The President shall from time to time issue instructions to the agents so appointed, and to the operators of the various lines, to regulate the transmission of communications touching the operations of the Government, or calculated to affect the public welfare.

"No communication in cipher nor enigmatical or other doubtful communication shall be transmitted, unless the person sending the same shall be known to the agent of the Government to be trustworthy, nor until the real purport of such communication shall be explained to such agent.

"If any person shall knowingly send or transmit any message or communication touching the military operations of the Government, without the same being first submitted to the inspection of the agent of the Government, or any message calculated to aid and promote the cause of the enemies of the Confederate States, he shall be subject to indictment in the District Court of the Confederate States, and on conviction, shall be fined in a sum not less than five hundred dollars and imprisoned for a term not less than one year."

An act was also passed relative to alien enemies. It makes all citizens within the Confederacy of any nation with which the Confederate States are at war, enemies who shall be liable to be apprehended, restrained, or secured, and removed as alien enemies, unless steps are taken for naturalization.

The official reports made the number of men in the field at this time 210,000. Upon which an act was passed further to provide for the public defence, of which the following was the first section:

SEC. 1. *The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact*, That in order to provide additional forces to repel invasion, maintain the rightful possession of the Confederate States of America, and to secure the independence of the Confederate States, the President be, and he is hereby, authorized to employ the militia, military and naval forces of the Confederate States of America, and to ask for and accept the services of any number of volunteers, not exceeding four hundred thousand, who may offer their services, either as cavalry, mounted riflemen, artillery, or infantry, in such proportions of these several arms as he may deem expedient, to serve for a period of not less than twelve months, nor more than three years after they shall be mustered into service, unless sooner discharged.

The nomination of Gustave T. Beauregard to the rank of General was made and confirmed unanimously. This is the highest denomination known under the act organizing the army of the Confederate States, passed May 16, 1861. The commission was to bear date from July 21st, the day of the battle at Manassas. This promotion

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was first communicated to Gen. Beauregard, by President Davis, in the following letter:

MANASSAS, *July* 21, 1861.

SIR: Appreciating your services in the battle of Manassas, and on several other occasions during the existing war, as affording the highest evidence of your skill as a commander, your gallantry as a soldier, and your zeal as a patriot, you are promoted to be a General in the army of the Confederate States of America, and with the consent of Congress will be duly commissioned accordingly. Yours, &c.,

JEFF. DAVIS.

On the 21st of August, President Davis approved an act empowering him to appoint two other Commissioners to Europe. The act empowered the President to determine to what nations the Commissioners now in Europe should be accredited, and to prescribe their duties. The two additional Commissioners would receive the same pay as those now in Europe.

The President also approved an act for the aid of the State of Missouri in repelling the invasion, and to authorize her admission into the Confederacy. The preamble set forth that the people of Missouri had been prevented by the unconstitutional interference of the Federal Government from expressing their will in regard to union with the Confederate States, and that Missouri was engaged in repelling the lawless invasion of her territory by armed forces. The Confederate Government considered it their right and duty to aid the Government and people of Missouri in resisting this invasion, and securing the means and opportunity of expressing their will upon all questions affecting their rights and liberties.

The President was authorized to coöperate, through the military power of the Government, with the authorities of Missouri in defending that State against the lawless invasion of their soil by the United States, in maintaining the liberty and independence of Missouri, with power to accept the services of troops sufficient to suit the purpose. The act provided for the admission of Missouri to the Confederacy, on an equal footing with the other States, when the Provisional Constitution should be ratified by the legally constituted authorities of Missouri, and an authenticated copy be communicated to the President.

The President would then, in accordance with the provisions of the act, issue his proclamation announcing the admission of Missouri into the Confederacy. She recognized the Government in Missouri of which Claiborne F. Jackson was Chief Magistrate.

A bill was passed providing for the sequestration of the property of alien enemies. This bill was framed as a retaliatory measure, to offset the confiscation act of the United States Congress.

Congress called upon the Navy Department for an estimate of the amount required to construct two gunboats for the defence of the city of Memphis and the Mississippi River in that neighborhood, upon a special plan which had been submitted to the Department.

The measure adopted to furnish funds to the Government authorized the issue of Treasury notes and funds, and provided for a war tax.

Section one authorized the issue of Treasury notes, payable to bearer at the expiration of six months after the ratification of a treaty of peace between the Confederate States and the United States. The notes were not to be of a less denomination than five dollars, to be re-issued at pleasure, to be received in payment of all public dues, except the export duty on cotton; and the whole issue outstanding at one time, including the amount issued under former acts, was not to exceed one hundred millions of dollars.

Section two provided that, for the purpose of funding the said notes, or for the purpose of purchasing specie or military stores, &c., bonds might be issued, payable not more than twenty years after date, to the amount of one hundred millions of dollars, and bearing an interest of eight per cent. per annum. This amount included the thirty millions heretofore authorized to be issued. The bonds were not to be issued in less amounts than $100, except when the subscription was for a less amount, when they might be issued as low as $50.

Section three provided that holders of Treasury notes might at any time exchange them for bonds.

Section four provided that, for the special purpose of paying the principal and interest of the public debt, and of supporting the Government, a war tax should be assessed and levied of fifty cents upon each one hundred dollars in value of the following property in the Confederate States, namely: Real estate of all kinds; slaves; merchandise; bank stocks; railroad and other corporation stocks; money at interest or invested by individuals in the purchase of bills, notes, and other securities for money, except the bonds of the Confederate States of America, and cash on hand or on deposit in bank or elsewhere; cattle, horses, and mules, gold watches, gold and silver plate; pianos and pleasure carriages; provided, however, that when the taxable property, herein above enumerated, of any head of a family was of value less than five hundred dollars, such taxable property should be exempt from taxation under the act. It provided further, that the property of colleges, schools, and religious associations should be exempt.

The remaining sections provided for the collection of the tax.

A resolution was adopted as early as the 8th of August, the object of which was to place the Confederacy in a favorable position at the Courts of Great Britain and France, on the rights of neutrals and belligerents. This was no less than an expression of adhesion to the declaration made at the Congress of Paris, excepting the first clause. (*See* DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES.) The resolution adopted was in these words:

Whereas it has been found that the uncertainty of maritime law in time of war has given rise to differences of opinion between neutrals and belligerents, which may occasion serious misunderstandings, and even conflicts; and whereas the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, and Russia, at the Congress of Paris of 1856, established a uniform doctrine on this subject, to which they invited the adherence of the nations of the world, which is as follows:

1. That privateering is and remains abolished.
2. That the neutral flag covers the enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war.
3. That neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under the enemy's flag; and
4. That blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective; that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy.

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And whereas it is desirable that the Confederate States of America shall assume a definite position on so important a point; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Congress of the Confederate States of America accept the second, third, and fourth clauses of the above-cited declaration, and decline to assent to the first clause thereof.

The prohibition of the exportation of cotton, except through Confederate ports, was extended by Congress to embrace rice, sugar, molasses, and sirups.

An act was also passed for the sequestration of all Northern property found in the State. The principal clause of the act was as follows:

Be it enacted by the Congress of the Confederate States, That all and every the lands, tenements, and hereditaments, goods and chattels, rights and credits within these Confederate States, and every right and interest therein held, owned, possessed, or enjoyed by or for any alien enemy since the twenty-first day of May, 1861, except such debts due to an alien enemy as may have been paid into the Treasury of any one of the Confederate States prior to the passage of this law, be and the same are hereby sequestrated by the Confederate States of America, and shall be held for the full indemnity of any true and loyal citizen, a resident of these Confederate States, or other person aiding said Confederate States in the prosecution of the present war between said Confederate States and the United States of America, and for which he may suffer any loss or injury under the act of the United States to which this act is retaliatory, or under any other act of the United States, or of any State thereof, authorizing the seizure or confiscation of the property of citizens or residents of the Confederate States, or other person aiding said Confederate States, and the same shall be seized and disposed of as provided for in this act: *Provided, however*, When the estate, property, or rights to be affected by this act were or are within some State of this Confederacy, which has become such since said twenty-first day of May, then this act shall operate upon and as to such estate, property, or rights, and all persons claiming the same from and after the day such State became a member of this Confederacy, and not before: *Provided, further*, That the provisions of this act shall not extend to the stocks or other public securities of the Confederate Government, or of any of the States of this Confederacy, held or owned by an alien enemy, or to any debt, obligation, or sum due from the Confederate Government or any of the States to such alien enemy. *And provided, also*, That the provisions of this act shall not embrace the property of citizens or residents of either of the States of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, or the District of Columbia, or the Territories of New Mexico, Arizona, or the Indian Territory south of Kansas, except such of said citizens or residents as shall commit actual hostilities against the Confederate States, or aid or abet the United States in the existing war against Confederate States.

Sections 2 to 13 provide for the appointment of receivers in each county, and impose a penalty of $2,000 on all who may endeavor to conceal the ownership of property belonging to alien enemies. Section 14 provides for the appointment of three commissioners to take charge of the sequestration fund, and to hear and decide on all claims against it.

This session was short, and devoted almost exclusively to military and financial subjects, (*see* CONFEDERATE STATES, also FINANCES, U. S.,) and closed by an adjournment to the 18th of November. On that day Congress again reassembled at Richmond. The members present from Virginia were Messrs. W. B. Preston, Tyler, and Macfarland. The aspect of affairs had somewhat changed since its adjournment. It was now manifest that serious dangers were beginning to threaten. The Northern force had gathered, and was organized and disciplined for desperate work. South Carolina had been invaded. North Carolina and Louisiana would soon be threatened. Still there were no fears of the ultimate ability of the Confederacy to repel all invaders. The number of acts of general importance passed at this session was limited. One was adopted admitting Kentucky into the Union of Confederate States.

A Message from President Davis was also laid before Congress, relative to the secession of Missouri. It was accompanied by a letter from Governor Jackson, and also by an act dissolving the Union with the United States, and an act ratifying the Constitution of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States; also, the Convention between the Commissioners of Missouri and the Commissioners of the Confederate States. This Convention was made on the part of the Confederate States, by R. M. T. Hunter, Secretary of State, and was unanimously ratified by Congress. On the next day an act was passed, admitting Missouri as a member of the Confederacy. At the same time a resolution was adopted, refusing to make any advance to, or to purchase the produce of planters, and surprise was expressed that such applications should be made.

An act was also passed to increase the naval force and to enlist not more than two thousand seamen. A resolution was passed appropriating $250,000 as an advance, on account of any claims of the State of South Carolina upon the Confederate States. A large number of nominations, as major and brigadier-generals, was also confirmed.

About $60,000,000 were appropriated for the army, and about $4,000,000 for the navy. The provisions of the naturalization act were extended to all persons not citizens of the Confederate States, who were engaged in the naval service of the Confederate States during the war. Postmasters were required to receive Treasury notes in the sums of five dollars and upwards, in payment of postage stamps and stamped envelopes.

On the appointment of Attorney-General Benjamin, as Secretary of War, Thomas Bragg, of North Carolina, was appointed to the vacancy.

All important matters relating to the war, finance, foreign relations, and many domestic measures were discussed in secret sessions, at which no persons were admitted but the regular members of that body and its officers.

It presented to the world the first example of a public body, which claimed to represent the people of a country, and to be acting by their authority and in their behalf, sitting with closed doors and withholding all its important transactions from their knowledge. Such a flagrant outage upon representative institutions can find no justification with freemen.

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CONGRESS, THE U. S. The second session of the thirty-sixth Congress commenced at Washington on Monday, December 3, 1860.*

In the Senate the difficulties of the country attracted immediate attention.

Mr. Clingman, of North Carolina, on making the usual motion for printing the President's message, (for Message *see* Public Documents,) said:

"As to the general tone of the message, Mr. President, everybody will say that it is eminently patriotic, and I agree with a great deal that is in it; but I think it falls short of stating the case that is now before the country. It is not, for example, merely that a dangerous man has been elected to the Presidency of the United States. We know that under our complicated system that might very well occur by accident, and he be powerless; but I assert that the President elect has been elected because he was known to be a dangerous man. He avows the principle that is known as the "irrepressible conflict." He declares that it is the purpose of the North to make war upon my section until its social system has been destroyed, and for that he was taken up and elected. That declaration of war is dangerous, because it has been indorsed by a majority of the votes of the free States in the late election. It is this great, remarkable, and dangerous fact that has filled my section with alarm and dread for the future.

"The President says that he may be powerless by reason of the opposition in Congress now; but that is only a temporary relief. Everybody knows that the majority which has borne him into the chair can control all the depart-

* The members of the Senate were as follows. From the State of

Maine.—Hannibal Hamlin and William Pitt Fessenden.
New Hampshire.—John P. Hale and Daniel Clark.
Vermont.—Solomon Foote and Jacob Collamer.
Massachusetts.—Henry Wilson and Charles Sumner.
Rhode Island.—Jas. F. Simmons and Henry B. Anthony.
Connecticut.—Lafayette S. Foster and James Dixon.
New York.—William H. Seward and Preston King.
New Jersey.—John R. Thomson and John C. Ten Eyck.
Pennsylvania.—Simon Cameron and William Bigler.
Delaware.—James A. Bayard and Willard Saulsbury.
Maryland.—James A. Pearce and Anthony Kennedy.
Virginia.—Robert M. T. Hunter and James M. Mason.
North Carolina.—Thomas Bragg and Thos. L. Clingman.
Georgia.—Robert Toombs and Alfred Iverson.
Alabama.—Benjamin Fitzpatrick and C. C. Clay, jr.
Mississippi.—Albert G. Brown and Jefferson Davis.
Tennessee.—Alfred O. P. Nicholson and Andrew Johnson.
Kentucky.—John J. Crittenden and Lazarus W. Powell.
Missouri.—James S. Green and Trusten Polk.
Ohio.—Benjamin F. Wade and George E. Pugh.
Indiana.—Jesse D. Bright and Graham N. Fitch.
Illinois.—Stephen A. Douglas and Lyman Trumbull.
Michigan.—Zachariah Chandler and Kinsley S. Bingham.
Florida.—David L. Yulee and S. R. Mallory.
Texas.—John Hemphill and Louis T. Wigfall.
Wisconsin.—Charles Durkee and James R. Doolittle.
Iowa.—James W. Grimes and James Harlan.
Minnesota.—Henry M. Rice and Morton S. Wilkinson.
California.—Milton S. Latham and William M. Gwin.
Oregon.—Joseph Lane.
Louisiana.—J. P. Benjamin and John Slidell.
Arkansas.—R. W. Johnson and William K. Sebastian.
South Carolina.—James Chesnut, jr., and James H. Hammond had tendered their resignation to the Governor of that State on the 9th of November, 1860.

The members of the House of Representatives were as follows:

Maine.—Daniel E. Somes, John J. Perry, Ezra B. French, Stephen Coburn, Freeman H. Morse, Israel Washburn, jr., Stephen C. Foster.
New Hampshire.—Gilman Marston, Mason W. Tappan, Thomas M. Edwards.
Vermont.—E. P. Walton, Justin S. Morrill, Homer E. Royce.
Massachusetts.—Thomas D. Eliot, James Buffinton, Chas. F. Adams, Alexander H. Rice, Anson Burlingame, John B. Alley, Charles R. Train, Eli Thayer, Charles Delano.
Rhode Island.—Christopher Robinson, Wm. D. Brayton.
Connecticut.—Dwight Loomis, John Woodruff, Alfred A. Burnham, Orris S. Ferry.
New York.—Luther C. Carter, James Humphreys, Daniel E. Sickles, William B. Maclay, John Cochrane, George Briggs, Horace F. Clark, John B. Haskin, William S. Kenyon, Charles L. Beale, John H. Reynolds, James B. McKean, George W. Palmer, Francis E. Spinner, Edwin R. Reynolds, James H. Graham, Roscoe Conkling, R. Holland Duell, M. Lindley Lee, Charles B. Hoard, Charles R. Sedgwick, Martin Butterfield, Emory B. Pottle, Alfred Wells, William Irvine, Alfred Ely, Augustus Frank, Elbridge G. Spaulding, Reuben E. Fenton.
New Jersey.—John T. Nixon, John L. N. Stratton, Garnett B. Adrain, Jetur R. Riggs.
Pennsylvania.—Thomas B. Florence, Edward Joy Morris, John P. Verree, John Wood, John Hickman, Henry C. Longnecker, Thaddeus Stevens, John W. Killinger, James H. Campbell, Galusha A. Grow, Jacob K. McKenty, James T. Hale, Benjamin F. Junkin, Edward McPherson, Samuel S. Blair, John Covode, James K. Moorhead, Robert McKnight, William Stewart, Chapin Hall, Elijah Babbitt.
Delaware.—William G. Whiteley.
Maryland.—James A. Stewart, J. Morrison Harris, H. Winter Davis, Jacob M. Kunkel, George W. Hughes, —— Webster.
Virginia.—John S. Millson, Daniel C. De Jarnette, Roger A. Pryor, Thomas S. Bocock, William Smith, Alexander R. Boteler, John T. Harris, Albert G. Jenkins, Henry A. Edmundson, Elbert S. Martin.
North Carolina.—William N. H. Smith, Thomas Ruffin, Warren Winslow, Lawrence O'B. Branch, John A. Gilmer, James M. Leach, Burton Craige.
South Carolina.—John McQueen, Lawrence M. Keitt, Milledge L. Bonham, John D. Ashmore, William W. Boyce.
Georgia.—Peter E. Love, Thomas Hardeman, Lucius J. Gartrell, John W. H. Underwood, James Jackson, Joshua Hill, John J. Jones.
Alabama.—James L. Pugh, David Clopton, Sydenham Moore, George S. Houston, Williamson R. W. Cobb, Jabez L. M. Curry.
Mississippi.—Otho R. Singleton.
Louisiana.—John E. Bonligny.
Ohio.—George H. Pendleton, John A. Gurley, Clement L. Vallandigham, William Allen, James M. Ashley, William Howard, Thomas Corwin, Benjamin Stanton, John Carey, Carey A. Trimble, Charles D. Martin, Samuel S. Cox, John Sherman, Harrison G. Blake, William Helmick, Cydnor B. Tompkins, Thomas C. Theaker, Sidney Edgerton, Edward Wade, John Hutchins, John A. Bingham.
Kentucky.—Henry C. Burnett, Samuel O. Peyton, Francis M. Bristow, William C. Anderson, Green Adams, Laban T. Moore, John W. Stevenson, John Y. Brown.
Tennessee.—Thomas A. R. Nelson, Horace Maynard, William B. Stokes, Robert Hatton, James H. Thomas, James M. Quarles, Emerson Etheridge, William T. Avery.
Indiana.—William E. Niblack, William H. English, W. McKee Dunn, William S. Holman, David Kilgore, Albert G. Porter, John G. Davis, Schuyler Colfax, Charles Case, John U. Pettit.
Illinois.—Elihu B. Washburne, Owen Lovejoy, Jesse N. Morris, John A. McClernand, James C. Robinson, Philip B. Fouke, John A. Logan.
Missouri.—Thomas L. Anderson, John B. Clark, James Craig, J. E. Barrett, Samuel H. Woodson, John S. Phelps, John W. Noell.
Arkansas.—Albert Rust.
Michigan.—William A. Howard, Francis W. Kellogg, DeWitt C. Leach.
Florida.—George S. Hawkins.
Iowa.—Samuel R. Curtis, William Vandever.
Wisconsin.—John F. Potter, Cadwalader C. Washburn, Charles H. Larrabee.
California.—John C. Burch.
Minnesota.—Cyrus Aldrich, William Windom.
Oregon.—Lansing Stout.
Washington.—Isaac I. Stevens.
New Mexico.—Miguel A. Otero.
Kansas.—Marcus J. Parrott, Martin F. Conway.

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ments of this Government. Why, sir, five or six of our conservative Senators have already to give place to others on the 4th of March; and if the others do not, it is simply because their terms have not expired. Both the Senators from Indiana and the Senator from Illinois, [Mr. Douglas,] and other gentlemen, would be beaten by that same majority, if it were not that their terms have time to run. They must, however, be cut down at no distant day. Not only that; but if the House of Representatives is divided to some little extent, how long can it be so? We all know that New England has presented an unbroken front for some time past; and does any man doubt that the same organization that elected Abraham Lincoln can make a clear majority of both branches of Congress? The efforts of the Abolitionists will be directed to the few doubtful districts, and they will soon be subjected to their control. So powerful and steady is the current of their progress that it will soon overwhelm the entire North. In this way they must soon control the President, both Houses of Congress, the Supreme Court, and all the officers of the Government. The result is that a sectional party will wield the entire power over all the departments of the Government.

"But this is not the worst view of the case. We are not only to be governed by a sectional domination which does not respect our rights, but by one, the guiding principle of which is hostility to the Southern States. It is that, Mr. President, that has alarmed the country; and it is idle for gentlemen to talk to us about this thing being done according to the forms of the Constitution.

"My purpose was not so much to make a speech as to state what I think is the great difficulty; and that is, that a man has been elected because he has been and is hostile to the South. It is this that alarms our people; and I am free to say, as I have said on the stump this summer repeatedly, that if that election were not resisted, either now or at some day not far distant, the Abolitionists would succeed in abolishing slavery all over the South.

"Therefore I maintain that our true policy is to meet this issue *in limine;* and I hope it will be done. If we can maintain our personal safety, let us hold on to the present Government; if not, we must take care of ourselves at all hazards. I think this is the feeling that prevails in North Carolina."

Mr. Lane, of Oregon, said: "We are all aware, Mr. President, that there is great dissatisfaction in this country, and a very near approach, unless something can be done very speedily, to a dissolution of the Union. It is not very strange, as I look at it, that this condition of things should exist. It has been truly said that the election of any man to the Presidency would not be good cause for a dissolution of the Union. I am prepared to say that the simple election of any man to that office, in my judgment, would not be cause for a dissolution. Nor is that the cause of complaint in the country; but it is the principles upon which the late election has taken place that have given rise to the trouble. Never in any previous presidential election has the issue been so fully put, so directly made, as in the late one. The question everywhere was: shall the equality of the States be maintained; shall the people of every State have a right to go into the common territory with their property? And the verdict of the people has been that equality in this country shall not prevail. It is to the effect that fifteen States of this Union shall be deprived of equality; that they shall not go into the common territory with their property; that they are inferiors, and must submit to inequality and degradation. Then, sir, with such a state of facts before us, is it strange that there should be dissatisfaction and trouble?

"Mr. President, it is not the election of Mr. Lincoln that is troubling the country, as I said before, but that he is regarded as a dangerous man; that he entertains views and opinions as expressed by himself, which are dangerous to the peace, safety, and prosperity of fifteen States of this Confederacy. He is an 'irrepressible conflict' man; he holds that the slave States and free States cannot live together. I apprehend the result will be, that they will not live together."

Mr. Hale, of New Hampshire, from the other side of the Senate, replied: "I think we might as well look this matter right clearly in the face; and I am not going to be long about doing it. I think that this state of affairs looks to one of two things: it looks to absolute submission, not on the part of our Southern friends and of the Southern States, but of the North, to the abandonment of their position—it looks to a surrender of that popular sentiment which has been uttered through the constituted forms of the ballot-box; or it looks to open war. We need not shut our eyes to the fact. It means war, and it means nothing else; and the State which has put herself in the attitude of secession so looks upon it. And I avow here—I do not know whether or not I shall be sustained by those who usually act with me—if the issue which is presented is that the constitutional will of the public opinion of this country, expressed through the forms of the Constitution, will not be submitted to, and war is the alternative, let it come in any form or in any shape. The Union is dissolved and it cannot be held together as a Union, if that is the alternative upon which we go into an election. If it is pre-announced and determined that the voice of the majority expressed through the regular and constituted forms of the Constitution, will not be submitted to, then, sir, this is not a Union of equals; it is a Union of a dictatorial oligarchy on the one side, and a herd of slaves and cowards on the other. That is it, sir; nothing more, nothing less."

Mr. Brown, of Mississippi, said in answer: "All we ask is that we be allowed to depart in

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peace. Do you mean to say that that is not to be allowed us, that we shall neither have peace in the Union, nor be allowed the poor boon of seeking it out of the Union? If that be your attitude, war is inevitable. We feel as every American citizen not blinded by passion and by prejudice must feel, that in this transaction we have been deeply aggrieved; that the accumulating wrongs of years have finally culminated in your triumph—not the triumph of Abraham Lincoln, not your individual triumph—but in the triumph of principles, to submit to which would be the deepest degradation that a free people ever submitted to. We cannot; calmly, quietly, with all the dignity which I can summon, I say to you that we will not submit. We invite no war; we expect none, and hope for none."

Mr. Iverson, of Georgia, still further replied: "As the Senator from New Hampshire very properly remarked, it is time to look this thing in the face. The time is rolling rapidly to the consummation of these great objects; and, in my opinion, there is nothing this side of heaven that can prevent their consummation. You talk about concessions. You talk about repealing the personal liberty bills as a concession to the South. Repeal them all to-morrow, sir, and it would not stop the progress of this revolution. It is not your personal liberty bills that we dread. Those personal liberty bills are obnoxious to us not on account of their practical operation, not because they prevent us from reclaiming our fugitive slaves, but as an evidence of that deep-seated, wide-spread hostility to our institutions, which must sooner or later end in this Union in their extinction. That is the reason we object to your personal liberty bills. It is not because that in their practical operation they ever do any harm. But, sir, if all the liberty bills were repealed to-day, the South would no more gain her fugitive slaves than if they were in existence. It is not the personal liberty laws; it is mob laws that we fear. It is the existence and action of the public sentiment of the Northern States that are opposed to this institution of slavery, and are determined to break it down—to use all the power of the Federal Government, as well as every other power in their hands, to bring about its ultimate and speedy extinction. That is what we apprehend, and what in part moves us to look for security and protection in secession and a Southern Confederacy."

Mr. Wigfall, of Texas, declared his view of this point thus: "We simply say that a man who is distasteful to us has been elected, and we choose to consider that as a sufficient ground for leaving the Union, and we intend to leave the Union. Then, if you desire it, bring us back. When you undertake that, and have accomplished it, you may be like the man who purchased the elephant—you may find it rather difficult to decide what you will do with the animal."

Mr. Saulsbury, of Delaware, closed the debate on printing the message with these words: "I do not rise for the purpose of protracting this unnecessary and most unfortunate debate; but I rise simply to say in the presence of the representatives of the different States, that my State having been the first to adopt the Constitution, will be the last to do any act or countenance any act calculated to lead to the separation of the States of this glorious Union. She has shared too much of its blessings; her people performed too much service in achieving the glorious liberties which we now enjoy, and in establishing the Constitution under which we live, to cause any son of hers to raise his hand against those institutions or against that Union. Sir, when that Union shall be destroyed by the madness and folly of others, (if, unfortunately, it shall be so destroyed,) it will be time enough then for Delaware and her Representatives to say what will be her course."

On a subsequent day Mr. Powell, of Kentucky, introduced a resolution respecting the reference of the President's message, which was changed by amendment to the following form:

Resolved, That so much of the President's message as relates to the agitated and distracted condition of the country, and the grievances between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States, be referred to a special committee of thirteen members, and that said committee be instructed to inquire into the present condition of the country, and report by bill or otherwise.

Mr. Powell, on offering the resolution, thus stated its object: "Mr. President, the object of the resolution under consideration is to initiate measures to save the country from its present perilous condition; to avert, if possible, a dismemberment of the Union, and restore peace, harmony, happiness, and security, to a distracted and divided people. Events are rapidly crowding upon us which, if not arrested, will speedily overthrow the Government. The mere anticipation of these sad and melancholy results has already caused distrust, alarm, and ruin in many parts of the country."

Mr. King, of New York, said: "I am not one of those who despair of the republic; I believe we shall go safely through this crisis, as we have passed through many others that in my period of time have been said to exist. If there be any thing that ought to be inquired into, in my judgment it is, whether the laws be sufficient to enable the Government to maintain itself, and to enforce its constitutional powers."

Mr. Douglas, upon the resolution being again before the Senate, said: "I am ready to act with any party, with any individual of any party, who will come to this question with an eye single to the preservation of the Constitution and the Union. I trust we may lay aside all party grievances, party feuds, partisan jealousies, and look to our country, and not to our party, in the consequences of our action."

Mr. Davis, of Mississippi, argued that the fault was not in the form of the Government, nor did the evil spring from the manner in

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which it had been administered. Where, then, was it? It was that our fathers formed a Government for a Union of friendly States; and though under it the people have been prosperous, beyond comparison with any other whose career is recorded in the history of man, still that Union of friendly States had changed its character, and sectional hostility had been substituted for the fraternity in which the Government was founded. He further said:

"I do not intend here to enter into a statement of grievances; I do not intend here to renew that war of crimination which for years past has disturbed the country, and in which I have taken a part perhaps more zealous than useful; but I call upon all men who have in their hearts a love of the Union, and whose service is not merely that of the lip, to look the question calmly but fully in the face, that they may see the true cause of our danger, which, from my examination, I believe to be that a sectional hostility has been substituted for a general fraternity, and thus the Government rendered powerless for the ends for which it was instituted. The hearts of a portion of the people have been perverted by that hostility, so that the powers delegated by the compact of union are regarded, not as means to secure the welfare of all, but as instruments for the destruction of a part—the minority section. How, then, have we to provide a remedy? By strengthening this Government? By instituting physical force to overawe the States—to coerce the people living under them as members of sovereign communities to pass under the yoke of the Federal Government? No, sir; I would have this Union severed into thirty-three fragments sooner than have that great evil befall constitutional liberty and representative government. Our Government is an agency of delegated and strictly limited powers. Its founders did not look to its preservation by force; but the chain they wove to bind these States together was one of love and mutual good offices.

"Then where is the remedy? the question may be asked. In the hearts of the people, is the ready reply; and therefore it is that I turn to the other side of the chamber, to the majority section, to the section in which have been committed the acts that now threaten the dissolution of the Union. I call on you, the representatives of that section, here and now to say so, if your people are not hostile; if they have the fraternity with which their fathers came to form this Union; if they are prepared to do justice; to abandon their opposition to the Constitution and the laws of the United States; to recognize, and to maintain, and to defend all the rights and benefits the Union was designed to promote and to secure. Give us that declaration—give us that evidence of the will of your Constituency to restore us to our original position, when mutual kindness was the animating motive, and then we may hopefully look for remedies which may suffice; not by organizing armies—not so much by enacting laws as by repressing the spirit of hostility and lawlessness, and seeking to live up to the obligations of good neighbors, and friendly States united for the common welfare."

Mr. Green, of Missouri, said: "For me to go on the stump or in this Senate chamber, and denounce one section of the Union, or the other section of the Union, would do more harm than good; but let me appeal to them, and ask them, as I say to them now, Are you not willing to grant me the Constitution? Yes. You ask me, Do you want any more than the Constitution? No. Then this one point only remains: If you construe the Constitution one way, and I construe it another, let us as brethren put in an explanatory amendment, which will remove the whole difficulty, that we may go on together in harmony and peace hereafter. A rigid enforcement of the fugitive slave law, a rigid protection of the States from invasion, and an explanatory amendment of the Constitution, defining the rights on every point where there is any dispute, will give us the same old peace we had, and we will go on with the same prosperity as we formerly did."

Mr. Dixon, of Connecticut, followed: "In saying that the controversy respecting slavery is the cause of our present difficulties, I do not intend to say whether one section of the country is in fault more than another, whether both are equally in fault, or whether the blame is wholly on one side. Crimination and recrimination are now useless—nay, dangerous. If it be possible, the first thing should be to restore the fraternal spirit which once existed, ought to exist, and may still exist.

"How shall this be done? I know of no other mode than by cheerfully and honestly assuring to every section of the country its constitutional rights. No section professes to ask more; no section ought to offer less. As to what are these constitutional rights, that is a question to be considered in a spirit of confidence and mutual good will, and furthermore, in a spirit of devotion to the Union, for the preservation of which my constituents are ready to make any sacrifice which a reasonable man can ask, or an honorable man can grant, consistently with principle. In this spirit, sir, I shall meet this great question; and in doing so I believe I shall be sustained by an immense majority of my constituents. If time shall show that I am wrong in this belief, I shall instantly cease to represent them in this Senate."

Mr. Brown, of Mississippi, declined to vote for the resolution. He said: "Things had reached a crisis. The crisis could only be met in one way effectually, in his judgment; and that was, for the Northern people to review and reverse their whole policy upon the subject of slavery. I see no evidence anywhere of any such purpose. On the contrary, the evidences accumulate all around, day by day, that there is no such purpose. The Southern States do not expect that they are going to do it; and,

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having despaired of that reversal of judgment and that change of conduct, they are proceeding in the only mode left them to vindicate their rights and their honor. I cannot vote for the resolution of my friend from Kentucky, because it would be an intimation—darkly given, it is true, but yet an intimation—to my State which is moving, that there is a hope of reconciliation. I do not believe there is any such hope. I see no evidence upon which to base a hope. I see, through this dark cloud that surrounds us, no ray of light. To me it is all darkness—midnight gloom. I therefore, standing here as one of the Senators from my State to report faithfully what is going on, will hold out no false hope. I will not say to them, even by implication, that I believe that which, upon my soul, I do not believe."

Mr. Pugh, of Ohio, denied the conclusion of the preceding speaker, saying: "After more than seventy years of liberty and happiness and prosperity as a confederation of States, must we now acknowledge that our constituents, some thirty million in all, with every advantage that men could desire for self-government, are unable to decide their differences in a satisfactory manner? Why, sir, what hope is left for mankind anywhere? Will you pretend that the Southern people are capable of free government hereafter, if they cannot now commune with their Northern brethren upon fair and honorable terms of adjustment? Or shall we, on our side, indulge a pretension equally vain? We stultify ourselves, all of us, in saying that we cannot hear, cannot discuss, and cannot compromise the controversy with which we are threatened. That is to say, in so many words, that our experiment of the Union is a failure; and, more than that, your Southern confederacy will be a failure, and all other confederacies to the end of time. Mr. President, I have not attained any such conclusion; I am not of opinion, as yet, that a majority, or any considerable number of the people, South or North, desire the bonds of this Confederacy to be torn asunder. There has been crimination upon both sides; there have been outrages on both sides; there have been things which ought to be redressed, some by the arm of the law, some by a more faithful administration of our Federal and State Governments; but there has been nothing which cannot be redressed promptly, fairly, and in the most efficacious manner. I believe, before God and my country, that ninety-nine hundredths of the people in every State, North and South, are anxious this day to redress all outrages and all causes of reasonable complaint."

Mr. Mason, of Virginia, stated that he should vote for the resolution, "but without an idea that it is possible for any thing that Congress can do to reach the dangers with which we are threatened." He said: "What is the evil? Gentlemen have well said, it is not the failure to execute this fugitive slave law; it is not the passage of these liberty bills, as they are called, in various of the States; it is a social war—so far not a war of arms—a war of sentiment, of opinion; a war by one form of society against another form of society. I possibly may have a misinformed judgment, but I rely upon it until corrected; and my judgment is satisfied that, for some reason, the population in the States having no slaves, feeling their great numerical majority, and having nursed this sentiment, this mere opinion about social forms existing elsewhere, have in some manner unfortunately brought themselves to a determination to extinguish it. I do not mean by any immediate blow—by any present law; but it is their purpose, having obtained possession of the Federal power, to use that power in every form to bring that social condition to a close.

"I look upon it then, sir, as a war of sentiment and opinion by one form of society against another form of society. How that will end, I will not undertake to predict; but if there be a remedy for it, it is not here; it must be at home in their own State councils; and I should regret extremely if any vote I am to give here should mislead public judgment so far as to lead them to suppose that they are to look here for safety. If the people would go into convention in all those States, as we are driven into convention, take up the subject, probe it, analyze it, look back to history and see what it is, they would have it in their power to apply a remedy. The remedy rests in their hands, not in Congress; in the State councils of the several States; in the political society of the several States; and if we induce them, by any act of ours here, to look to Congress for safety, we shall mislead them."

Mr. Iverson, of Georgia, after discussing the various measures of conciliation, which might be proposed under the resolution: such as the effort to remove the objections of the Southern States by congressional legislation—alteration of the Constitution, &c., declared that the South would never be satisfied with any concession "that does not fully recognize, not only the existence of slavery in its present form, but the right of the Southern people to emigrate to the common territories with their slave property, and their right to congressional protection, while the territorial existence lasts." "No one expects such a remedy will ever be accorded by Congress. The Republican party is a unit against any such provision: I tell you, Mr. President, that the question is settled in relation to this great movement which is now progressing in certain of the Southern States. I know the efforts that are now being made to stay the hand of the Southern people, and to cool down the patriotism which is burning within the Southern heart; but it will be ineffectual, sir. When the arbitrary monarchical government of Louis Philippe, in 1848, had aroused the people of Paris to a sense of their danger and to rebellion, and the barricades of Paris were raised, and the masses of that great city were upheaving in their majesty against

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the arbitrary power of the monarchy, Louis Philippe saw his danger, and attempted to avert it by changing his ministry. He turned out M. Guizot and nominated M. Thiers as his principal adviser. That he supposed would quiet the dissensions which he saw rising around him; but, sir, the words 'too late,' 'too late,' went all through the streets of Paris. The next day, when he found the streets barricaded, he abdicated the throne in favor of his grandson, and made an effort, through his friends, to obtain the regency of his daughter, the mother of the Count of Paris. When that was done, in the hope that he might quell the insurrection then raging around him, the same words 'too late' ran through all the masses of Paris, ringing out in sepulchral tones like the trump of the archangel summoning the dead to judgment. So now, sir, you may tinker the Constitution, if you please; you may propose concessions; you may suggest additional legislation; you may present additional constitutional securities; you may attempt by all these ingenious devices to stay the storm which now rages in the Southern States, to prevent that people from marching on to the deliverance and liberty upon which they are resolved; but, sir, the words 'too late,' that ring here to-day, will be reiterated from mountain to valley in all the South, and are now sounding the death knell of the Federal Union."

Mr. Pugh, of Ohio, regarded the assertion that the people of the Northern States had set on foot some policy in regard to the institution of slavery, as an invention of history. The assertion of things as facts, which are not facts, has raised all this vast cloud of passion and misrepresentation in both extremes of the country. He said:

"Now, sir, I do not believe that ninety-nine hundredths of the men, who voted for Mr. Lincoln, thought any thing about the subject of slavery in the States, or had any policy on the subject. They were opposed to the introduction of slavery into the territories. They were in favor of a general division of the offices and the plunder. Many of them wanted protection to iron, and I do not know what all; but most of them were animated by a thorough hatred of the Democratic party. But as for any policy in their minds, bearing upon the institutions of the Southern States, I believe this day, if the question were put in any shape, that even in New England, though I cannot speak for her—in every State of the North—there is a large majority of the people who are opposed to any interference whatever."

Mr. Douglas, of Illinois, in reply to statements respecting the non-execution of the fugitive slave-law in the North, said "that nine-tenths of the complaints on that subject are unfounded."

Mr. Wigfall, of Texas, in answer to a demand for a specification of the wrongs, or supposed wrongs, under which the Southern States were suffering, stated that it was the denial by the Government that slaves were property, and the refusal to protect the owners in their title, whenever they were within the Federal jurisdiction, and proceeded:

"My objection to the course we are now pursuing, is simply that these discussions amount to nothing. We cannot save the Union. The Senators on the other side, and the Senator from Illinois can, possibly. I do not know that they can. If they cannot, it cannot be saved. We cannot do it. The people of the South—I speak of the people of the different slaveholding States, and especially those upon the Gulf, commonly called the cotton States—are dissatisfied with the present Government, as it is about to be administered by the President elect. There is nothing that can satisfy them except amendments to the Constitution, and those amendments must be made by the Northern States unanimously, or they will not be satisfied; and I say here, that they should not be."

Mr. Wade, of Ohio, said: "I have listened to the complaints on the other side patiently, and with an ardent desire to ascertain what was the particular difficulty under which they were laboring. Many of those who have supposed themselves aggrieved have spoken; but I confess that I am now totally unable to understand precisely what it is of which they complain. Why, sir, the party which lately elected their President, and are prospectively to come into power, have never held an executive office under the General Government, nor has any individual of them. It is most manifest, therefore, that the party to which I belong, have as yet committed no act of which anybody can complain. If they have fears, as to the course that we may hereafter pursue, they are mere apprehensions—a bare suspicion, arising, I fear, out of their unwarrantable prejudices, and nothing else."

In answer to the question what has caused this excitement? he ascribed it to the belief by the Southern people, that the Republicans were their mortal enemies, "and stand ready to trample their institutions under foot." Those who make the complaints "have, for a long series of years, had this Government in their own keeping. Therefore, if there is any thing in the legislation of the Federal Government that is not right, they are responsible for it, for the Republicans have never been invested with the power to modify or control the legislation of the country." He said:

"Now, sir, I should like to have the Senators on the other side tell me when ever a Republican has violated, or ever proposed to violate, a right of theirs. I have listened to your arguments here for about a week. They are all in very general terms. They are very loosely drawn indictments, and I do not know where to meet you at all. Is there any thing in our platform detrimental to your rights, unless in modern times you have set up a construction

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of the Constitution of the United States differing from ours?—we following the old beaten track of every department of the Government for more than seventy years, and you switching off, as it were, upon another track, and setting up yours as orthodox—that is all. You say that we must follow you. We choose to follow the old landmarks. That is the complaint against us.

"Sir, I am one of those who went forth with zeal to maintain the principles of the great Republican party. In a constitutional way we met, as you met. We nominated our candidates for President and Vice-President, and you did the same for yourselves. The issue was made up; and we went to the people upon it. Although we have been usually in the minority, although we have been generally beaten; yet, this time, the justice of our principles, and the maladministration of the Government in your hands, convinced the people that a change ought to be wrought; and after you had tried your utmost, and we had tried our utmost, we beat you; and we beat you upon the plainest and most palpable issue that ever was presented to the American people, and one that they understood the best. There is no mistaking it; and now, when we come to the Capitol, I tell you that our President and our Vice-President must be inaugurated, and administer the Government as all their predecessors have done. Sir, it would be humiliating and dishonorable to us if we were to listen to a compromise by which he who has the verdict of the people in his pocket, should make his way to the presidential chair. When it comes to that, you have no Government; anarchy intervenes; civil war may follow it; all the evils that may come to the human imagination may be consequent upon such a course as that. The moment the American people cut loose from the sheet-anchor of free government and liberty—that is, whenever it is denied in this Government that a majority fairly given shall rule—the people are unworthy of free government. Sir, I know not what others may do; but I tell you that, with the verdict of the people given in favor of the platform upon which our candidates have been elected, so far as I am concerned, I would suffer any thing to come before I would compromise that away. I regard it as a case where I have no right to extend comity or generosity. A right, an absolute right, the most sacred that a free people can ever bestow on any man, is their undisguised, fair verdict, that gives him a title to the office that he is chosen to fill; and he is recreant to the principle of free government who will ask a question beyond the fact whether a man has the verdict of the people, or if he will entertain for a moment a proposition in addition to that. It is all I want. If we cannot stand there, we cannot stand anywhere. Any other principle than that would be as fatal to you, my friends, as to us. On any other principle, anarchy must immediately ensue."

Mr. Crittenden then addressed the Senate for the purpose of presenting joint resolutions, proposing certain amendments to the Constitution. In explanation of them he referred to the questions of an alarming character that had grown out of the controversy between the Northern and Southern sections of the country, in relation to the rights of the slaveholding States in the territories of the United States, and in relation to the rights of the citizens in the slaveholding States. His object was to meet all these questions and causes of discontent by amendments to the Constitution, so that the settlement may be permanent, and leave no cause for future controversy. He proposed that the Constitution should be so amended as to declare that Congress shall have no power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia so long as slavery exists in the States of Maryland and Virginia; and that it shall have no power to abolish slavery in any of the places under its special jurisdiction within the Southern States.

"These are the constitutional amendments which I propose, and embrace the whole of them in regard to the questions of territory and slavery. There are other propositions in relation to grievances, and in relation to controversies, which I suppose are within the jurisdiction of Congress, and may be removed by the action of Congress. I propose, in regard to legislative action, that the fugitive slave law, as it is commonly called, shall be declared by the Senate to be a constitutional act, in strict pursuance of the Constitution. I propose to declare, that it has been decided by the Supreme Court of the United States to be constitutional, and that the Southern States are entitled to a faithful and complete execution of that law, and that no amendment shall be made hereafter to it which will impair its efficiency. But, thinking that it would not impair its efficiency, I have proposed amendments to it in two particulars. I have understood from gentlemen of the North that there is objection to the provision giving a different fee where the commissioner decides to deliver the slave to the claimant, from that which is given where he decides to discharge the alleged slave; the law declares that in the latter case he shall have but five dollars, while in the other he shall have ten dollars—twice the amount in one case than in the other. The reason for this is very obvious. In case he delivers the servant to his claimant, he is required to draw out a lengthy certificate, stating the principal and substantial grounds on which his decision rests, and to return him either to the marshal or to the claimant to remove him to the State from which he escaped. It was for that reason that a larger fee was given to the commissioner, where he had the largest service to perform. But, sir, the act being viewed unfavorably and with great prejudice, in a certain portion of our country, this was regarded as very obnoxious, because it seemed to give an inducement to the commis-

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sioner to return the slave to the master, as he thereby obtained the larger fee of ten dollars instead of the smaller one of five dollars. I have said, let the fee be the same in both cases.

"I have understood furthermore, sir, that inasmuch as the fifth section of that law was worded somewhat vaguely, its general terms had admitted of the construction in the Northern States that all the citizens were required, upon the summons of the marshal, to go with him to hunt up, as they express it, and arrest the slave; and this is regarded as obnoxious. They have said, 'in the Southern States you make no such requisition on the citizen;' nor do we, sir. The section, construed according to the intention of the framers of it, I suppose, only intended that the marshal should have the same right in the execution of process for the arrest of a slave that he has in all other cases of process that he is required to execute—to call on the *posse comitatus* for assistance where he is resisted in the execution of his duty; or where, having executed his duty by the arrest, an attempt is made to rescue the slave. I propose such an amendment as will obviate this difficulty and limit the right of the master and the duty of the citizen to cases where, as in regard to all other process, persons may be called upon to assist in resisting opposition to the execution of the laws.

"I have provided further, sir, that the amendments to the Constitution which I here propose, and certain other provisions of the Constitution itself, shall be unalterable, thereby forming a permanent and unchangeable basis for peace and tranquillity among the people. Among the provisions in the present Constitution, which I have by amendment proposed to render unalterable, is that provision in the first article of the Constitution which provides the rule for representation, including in the computation three-fifths of the slaves. That is to be rendered unchangeable. Another is the provision for the delivery of fugitive slaves. That is to be rendered unchangeable."

These views were urged by considerations of the importance of the Union and the comparative trifle required to be sacrificed. He said, "Is it not the cheapest price at which such a blessing as this Union was ever purchased?"

The question on printing the resolutions was reached with difficulty, in consequence of the calls for the special order on the part of some, and the desire to make remarks on the resolutions by others. Their reception appeared ominous of their ultimate fate. They were known as the "Compromise Measures"* proposed by Mr. Crittenden, and attracted much attention among the people of the central States, and were approved by several legislative bodies. It is not too much to say, that with some slight amendments this plan would

* The following are the joint resolutions as proposed by Mr. Crittenden:

A joint resolution (S. No. 50) proposing certain amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

Whereas serious and alarming dissensions have arisen between the Northern and Southern States, concerning the rights and security of the rights of the slaveholding States, and especially their rights in the common territory of the United States; and whereas it is eminently desirable and proper that these dissensions, which now threaten the very existence of this Union, should be permanently quieted and settled by constitutional provisions, which shall do equal justice to all sections, and thereby restore to the people that peace and good-will which ought to prevail between all the citizens of the United States: Therefore,

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, (two-thirds of both Houses concurring,) That the following articles be, and are hereby, proposed and submitted as amendments to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of said Constitution, when ratified by conventions of three-fourths of the several States:

ARTICLE 1. In all the territory of the United States now held, or hereafter acquired, situate north of latitude 36° 30', slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, is prohibited while such territory shall remain under territorial government. In all the territory south of said line of latitude, slavery of the African race is hereby recognized as existing, and shall not be interfered with by Congress, but shall be protected as property by all the departments of the territorial government during its continuance. And when any territory, north or south of said line, within such boundaries as Congress may prescribe, shall contain the population requisite for a member of Congress according to the then Federal ratio of representation of the people of the United States, it shall, if its form of government be republican, be admitted into the Union, on an equal footing with the original States, with or without slavery, as the constitution of such new State may provide.

ART. 2. Congress shall have no power to abolish slavery in places under its exclusive jurisdiction, and situate within the limits of States that permit the holding of slaves.

ART. 3. Congress shall have no power to abolish slavery within the District of Columbia, so long as it exists in the adjoining States of Virginia and Maryland, or either, nor without the consent of the inhabitants, nor without just compensation first made to such owners of slaves as do not consent to such abolishment. Nor shall Congress at any time prohibit officers of the Federal Government, or members of Congress, whose duties require them to be in said district, from bringing with them their slaves, and holding them as such during the time their duties may require them to remain there, and afterwards taking them from the district.

ART. 4. Congress shall have no power to prohibit or hinder the transportation of slaves from one State to another, or to a territory in which slaves are by law permitted to be held, whether that transportation be by land, navigable rivers, or by the sea.

ART. 5. That, in addition to the provisions of the third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States, Congress shall have power to provide by law, and it shall be its duty so to provide, that the United States shall pay to the owner who shall apply for it, the full value of his fugitive slave in all cases when the marshal or other officer whose duty it was to arrest said fugitive was prevented from so doing by violence or intimidation; or when, after arrest, said fugitive was rescued by force, and the owner thereby prevented and obstructed in the pursuit of his remedy for the recovery of his fugitive slave under the said clause of the Constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof. And in all such cases, when the United States shall pay for such fugitive, they shall have the right, in their own name, to sue the county in which said violence, intimidation, or rescue was committed, and to recover from it, with interest and damages, the amount paid by them for said fugitive slave. And the said county, after it has paid said amount to the United States, may, for its indemnity, sue and recover from the wrongdoers or rescuers by whom the owner was prevented from the recovery of his fugitive slave, in like manner as the owner himself might have sued and recovered.

ART. 6. No future amendment of the Constitution shall affect the five preceding articles; nor the third paragraph of the second section of the first article of the Constitution; nor the third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article of said Constitution; and no amendment shall be made to the Constitution which shall authorize or give to Congress any power to abolish or interfere with slavery in

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have been acceptable to a majority of the people of the United States.

Mr. Breckinridge, a member of the Senate from the State of Kentucky, said upon the floor of the Senate on the 16th of July, 1861: "It was stated upon the floor of the Senate by the late Senator from Illinois, and I happened personally to know the fact myself, that the leading statesmen of the lower Southern States were willing to accept the terms of settlement which were proposed by the venerable Senator from Kentucky, my predecessor."

Mr. Hale, of New Hampshire, had no confidence in compromise propositions. He said: "I do not believe, sir, that the remedy is to be sought there. I do not believe that the remedy is to be sought in new constitutional provisions: but in an honest, faithful execution of the things that are already written in the compact and in the bond. I am willing, and I hope the State I represent is willing, to look this matter all over fairly, calmly, and dispassionately, and if there be any thing that can be demanded of that State consistent with the dignity that belongs to a free State, and the regard that she owes to the Constitution, I have no doubt that she will render and perform it to the letter and to the spirit. But I say, with all deference, that I think these new compacts and these amendments are the mere daubing of the wall with untempered mortar. They are not what is required to sustain the fabric of our Government.

"Sir, I do not know that this Congress can do any thing; but this controversy will not be settled here. It has been well said, it will be done by the States; but, sir, the enlightened tribunal of the public opinion of Christendom

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any of the States by whose laws it is, or may be, allowed or permitted.

And whereas, also, besides those causes of dissension embraced in the foregoing amendments proposed to the Constitution of the United States, there are others which come within the jurisdiction of Congress, and may be remedied by its legislative power; and whereas it is the desire of Congress, as far as its power will extend, to remove all just cause for the popular discontent and agitation which now disturb the peace of the country, and threaten the stability of its institutions: Therefore,

1. *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That the laws now in force for the recovery of fugitive slaves are in strict pursuance of the plan and mandatory provisions of the Constitution, and have been sanctioned as valid and constitutional by the judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States; that the slaveholding States are entitled to the faithful observance and execution of those laws, and that they ought not to be repealed, or so modified or changed as to impair their efficiency; and that laws ought to be made for the punishment of those who attempt by rescue of the slave, or other illegal means, to hinder or defeat the due execution of said laws.

2. That all State laws which conflict with the fugitive slave acts of Congress, or any other constitutional acts of Congress, or which, in their operation, impede, hinder, or delay the free course and due execution of any of said acts, are null and void by the plain provisions of the Constitution of the United States; yet those State laws, void as they are, have given color to practices, and led to consequences, which have obstructed the due administration and execution of acts of Congress, and especially the acts for the delivery of fugitive slaves, and have thereby contributed much to the discord and commotion now prevailing. Congress, therefore, in the present perilous juncture, does not deem it improper, respectfully and earnestly to recommend the repeal of those laws to the several States which have enacted them, or such legislative corrections or explanations of them as may prevent their being used or perverted to such mischievous purposes.

3. That the act of the 18th of September, 1850, commonly called the Fugitive Slave Law, ought to be so amended as to make the fee of the commissioner, mentioned in the eighth section of the act, equal in amount in the cases decided by him, whether his decision be in favor of or against the claimant. And to avoid misconstruction, the last clause of the fifth section of said act, which authorizes the person holding a warrant for the arrest or detention of a fugitive slave, to summon to his aid the *posse comitatus*, and which declares it to be the duty of all good citizens to assist him in its execution, ought to be so amended as to expressly limit the authority and duty to cases in which there shall be resistance or danger of resistance or rescue.

4. That the laws for the suppression of the African slave trade, and especially those prohibiting the importation of slaves into the United States, ought to be made effectual, and ought to be thoroughly executed; and all further enactments necessary to those ends ought to be promptly made.

The following substitute was afterward offered to the preamble of the resolutions by Mr. Crittenden:

Whereas the Union is in danger, and owing to the unhappy divisions existing in Congress, it would be difficult, if not impossible, for that body to concur in both its branches by the requisite majority so as to enable it either to adopt such measures of legislation, or to recommend to the States such amendments to the Constitution, as are deemed necessary and proper to avert that danger; and whereas in so great an emergency the opinion and judgment of the people ought to be heard, and would be the best and surest guide to their representatives: Therefore,

Resolved, That provision ought to be made by law without delay for taking the sense of the people and submitting to their vote the following resolutions as the basis for the final and permanent settlement of those disputes that now disturb the peace of the country and threaten the existence of the Union.

The annexed table, made out from the report of the Commissioner of Public Lands, shows that the division of territory proposed by adopting the line of 36° 30′, would give to both the North and the South a quantity very nearly in proportion to their respective populations—to the North 1,795,965 square miles for a population of nineteen millions, and to the South 1,203,711 square miles for a population of twelve millions.

Free States.	*Sq. Miles.*
Maine	35,000
New Hampshire	9,260
Vermont	10,212
Massachusetts	7,800
Rhode Island	1,306
Connecticut	4,750
New York	47,000
New Jersey	8,300
Pennsylvania	46,000
Ohio	39,964
Indiana	33,809
Illinois	55,410
Michigan	56,451
Wisconsin	53,924
Iowa	75,045
Minnesota	83,591
Oregon	95,274
California	188,981
	832,017

Free Territories.	
Kansas	126,283
Nebraska	342,438
Minnesota	81,960
Washington	193,071
Utah	220,196
	963,948
	832,017
Total	1,795,965
Population	19,000,000

Slave States.	*Sq. Miles.*
Delaware	2,120
Maryland	11,124
Virginia	61,362
North Carolina	50,704
South Carolina	34,000
Georgia	58,000
Alabama	50,700
Florida	59,268
Kentucky	37,680
Missouri	65,350
Arkansas	52,198
Tennessee	45,000
Mississippi	47,156
Louisiana	41,346
Texas	274,356
	890,382

Slave Territories.	
New Mexico	256,360
Indian	67,029
	313,329
	890,382
Total	1,203,711
Population	12,000,000

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will utter its voice, and I tell you there is no power on God's earth that can stand before that."

The Vice-President, in announcing the Committee of Thirteen on Mr. Powell's resolution, remarked that the Chair had found a great deal of difficulty in framing the committee, but had tried to compose it in the spirit which he believed actuated the Senate in ordering its appointment. It will be observed that upon this committee were two Senators from one State. This was unavoidable. "Of course the author of the resolutions becomes the chairman of the committee; and I am sure the Senate will, for many reasons, recognize the fact that it was proper that the eminent senior Senator from Kentucky should also be a member of that committee. The Secretary will read it."

The Secretary read the committee, as follows: Mr. Powell, Mr. Hunter, Mr. Crittenden, Mr. Seward, Mr. Toombs, Mr. Douglas, Mr. Collamer, Mr. Davis, Mr. Wade, Mr. Bigler, Mr. Rice, Mr. Doolittle, and Mr. Grimes.

Mr. Davis, of Mississippi, was excused from serving on the committee, upon his own request. He said:

"The position which I am known to occupy, and the position in which the State I represent now stands, render it altogether impossible for me to serve upon that committee with any prospect of advantage."

Subsequently a motion to reconsider the vote excusing Mr. Davis was carried, upon which he rose and said:

"If, in the opinion of others, it be possible for me to do any thing for the public good, the last moment while I stand here is at the command of the Senate. If I could see any means by which I could avert the catastrophe of a struggle between the sections of the Union, my past life, I hope, gives evidence of the readiness with which I would make the effort. If there be any sacrifice which I could offer on the altar of my country to heal all the evils, present or prospective, no man has the right to doubt my readiness to do it. Therefore, when Senators, entertaining the same opinions with myself, came to me and expressed regret that I had refused to serve, I could but tell them that I had only obeyed what I believed to be propriety in the case, not desiring to shrink from the performance of a duty, still less to indulge in personal feeling. I therefore answer the request of the Senator from Florida, knowing also that it is made after consultation with others, that if the Senate choose that I should be placed upon the committee, and continue to serve there, I shall offer no further opposition."

The motion to excuse the Senator was then withdrawn.

On the 31st of December, the committee reported as follows:

The Committee of Thirteen, appointed by order of the Senate, of the 20th instant, have agreed upon the following resolution, and report the same to the Senate:

Resolved, That the committee have not been able to agree upon any general plan of adjustment, and report that fact to the Senate, together with the journal of the committee.

On a subsequent day the report of the committee and the resolutions of the Senator from Kentucky were taken up; also a brief resolution of nearly similar import offered by Senator Johnson, of Tennessee; also resolutions of Senator Lane, of Oregon.

Mr. Douglas addressed the Senate. He commenced by saying that no act of his public life had ever caused him so much regret as the necessity of voting in the special committee of thirteen for the resolution reporting to the Senate their inability to agree upon any general plan of adjustment, which would restore peace to the country and insure the integrity of the Union. If we wish to understand the real causes which have produced such wide-spread and deep-seated discontent in the slaveholding States, we must go back, he said, beyond the recent Presidential election, and trace the origin and history of the slavery agitation from the period when it first became an active element in Federal politics.

Having traced the agitation down, he ascribed the present crisis to the fact that the Southern people have received the result of the recent election as furnishing conclusive evidence that the dominant party of the North, which is soon to take possession of the Federal Government under that election, are determined to invade and destroy their constitutional rights. What shall be done, he asked, in the case of South Carolina? Our right of jurisdiction over that State for Federal purposes, according to the Constitution, had not been destroyed or impaired by the ordinance of secession, or any act of the convention, or of the *de facto* government. The right remains; but the possession is lost, for the time being. "How shall we regain the possession?" is the pertinent inquiry. It may be done by arms, or by a peaceable adjustment of the matters in controversy.

After examining many incidental questions relating to the mode of adjustment, he said:

"I repeat, then, my solemn conviction, that war means disunion—final, irrevocable, eternal separation. I see no alternative, therefore, but a fair compromise, founded on the basis of mutual concessions, alike honorable, just, and beneficial to all parties, or civil war and disunion. Is there any thing humiliating in a fair compromise of conflicting interests, opinions, and theories, for the sake of peace, union, and safety? Read the debates of the Federal convention, which formed our glorious Constitution, and you will find noble examples, worthy of imitation; instances where sages and patriots were willing to surrender cherished theories and principles of government, believed to be essential to the best form of society, for the sake of peace and unity."

On another day Mr. Crittenden called up his

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resolution, which was now so modified by himself as to make it a question of referring the matter to the people as an amendment to the Constitution. He had already perceived that there was no party in the Senate in favor of compromise sufficiently strong to pass his resolution in its original form. With a degree of melancholy natural to one who had spent so large a portion of his life in endeavors to promote the prosperity and glory of his country, and who now sees a gigantic catastrophe about to overwhelm her, he addresses the Senate:

"Mr. President, if I could indulge myself with the hope that the resolution which I have proposed for amendments to the Constitution could obtain that majority in this Senate which would recommend it to the States for their adoption, by convention or by Legislature, I should never have made this motion for a reference of the question to the people. It is the extraordinary condition of the country, the extraordinary circumstances by which we are now surrounded, and the peculiar situation in which Congress itself is placed, that has induced me to attempt so extraordinary a resort. We believe that amendments to the Constitution are requisite to give that permanent security which is necessary to satisfy the public mind and restore quiet to the country. Those amendments cannot be recommended, nor can we proceed in the measure of amendment, unless it be by a two-thirds majority. I have feared that that majority could not be hoped for here; and it is in this last extremity that I have proposed that we should invoke the judgment of the people upon the great question on which their Government depends. It is not an ordinary question; it is no question of party; it is no question of policy; it is a question involving the existence of the Union, and the existence of the Government. Upon so momentous a question, where the public counsels themselves are so divided and so distracted as not to be able to adopt, for the want of the requisite majority, those means that are supposed to be necessary for the safety of the country and the people, it has seemed to me not improper that we should resort to the great source of all political authority—the people themselves. This is their Government; this is their Union; we are but their representatives. I speak in no feeling of flattery to the people, sir. No; I call upon them to pronounce their judgment, and do their duty to their country. If we cannot save the country, and they will not save the country, the country is gone. I wish to preserve it by all the means, ordinary and extraordinary, that are within our possible reach. That is the whole feeling, and that is the entire principle upon which I have acted in making this proposition. I see nothing improper in it."

After examining all the points bearing on the proposition for compromise in a most conciliatory spirit, and urging with all the eloquence he could command, the importance to the future welfare of the country that this course should be adopted, he closed, and the Senator from Georgia followed. Nothing could be more complete than the contrast between their views.

Mr. Toombs, of Georgia, said: "The success of the Abolitionists and their allies, under the name of the Republican party, has produced its logical results already. They have for long years been sowing dragons' teeth, and have finally got a crop of armed men. The Union, sir, is dissolved. That is an accomplished fact in the path of this discussion that men may as well heed. One of your confederates has already, wisely, bravely, boldly, confronted public danger, and she is only ahead of many of her sisters because of her greater facility for speedy action. The greater majority of those sister States, under like circumstances, consider her cause as their cause; and I charge you in their name to-day, "Touch not Saguntum." It is not only their cause, but it is a cause which receives the sympathy, and will receive the support, of tens and hundreds of thousands of honest patriotic men in the non-slaveholding States, who have hitherto maintained constitutional rights, who respect their oaths, abide by compacts, and love justice. And while this Congress, this Senate, and this House of Representatives are debating the constitutionality and the expediency of seceding from the Union, and while the perfidious authors of this mischief are showering down denunciations upon a large portion of the patriotic men of this country, those brave men are coolly and calmly voting what you call revolution—ay, sir, doing better than that—arming to defend it. They appealed to the Constitution, they appealed to justice, they appealed to fraternity, until the Constitution, justice, and fraternity were no longer listened to in the legislative halls of their country, and then, sir, they prepared for the arbitrament of the sword; and now you see the glittering bayonet, and you hear the tramp of armed men from your capital to the Rio Grande. It is a sight that gladdens the eyes and cheers the hearts of other millions ready to second them. Inasmuch, sir, as I have labored earnestly, honestly, sincerely, with these men to avert this necessity so long as I deemed it possible, and inasmuch as I heartily approve their present conduct of resistance, I deem it my duty to state their case to the Senate, to the country, and to the civilized world."

The claims of the Southern States and their views of the Constitution have been already stated so often, that it will not be necessary to repeat the argument of the Senator from Georgia.

On a subsequent day Mr. Clark, of New Hampshire, offered the following resolutions, designing to move them as an amendment to the resolutions of Mr. Crittenden:

Resolved, That the provisions of the Constitution

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are ample for the preservation of the Union, and the protection of all the material interests of the country; that it needs to be obeyed rather than amended; and that an extrication from the present dangers is to be looked for in strenuous efforts to preserve the peace, protect the public property, and enforce the laws, rather than in new guarantees for particular interests, compromises for particular difficulties, or concessions to unreasonable demands.

Resolved, That all attempts to dissolve the present Union, or overthrow or abandon the present Constitution, with the hope or expectation of constructing a new one, are dangerous, illusory, and destructive; that, in the opinion of the Senate of the United States, no such reconstruction is practicable, and therefore, to the maintenance of the existing Union and Constitution should be directed all the energies of all the departments of the Government, and the efforts of all good citizens.

A bill was afterwards introduced by Mr. Bigler, of Pennsylvania, to provide for taking the sense of the people of the several States on the proposed amendments to the Constitution offered by Mr. Crittenden.

Subsequently Mr. Crittenden called up his resolutions, when a motion was made to postpone their consideration to a future day, by Mr. Wilson, of Massachusetts, because the Pacific Railroad bill, and the bill for the admission of Kansas were set down for previous days. To this the venerable Senator, Mr. Crittenden, replied:

"I do think that this may well be considered as trifling with the greatest subject that can possibly be before this Senate, if we consent to such a postponement, and make the reason for it the pendency of this or that bill. I cannot consent to it; and I hope, if the Senate are disposed to treat the subject at all with the solemnity that belongs to it, that we shall at least show respect enough to the subject to manifest a temper and disposition to act upon it decidedly and promptly. I want this question acted upon; and from this dilatory sort of proceedings, it seems to me it is evident gentlemen are trying to postpone this subject, and give it no consideration."

After further discussion the motion to postpone was lost, 19 Republicans to 25. Another debate arose on questions of order, and the session of the day closed, by the Senator from Kentucky withdrawing his call.

On the next day, when the Senator called for his resolutions again, they were set aside, as the Pacific Railroad bill had been set down as a special order.

Mr. Lane, of Oregon, thus expressed his disapprobation of the course which had been taken:

"I was very sorry this morning to see the most important measure that has been introduced into this Senate, or can be introduced into it during this or any other session, set aside to take up this bill. I allude to the proposition introduced by the venerable Senator from Kentucky. It was a proposition presented with the hope of saving the final dissolution of this Union. The measures proposed by him, if sanctioned by the people, if approved by the Northern States, would in all human probability—and I know there is no man in this Union more anxious for it than myself—delay the movements which are now going on, that are to result ultimately in the entire dissolution of the Union. At such a time, when every gentleman knows that the country cannot be held together unless something shall be promptly done, I thought it was not proper to take up a bill involving the country in obligations amounting to hundreds of millions, for the making of two railroads, in preference to adopting some measures by which this Union may be held together; some plan that may afford security and protection, and guarantee the rights of all the States of the Confederacy."

Later in the day Mr. Crittenden alluded to the same action on the part of the Senate, and expostulated with them, saying:

"I cannot think, Mr. President, of voting for the Pacific Railroad bill while this other measure is undetermined. It has been said of old that men build as if they never expected to die. We seem to be acting as a nation upon that hypothesis; we are proposing to build railroads, providing roads for future generations, when the very existence of our country is in danger. When the Union itself is reeling about like a drunken man, we are making provision for futurity and for posterity. I cannot vote for any such measure at any such time. Build up the Union first; then talk about building up a railroad. Then I will vote for this measure. I want my friends from California to understand that, although I voted to-day for the indefinite postponement of this bill, I am not its enemy. I am prepared to vote for it when you make the Union stable enough to afford the faintest promise that the work can be executed, and that we shall have a nation to enjoy the benefits of it. It seemed to me very solemn trifling before this people, that the Senate should sit here legislating upon the making of roads for future generations, and for a nation, when that nation is trembling upon a point between life and death. Yet the Senate preferred to act upon a railroad, rather than to act on these measures calculated to give permanence to the Union itself. I ask my friends to consider what sort of intelligence is this to go out of a country that is now trembling with anxiety upon the question of peace or war, existence or non-existence as a nation, that they should sit here and with quiet indifference to the state of the country take up a railroad bill?"

On another day the resolutions were taken up and the amendments of Mr. Powell, of Kentucky, and Mr. Clark of New Hampshire, were adopted. This amendment of Mr. Clark looked so much like war, that on the motion to reconsider the vote on the next day, it was reconsidered and postponed.

On the 28th of January, Senator Iverson, of Georgia, withdrew from the Senate. His communication to that body was as follows:

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WASHINGTON CITY, *January* 28, 1861.

To the Senate of the United States:

The undersigned has received official information that, on the 19th instant, a convention of the people of Georgia, recently assembled, and now in session, passed the following ordinance:

"An ordinance to dissolve the union between the State of Georgia and other States united with her under a compact of government, entitled the 'Constitution of the United States of America.'

"We, the people of the State of Georgia, in convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinance adopted by the people of the State of Georgia in convention on the 2d day of January, in the year of our Lord, 1788, when the Constitution of the United States of America was assented to, ratified, and adopted; and also all acts and parts of acts of the General Assembly of this State, ratifying and adopting amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed, rescinded, and abrogated.

"We do further declare and ordain, that the Union now subsisting between the States of Georgia and other States, under the name of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved; and that the State of Georgia is in the full possession and exercise of all those rights of sovereignty which belong and appertain to a free and independent State."

The undersigned, recognizing the validity of said ordinance, and the fact that the State which he, in part, represents in the Senate of the United States, has withdrawn from the Federal Union, and is now a separate, sovereign, and independent State, does not feel at liberty any longer to take part in the proceedings of the Senate, and shall this day withdraw from the body.

Very respectfully,

ALFRED IVERSON.

Upon its being read, the Senator made a brief address to the Senate, saying that peace or war could follow as the remaining States might choose. The first gun fired would cause the withdrawal of all the slaveholding States, and forever destroy all hope of reconstruction.

A question next arose in the Senate respecting the effect which the act of this Senator had upon his seat in that body. After a lengthy discussion, the subject was laid upon the table and passed over for the time.

At this time a movement was made on the part of the State of Virginia, to accomplish a peaceful settlement of the difficulties of the country. Resolutions were adopted by the Legislature of that State, recommending all the States to appoint commissioners to a convention, the object of which should be to adjust "the present unhappy controversies in the spirit in which the Constitution was originally formed."

The convention was to meet at Washington on the 4th of February ensuing. These resolutions* were laid before Congress by President Buchanan, accompanied with a message to each House, in which he thus expressed his gratification upon the occasion, and his views of his own position:—

"I confess I hail this movement on the part of Virginia, with great satisfaction. From the past history of this ancient and renowned Commonwealth, we have the fullest assurance that what she has undertaken she will accomplish, if it can be done by able, enlightened, and persevering efforts. It is highly gratifying to know

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* *Preamble and Resolution adopted by the General Assembly of Virginia, January* 19, 1861.

Whereas it is the deliberate opinion of the General Assembly of Virginia, that unless the unhappy controversy which now divides the States of this Confederacy shall be satisfactorily adjusted, a permanent dissolution of the Union is inevitable; and the General Assembly, representing the wishes of the people of the Commonwealth, is desirous of employing every reasonable means to avert so dire a calamity, and determined to make a final effort to restore the Union and the Constitution, in the spirit in which they were established by the fathers of the Republic: Therefore,

Resolved, That on behalf of the Commonwealth of Virginia, an invitation is hereby extended to all such States, whether slaveholding or non-slaveholding, as are willing to unite with Virginia in an earnest effort to adjust the present unhappy controversies in the spirit in which the Constitution was originally formed, and consistently with its principles, so as to afford to the people of the slaveholding States adequate guarantees for the security of their rights, to appoint commissioners to meet, on the 4th day of February next, in the city of Washington, similar commissioners appointed by Virginia, to consider, and, if practicable, agree upon some suitable adjustment.

Resolved, That ex-President John Tyler, William C. Rives, Judge John W. Brockenbrough, George W. Summers, and James A. Seddon are hereby appointed commissioners, whose duty it shall be to repair to the city of Washington, on the day designated in the foregoing resolution, to meet such commissioners as may be appointed by any of the said States, in accordance with the foregoing resolution.

Resolved, That if said commissioners, after full and free conference, shall agree upon any plan of adjustment requiring amendments of the Federal Constitution, for the further security of the rights of the people of the slaveholding States, they be requested to communicate the proposed amendments to Congress, for the purpose of having the same submitted by that body, according to the forms of the Constitution, to the several States for ratification.

Resolved, That if said commissioners cannot agree on such adjustment, or, if agreeing, Congress shall refuse to submit for ratification such amendments as may be proposed, then the commissioners of this State shall immediately communicate the result to the Executive of this Commonwealth, to be by him laid before the convention of the people of Virginia and the General Assembly: *Provided*, that the said commissioners be subject at all times to the control of the General Assembly, or, if in session, to that of the State Convention.

Resolved, That in the opinion of the General Assembly of Virginia, the propositions embraced in the resolutions presented to the Senate of the United States by Hon. John J. Crittenden—so modified as that the first article proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, shall apply to all the territory of the United States now held or hereafter acquired south of latitude 36° 30′, and provide that slavery of the African race shall be effectually protected as property therein during the continuance of the territorial government, and the fourth article shall secure to the owners of slaves the right of transit with their slaves between and through the non-slaveholding States and Territories—constitute the basis of such an adjustment of the unhappy controversy which now divides the States of this Confederacy, as would be accepted by the people of this Commonwealth.

Resolved, That ex-President John Tyler is hereby appointed, by the concurrent vote of each branch of the General Assembly, a commissioner to the President of the United States; and Judge John Robertson is hereby appointed, by a like vote, a commissioner to the State of South Carolina, and the other States that have seceded, or shall secede, with instructions respectfully to request the President of the United States and the authorities of such States to agree to abstain, pending the proceedings contemplated by the action of this General Assembly, from any and all acts calculated to produce a collision of arms between the States and the Government of the United States.

Resolved, That copies of the foregoing resolutions be forthwith telegraphed to the Executives of the several States, and also to the President of the United States; and that the Governor be requested to inform, without delay, the commissioners of their appointment by the foregoing resolutions.

A copy from the rolls.

WILLIAM F. GORDON, Jr.,
C. H. D. and K. R. of Virginia.

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that other patriotic States have appointed, and are appointing, commissioners to meet those of Virginia in council. When assembled, they will constitute a body entitled, in an eminent degree, to the confidence of the country.

"The General Assembly of Virginia have also resolved 'that ex-President John Tyler is hereby appointed, by the concurrent vote of each branch of the General Assembly, a commissioner to the President of the United States; and Judge John Robertson is hereby appointed, by a like vote, a commissioner to the State of South Carolina and the other States that have seceded or shall secede, with instructions respectfully to request the President of the United States and the authorities of such States to agree to abstain, pending the proceedings contemplated by the action of this General Assembly, from any and all acts calculated to produce a collision of arms between the States and the Government of the United States.'

"However strong may be my desire to enter into such an agreement, I am convinced that I do not possess the power. Congress, and Congress alone, under the war-making power, can exercise the discretion of agreeing to abstain 'from any and all acts calculated to produce a collision of arms' between this and any other Government. It would, therefore, be a usurpation for the Executive to attempt to restrain their hands by an agreement in regard to matters over which he has no constitutional control. If he were thus to act, they might pass laws which he should be bound to obey, though in conflict with his agreement.

"Under existing circumstances, my present actual power is confined within narrow limits. It is my duty at all times to defend and protect the public property within the seceding States so far as this may be practicable, and especially to employ all constitutional means to protect the property of the United States, and to preserve the public peace at this the seat of the Federal Government. If the seceding States abstain 'from any and all acts calculated to produce a collision of arms,' then the danger so much to be deprecated will no longer exist. Defence, and not aggression, has been the policy of the Administration from the beginning.

"But whilst I can enter into no engagement such as that proposed, I cordially commend to Congress, with much confidence that it will meet their approbation, to abstain from passing any law calculated to produce a collision of arms pending the proceedings contemplated by the action of the General Assembly of Virginia. I am one of those who will never despair of the Republic. I yet cherish the belief that the American people will perpetuate the Union of the States on some terms just and honorable for all sections of the country. I trust that the mediation of Virginia may be the destined means, under Providence, of accomplishing this inestimable benefit. Glorious as are the memories of her past history, such an achievement, both in relation to her own fame and the welfare of the whole country, would surpass them all."

After the message had been read in the Senate, Mr. Mason of Virginia said, it was a great and honorable office which his honored and venerated State had undertaken. Should it unfortunately occur, however, either from impatience in the States that have separated, or from any undue and over-zeal in any department of the Federal Government, that the two sections should be brought into collision, there is an end of all negotiation. Men never negotiate in war. There must be a peace first. If there was any honorable Senator on the floor, or any citizen of any one of the States, who, under existing events, yet indulged the belief that an attempt to enforce the Federal laws in the States that have declared themselves beyond the Federal jurisdiction was not an act which would lead to war, and to war alone, never was such a Senator or such a citizen more deluded. He had occasion to say so heretofore. "I speak it now, sir, certainly not in anger; but I should speak it in sorrow, if I could be brought to contemplate such an event."

He thought that there were evidences—daily evidences—from that section of the country which had separated itself from this Union, that, while the authorities there have thought it necessary, as measures of precaution, to possess themselves, in the several States, of the forts, arsenals, navy-yards, and military materials found within their limits, acknowledging them to be a portion of the public property all the time, they have done so with no intent on their part to make war; they have done so, as they conceived, only as measures of necessary, prudent precaution, in the event that any war should unhappily be waged on them. And he thought honorable Senators on the other side would respond to the declaration, when he said that there was not one of those States, when they shall be restored to the Union, if they shall be restored, or when the Government shall be reconstructed, if it shall be reconstructed, or when peace shall be concluded, if war shall now follow, who will not account for every dollar of the public property that they have taken.

A great number of petitions and memorials had been presented in both Houses of Congress relative to the crisis of the country, and for the most part praying Congress to adopt such measures as would result in peace and permanent union. Resolutions also were from time to time adopted by the Legislatures of many of the States and laid before Congress.

Among the memorials thus presented was one from the city of New York, which was forwarded through a committee of twenty-five citizens, and which prayed "for the exercise of the best wisdom of Congress in finding some plan for the adjustment of the troubles which disturb the peace and happiness and endanger

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the safety of the nation." It also favored the Border State plan. Mr. Seward, of New York, in presenting the memorial to the Senate, stated that he had been asked by the committee to support the petition, but he had not seen a proposition from either North or South which would be satisfactory to the other. He deemed it his duty to hold himself open and ready for the best adjustment, but he would express to the public and to the Senate the commendable spirit in which the committee came. He then proceeded to say:

"I have asked them, also, in return for performing my duty on this occasion, that when they have arrived at home, they will act in the same spirit and manifest their devotion to the Union above all other interests and all other sentiments, by speaking for the Union, by voting for the Union, and, if it should be demanded, by lending and even giving their money for the Union, and fighting, in the last resort, for the Union, taking care always that speaking goes before voting, voting goes before giving money, and all go before a battle, which I should regard as hazardous and dangerous, and therefore the last, as it would be the most painful, measure to be resorted to for the salvation of the Union.

"This is the spirit in which I have determined for myself to come up to this great question, and to pass through it, as I sincerely believe we shall pass through it. For, although this great controversy has not been already settled, I do not, therefore, any the less calculate upon and hope and expect that it will be peacefully settled, and settled for the Union. I have not been so rash as to expect that, in sixty days which have been allowed to us since the meeting of Congress—and I will be frank, sir, in saying that I have not expected that, in the ninety days which are the allotted term of Congress—reason and judgment would come back to the people, and become so pervading, so universal, as that they would appreciate the danger and be able to agree on the remedies. Still, I have been willing that it should be tried, though unsuccessfully; but my confidence has remained the same, for this simple reason: that, as I have not believed that the passion and frenzy of the hour could overturn this great fabric of constitutional liberty and empire in ninety days, so I have felt sure that there would be time, even after the expiration of ninety days, for the restoration of all that had been lost, and for the reëstablishment of all that was in danger."

Mr. Mason, of Virginia, replied: "I was about to remark, that at this time, when the Government is in process of disintegration, when there are six States which have separated themselves from the Union, as they say, finally and forever; when other States not yet separated, are arming themselves—arming upon a large scale; when my own State appropriated, twelve months ago, in expectation of what seems now to be occurring, the very large sum from a State treasury, in advance, of $500,000 to purchase arms to arm her people; when here, within a few days, another appropriation was made of $1,000,000 for the same purpose, to arm her people; when we find that other States have done the same thing; when we find, in my own State and in other States, also, that the people are arming themselves, that the counties and the towns, exercising their municipal authority, are raising money upon the credit of the counties and the towns to arm the people; when that state of things is going on, and the public mind is engaged, in those of the slave States that have not yet separated, and in some of the free States, in devising a possible mode by which the American mind can again be united in a common Government, what do we hear from the honorable Senator from New York? What do we hear from that Senator who occupies the position before the country which is occupied by that Senator, acknowledged at the head of the political combinations which are to bring into power the incoming Administration, said, through the newspaper press, to be the probable right hand of the new Administration? What do we hear from him?

"Why, the honorable Senator, amidst the maze of generalities which marked his speech, did march up to the line and tell us what his policy was; and I assume it is to be the policy of those whom he has so aided to bring into power. What was it? His recommendation to those gentlemen who have sent this enormous petition here, not adopting their views, not looking to any amendment to the Constitution whatsoever, is given in four distinct propositions of what is to be the policy of those whom he is to lead, if history does not misinform us, after the 4th of March next. What is it? He recommends them, when they go home, to employ themselves in the great work of restoring the breaches that have been made in the Government. How? Why, said he, speak for the Union. That is the first. Next, vote for the Union. That is the second great measure. What is the third? Give money for the Union. And the last? Fight for the Union. These are the four measures proposed by the honorable Senator from New York to heal this gaping breach in the Government."

Mr. Seward, in answer, said: "I contemplated, sir, after the expiration of all the multitudinous trials that are making to save this Union by compromise, a convention of the people of the United States, called in constitutional form; and when that shall have been held, or refused to be held, and found to be impossible to obtain; if then, this Union is to stand or fall by the force of arms, I have advised my people to do as I shall be ready to do myself—stand in the breach, and stand with it or perish with it."

Mr. Mason responded: "Then we have it definite, Mr. President. I want to bring the honorable Senator, the exponent of the new

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Administration, to the policy which is to be adopted. I understand from him now, that remedies failing through the Constitution by the conventions of the States, his recommendation is battle and bloodshed to preserve the Union; and his recommendation to his people is that they shall contribute the money which shall march the army upon the South; for what? To preserve the Union? It is gone; it is broken; there is no Union now in this country. Those States that are out of the Union have broken it as completely as if, instead of six or seven, there were now all the fifteen slave States with them; and if this battle is to be fought, it is to be fought against them upon their own soil, for the purpose of reducing them to colonies and dependencies. It cannot mean any thing else. The honorable Senator is too wise and experienced a statesman, the honorable Senator knows too well the construction and theory of this Government, to think for one moment that when you have subjugated the people of the States you have restored the Union. No, sir, ——"

Mr. Seward answered: "I look, sir, to no such contingency as seceded States and a dissevered Union. I look to no such condition of things. The honorable Senator and I differ in regard to the future. He, with an earnest will and ardent imagination, sees this country hereafter rent and dissevered, and then recombined into separate confederacies. I see no such thing in the future; but I do see, through the return of reason and judgment to the American people, a return of public harmony, and the consolidation of the Union firmer than ever before. The honorable Senator from Virginia can very easily see that we may differ in our anticipations and expectations of the future, because we differ so much in regard to the actual, living present. Here I am, sir, in the Union of the United States, this same blessed, glorious, nobly-inherited, God-given Union; in the Senate chamber of the United States, pleading for it, maintaining it, and defending it."

The debate was further continued, and other Senators took a part in it.

Mr. Douglas, of Illinois, in allusion to the votes of the Senate, said that extremes North and South often meet, and unite in resisting the efforts of the friends of the Union, of concession, of conciliation, and of harmony, when their joint efforts, though prompted by different motives, lead to the same end—inevitable disunion, now and forever.

Mr. Johnson, of Arkansas, said the impression that there is no hope of an adjustment has been derived from the action in this chamber, and there is not a man here who is not conscious of the fact.

Mr. Wigfall, of Texas, in reply to the remark of the Senator from Illinois, said: "Why, I tell the Senator that that great principle of his (non-intervention) disrupted the Democratic party, and has now disrupted the Union; and but for him and his great principle, this day a Democrat would have been President, and the Union saved. That is the fact about the matter; and when a Senator who has contributed more than any man in the Union, according to his ability, to the destruction of the country, comes here and charges me with complicity in dissolving the Union, and charges in terms that extremes meet, and that I and my friends, and the Free-Soilers on the other side, are coöperating for the same purpose; that we are voting together, and that we take great comfort in all these exhibitions of the impossibility of saving the Union, I tell him that he is not the man to come here and preach to anybody."

The peace propositions of Virginia were next taken up, and Mr. Clingman, of North Carolina, expressed his views of all these propositions in these few words: "I have and shall continue to vote for any measure that may improve the existing *status*, whether it, in my judgment, be all that the South is entitled to ask or not, leaving to my constituents and other Southern States the right to determine how far it satisfies them. But I have felt all the time, that unless some movement came from the other side of the chamber, or was at least taken up by them, any effort on our part would be futile. Even though every Democratic member should vote for a proposition, and that should chance to be a majority, yet we could not here pass a proposition for an amendment to the Constitution by the necessary two-thirds vote, nor carry any proposition through the House of Representatives, much less cause its adoption by the free States."

Of the future, he thus predicted: "I say, Mr. President, that one of three contingencies is inevitably before you: either a settlement of these difficulties such as will be satisfactory and arrest the movement; or a recognition of a peaceable separation; or, thirdly, war. No human ingenuity can find any other result. The best course, undoubtedly, would be to adjust things now, if possible, on a satisfactory and permanent basis. The next best is a peaceable recognition of the independence of the seceding States; and the worst of all, but inevitable if neither of the others be taken, is war. I tell gentlemen, if they sit still war will make itself; it will come of its own accord."

On closing his remarks, Mr. Clingman thus referred to the subject of peace or war: "A Roman ambassador, addressing those to whom he was sent, said: 'I carry in my bosom peace and war; which will you have?' Reversing his declaration, I say to Senators on the other side of this chamber, 'You carry in your bosoms, for the country, peace or war; which do you mean to give it?' If you say war, then our people will meet you, and struggle with you all along the lines, and wherever else you come."

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To these remarks Mr. Hale of New Hampshire, replied: "I want to protest here, for one of the Northern States, against the tone of the Senator's speech, in which, looking to war, he talks to us as if we were the war-making power. Have we seized upon any forts? Have we taken any arsenals, and seized upon any mints? Have we done one single act looking to aggression? Have we fired into any flag, State or National? On the other hand, is not the condition of the Northern States one that subjects them, in the eyes of the world, to the charge of pusillanimity and reproach for wanting manliness in repelling the attacks that have been made upon them? Gentlemen come here and preach peace to us as if we were the aggressive party; as if the responsibilities of war must rest on us. Why, sir, if we have any of the responsibilities of war resting upon us, it will be by a course of conduct which subjects us, in the eyes of the world, to the imputation of cowards—that lies still and invokes aggression."

The inflammable state of the feelings of the Southern people had already been very distinctly manifested. On the last day of December, orders were issued from the War Department for the purpose of sending troops South. Late in the night, perhaps as late as eleven o'clock, these orders were countermanded; but in the mean time, telegraphic despatches had been sent to the South, and a number of forts were taken. In North Carolina, on the day following, the 1st of January, there was a similar movement on foot, and a despatch went down which prevented it, by giving assurances that the orders had been countermanded. Not long afterwards the sending of the Star of the West occurred, other reports of hostile movements went abroad, and the people occupied some of the forts in North Carolina; but they were informed again that there was no purpose on the part of the Government to reinforce them, and they were abandoned.

The Naval Appropriation bill next came up before the Senate. One of its provisions authorized the construction of seven steam-sloops of war, when

Mr. Mason, of Virginia, rose and said: "Now, sir, why is the navy to be increased? Is there any demand for these steamers? Is there any such pressing necessity upon the military arm of the country to be strengthened, as to induce Congress to borrow money at the ruinous rates we are now compelled to pay, to strengthen it? I ask Senators on the other side to state what the necessity is? Is there any apprehension of war? Is there any apprehension that this Government may find itself unable to defend itself on any sudden emergency, that will justify us in borrowing money at this ruinous rate for the purpose now of increasing the navy?"

Mr. Grimes, of Iowa, replied: "If the Senator will allow me, I will say that it is recommended now by the Secretary of the Navy; and, furthermore, that since the last session of Congress there has been a survey of the naval vessels of the United States, many of which have been found to be utterly worthless; and that, I apprehend, is one reason why a good many gentlemen, who were recorded as having voted against the proposition last year, voted as they did on the present occasion."

Mr. Mason responded: "What is the public emergency that calls for this increase of the naval force when we have no war? Our commerce is not unprotected; we hear of no complaint there. We have no unredressed grievances in any part of the world, that I know of, that call for an increase of the navy. Why, then, when we are borrowing money at a rate of usance unknown to this Government, is it asked that we should expend $1,500,000 for the increase of the navy, and the increase of this peculiar kind of naval vessels—vessels of small draught of water, and which are to be, as the amendment requires, heavily armed in proportion to their draught and size? Why, sir, we know from the newspapers, that a bill is about to be introduced, or has been introduced, into the other branch of Congress, providing for a military surveillance upon those States that are no longer portions of this Confederacy. We have had a bill introduced into the Senate by the honorable Senator from Vermont, authorizing the President of the United States, under circumstances stated in the bill, to discontinue the ports of entry——

Mr. Collamer: "That bill has no warlike purpose whatever. It is to avoid that. It is to declare them no longer ports of entry, so that ships will not make clearances to them. It will prevent the necessity of any military force there."

Mr. Mason: "I have not spoken one word, Mr. President, of the reasons that induced the honorable Senator to introduce that bill. I am speaking of the fact. The honorable Senator has introduced a bill giving authority to the President, under certain circumstances stated in the bill, to discontinue ports of entry. Very well. I speak of the fact only. What it may lead to is another question."

Referring then to the condition of the seceded States, Mr. Mason continued: "Now, sir, other gentlemen may shut their eyes to these facts, if they think it wise to do so. I come from that part of the country; I cannot shut my eyes to the existing facts. I know that, whatever may be the design of the honorable mover of this proposition, if these steamers are built, they will be part of the naval armament of this Confederation, to be used for any military purposes that the public exigencies may require; and I know that the proposition of the honorable Senator from Vermont will lead to this, whatever he intends.

"It is high time, sir, for the Government to take into consideration the state of things on our late southern borders, and determine what those relations are. They should meet it like

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men. Do not attempt to cover it up and to evade it or disguise it; meet it in full front; declare that they are in rebellion, and they are to be put down; or declare that they have the right of separation, and are to be acknowledged in their separation. This is my view of that matter. Those States being out, having actually confederated, having assumed a nationality, I should consider it was the bounden duty of the Government, no matter what question separates them—whether it be a slave question, or a question of domestic economy, or any thing else—to acknowledge the separation, and to let them go in peace; but until those relations are settled satisfactorily, until we know whether the arm of this Government is to be raised against them, by no vote of mine shall there be any additions either to the naval or military service of the country."

Mr. Fessenden, of Maine, replied: "The honorable Senator says this will not do; do one thing or another; declare war against them, if you please, or else declare that they are no longer a part of the United States. Sir, I do not choose to do either in the present state of affairs. I propose simply to do that which is necessary for our own protection and our own advantage. I repeat, I am acting, as yet, as a Senator of the United States. I am legislating for the United States, and not for South Carolina, or for any seceded State; and as long as I sit here, as I said before, I take it that is my duty. What, then, does the United States want to do? It wishes to collect its own revenue, and it wishes for force enough, if force is necessary, to accomplish that purpose. I am not at all frightened by the term 'force,' and this talk about the coercion of a State. The time may come when it will be necessary for us, to use the language of the honorable Senator, to speak plainly. I am ready to speak plainly now upon that subject; and I say most distinctly, if the time ever does come, in my judgment—I speak for one—when it will be necessary to use force in order to execute the laws of the United States under the Constitution anywhere and everywhere within what is properly the United States, I am perfectly ready to do it."

Mr. King, of New York, followed and said: "Mr. President, this Government cannot be peaceably destroyed, or overthrown, or divided. Before that should be done, the sovereigns themselves would come here, if their representatives could prove recreant in their defence of it. It is well that it should be understood that the people of this country will never give their consent to a peaceable destruction and dissolution of it. Sir, I do not believe it can be destroyed. I would use forbearance, patience; I would extend every degree of kindness, and make every effort for conciliation with these people; but to admit their right to divide the country, to take a State out of the Union, or to destroy it; and, last of all, that they should peaceably have the right to break it up, I should never agree to.

"I do not know what these gentlemen consider peace. They have armed themselves by means which are well known to the whole country. They have illegally taken the arms belonging to this Government from our arsenals. Cabinet officers and members of the Senate have been in complicity in this treason. A foul and infamous plot, I have no doubt, has existed to destroy this Government. Providence, rather than the skill or attention of the people, has arrested it.

"I tell these gentlemen, in my judgment, this treason must come to an end—peacefully, I hope; but never, in my judgment, peacefully by the ignominious submission of the people of this country to traitors—never. I desire peace, but I would amply provide means for the defence of the country by war, if necessary."

Mr. Green, of Missouri, answered: "To what purposes are these steamers to be applied? Why is it at this time, when our resources are less than they have been for many years, when our credit is lower than it has been for a long number of years, why is it now deemed necessary to borrow $1,200,000 to build seven new steamers? This question would have been pertinent; it is now pertinent; it will remain pertinent; but the purpose was disclosed in the speech of the honorable Senator from New York. I do not mean the thin, keen-visaged, eagle-eyed Senator, but I mean the bellicose Senator, (laughter,) whose voice is still for war, whose object is to involve us in serious, deadly conflict; and he says he wants them to coerce sovereign States."

The other propositions which had been introduced to the Senate, having in view a settlement of difficulties, may be as well noticed here. The debates occasioned by them were generally different aspects of one great subject, and strictly form a part of the preceding discussions. Other measures, such as the admission of Kansas, and the organization of governments for the other territories, are entitled to be placed in this class, as the discussions upon them embraced many views relating to the crisis in public affairs.

Three amendments to the Constitution were presented by Mr. Johnson, of Tennessee. One proposed to change the mode of election of President and Vice-President of the United States from the electoral college to a vote substantially and directly by the people. The second proposed that the Senators of the United States shall be elected by the people, once in six years, instead of by the Legislatures of the respective States. The third provided that the Supreme Court shall be divided into three classes: the term of the first class is to expire in four years from the time that the classification is made; of the second class in eight years; and of the third class in twelve years; and as these vacancies occur they are to be filled by persons chosen—one-half from the slave States, and the other half from the non-slave-

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holding States, thereby taking the judges of the Supreme Court, so far as their selection goes, from the respective divisions of the country; also that either the President or Vice-President at each election shall be from the slaveholding States. These propositions were brought forward as calculated to obviate the difficulty or complaint manifested in different portions of the country.

Whilst aiming at the same object as his Southern friends, he hoped to secure it by different means. Secession was no remedy for the evils complained of. "I think that this battle ought to be fought not outside but inside of the Union, and upon the battlements of the Constitution itself. So far as I am concerned, and I believe I may speak with some degree of confidence for the people of my State, we intend to fight that battle inside and not outside of the Union; and if anybody must go out of the Union, it must be those who violate it. We do not intend to go out. It is our Constitution; it is our Union, growing out of the Constitution; and we do not intend to be driven from it or out of the Union."

He was opposed to seceding or breaking up the Union until all honorable means had been exhausted in trying to obtain from the Northern States a compliance with the spirit and letter of the Constitution and all its guarantees. He denied the right of any State to secede from the Union without the consent of the other States which made the compact. Believing that the opinion that a State had a right to secede, had resulted from the Virginia resolutions of 1798 and 1799, he examined the subject and said: "Take the resolutions; take the report of Mr. Madison upon them; take Mr. Madison's expositions of them in 1832 and 1833; his letter to Mr. Trist; his letter to Mr. Webster; his letter to Mr. Rives; and when all are summed up, this doctrine of a State, either assuming her highest political attitude or otherwise, having the right of her own will to dissolve all connection with this Confederacy, is an absurdity, and contrary to the plain intent and meaning of the Constitution of the United States. I hold that the Constitution of the United States makes no provision, as said by the President of the United States, for its own destruction. It makes no provision for breaking up the Government, and no State has the constitutional right to secede and withdraw from the Union.

"I know that the inquiry may be made, how is a State, then, to have redress? There is but one way, and that is expressed by the people of Tennessee. You have entered into this compact; it was mutual; it was reciprocal; and you of your own volition have no right to withdraw and break the compact, without the consent of the other parties. What remedy, then, has the State? It has a remedy that remains and abides with every people upon the face of the earth—when grievances are without a remedy, or without redress, when oppression becomes intolerable, they have the great inherent right of revolution, and that is all there is of it.

"Sir, if the doctrine of secession is to be carried out upon the mere whim of a State, this Government is at an end. I am as much opposed to a strong, or what may be called by some a consolidated Government, as it is possible for a man to be; but while I am greatly opposed to that, I want a Government strong enough to preserve its own existence; that will not fall to pieces by its own weight, or whenever a little dissatisfaction takes place in one of its members. If the States have the right to secede at will and pleasure, for real or imaginary evils or oppressions, I repeat again, this Government is at an end; it is not stronger than a rope of sand; its own weight will tumble it to pieces, and it cannot exist."

This position was fortified by reference to the views of Mr. Jefferson, Chief Justice Marshall, Mr. Webster, and General Jackson.

"In travelling through the instrument we find how the Government is created, how it is to be perpetuated, and how it may be enlarged in reference to the number of States constituting the Confederacy; but do we find any provision for winding it up, except on that great inherent principle that it may be wound up by the States—not by a State, but by the States which spoke it into existence—and by no other means. That is a means of taking down the Government that the Constitution could not provide for. It is above the Constitution; it is beyond any provision that can be made by mortal man.

"The Constitution was intended to be perpetual. In reference to the execution of the laws what do we find? As early as 1795, Congress passed an excise law, taxing distilleries throughout the country, and what were called the whiskey boys of Pennsylvania resisted the law. The Government wanted means. It taxed distilleries. The people of Pennsylvania resisted it. What is the difference between a portion of the people resisting a constitutional law, and all of the people of a State doing so? But because you can apply the term coercion in one case to a State, and in the other call it simply the execution of the law against individuals, you say there is a great distinction. We do not assume the power to coerce a State, but we assume that Congress has power to lay and collect taxes, and Congress has the right to enforce that law when obstructions and impediments are opposed to its enforcement. Such was the action of Washington, and similar was the action of Jackson in 1832."

In considering the circumstances which might arise in consequence of secession, he alluded to the free navigation of the Mississippi, when Mr. Slidell, of Louisiana, took occasion to say that he "did not know of a citizen of any southwestern State bordering on the Mississippi who does not acknowledge the propriety and necessity of extending to every citizen of

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the country whose streams flow into the Mississippi the free navigation of the river, and the free interchange of all of the agricultural products of the valley of the Mississippi. Such a course is dictated not only by every consideration of justice, but by the recognized and well-understood interests of the south-western States. On this point, I can speak with entire confidence of the sentiment of Louisiana."

The right has been claimed by the United States to occupy foreign territory on the ground of its importance to the safety of the institutions of the country. On this principle the Government acted in the case of Florida. This was the principle announced at Ostend, where the American ministers to the three principal courts of Europe met and considered the grounds upon which the Government would be justified in acquiring Cuba. How would this doctrine bear upon Louisiana when out of the Union and holding the key to the Gulf—the outlet of the commerce of the West?

Mr. Lane, of Oregon, replied that the attempt to enforce the laws in South Carolina, when she was not a member of this Confederacy, would bring about civil war. No authority to conquer States and hold them as provinces is found in the Constitution. No such power is conferred on the Government. He exclaimed: "I am a man of peace. I dislike war. I would never make it or encourage it, except in defence of right, in defence of honor, in defence of truth and justice. I would go into battle and fight for the right; but I will never force war upon a people, or inaugurate it, unless it is authorized, and unless it is my duty to do so in defence of right; but certainly I would not make war to conquer a people contending simply for a right that has been refused, for a right that they cannot have in the Union, and for a right that they can have out of the Union, even if tyrants, or rulers that would be tyrants, should undertake to coerce them. The man that would do it, the man that would inaugurate it, would drench this country in blood."

In his opinion, reorganization was the only means to restore the country. "If we would bring about that reorganization, if we would rebuild the fabric that has been stricken down, we must maintain peace. Inaugurate force, inaugurate war in this country, and all hope of reconstruction has vanished forever."

He argued that if the party that succeeded in the late triumph had indicated to the country that they were now ready to see justice done; that they were ready to extend to every Southern State the rights they claim for themselves; if they had, at the beginning of this Congress, said—"Amendments of the Constitution will be acceptable to us, and ratified by our people, extending justice to all," to-day the Union would have been safe, and secession would not have been possible.

Declaring this to be the greatest Government ever created by the wit of man, he thus stated his view of the cause of its destruction:

"I look upon our Constitution as the best system of government ever formed by man. I would to God it could be maintained as it is. I wish that equality could prevail. I would to Heaven that justice could be dealt out fairly to every man of every State of this Union, as provided by that great system of government. But it cannot be so. Public opinion is in its way. The Northern sectional party is opposed to it; and you cannot have rights equal with them under the Constitution as it is. They break it up, not we. They destroy it by refusing to comply with its provisions. They trample it under foot, because they will not do justice to their friends. They claim the territory, though won by the blood of the gallant Southern men as well as the Northern men. They refuse to the Southern man one inch of territory for his property, though it cost him his money and his blood."

Mr. Benjamin, of Louisiana, declared that the present state of things had been foreseen for years. South Carolina had dissolved the Union which connected her with the other States of the Confederacy, and proclaimed herself independent. He said: "We, the representatives of those remaining States, stand here to-day, bound either to recognize that independence or to overthrow it; either to permit her peaceful secession from the Confederacy, or to put her down by force of arms. That is the issue. That is the sole issue. No artifice can conceal it. No attempts by men to disguise it from their own consciences, and from an excited or alarmed public, can suffice to conceal it. Those attempts are equally futile and disingenuous."

His anticipations of the extent to which secession would reach embraced all the slave-holding States. "Next week, Mississippi, Alabama, and Florida will have declared themselves independent; the week after, Georgia; and a little later, Louisiana; soon, very soon, to be followed by Texas and Arkansas. I confine myself purposely to these eight States, because I wish to speak only of those whose action we know with positive certainty, and which no man can for a moment pretend to controvert. I designedly exclude others, about whose action I feel equally confident, although others may raise a cavil."

That South Carolina had a right to take the course she pursued, the Senator attempted to prove from the admitted right of all men to self-government, and having this right she formed a compact with the other States, which had been broken on the part of some of them, and was therefore broken on the part of all. Between the right to secede and the right of revolution, he thus discriminated: "I say, therefore, that I distinguish the rights of the States under the Constitution into two classes: one resulting from the nature of their bargain; if the bargain is broken by the sister States, to

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consider themselves freed from it on the ground of breach of compact; if the bargain be not broken, but the powers be perverted to their wrong and their oppression, then, whenever that wrong and oppression shall become sufficiently aggravated, the revolutionary right—the last inherent right of man to preserve freedom, property, and safety—arises, and must be exercised, for none other will meet the case."

The act of a State absolves all its subjects, says the Senator, addressing the Republican side, and when you deny that you will coerce a State, but assert that you mean to execute the laws against individuals, it is an absurdity. "This whole scheme, this whole fancy, that you can treat the act of a sovereign State, issued in an authoritative form, and in her collective capacity as a State, as being utterly out of existence; that you can treat the State as still belonging collectively to the Confederacy, and that you can proceed, without a solitary Federal officer in the State, to enforce your laws against private individuals, is as vain, as idle, and delusive, as any dream that ever entered into the head of man. The thing cannot be done. It is only asserted for the purpose of covering up the true question, than which there is no other; you must acknowledge the independence of the seceding State, or reduce her to subjection by war."

Mr. Baker, of Oregon, rising for the final time to speak on the floor of the Senate, after a few preliminary words, thus proceeded: "It is my purpose to reply, as I may, to the speech of the honorable and distinguished Senator from the State of Louisiana. I do so, because it is, in my judgment at least, the ablest speech which I have heard, perhaps the ablest I shall hear, upon that side of the question, and in that view of the subject; because it is respectful in tone and elevated in manner; and because, while it will be my fortune to differ from him upon many, nay, most of the points to which he has addressed himself, it is not, I trust, inappropriate for me to say that much of what he has said, and the manner in which he has said it, has tended to increase the personal respect—nay, I may say the admiration—which I have learned to feel for him. And yet, sir, while I say this, I am reminded of the saying of a great man—Dr. Johnson, I believe—who, when he was asked for his critical opinion upon a book just then published, and which was making a great sensation in London, said: 'Sir, the fellow who has written that, has done very well what nobody ought ever to do at all.'

"The entire object of the speech is, as I understand it, to offer a philosophical and constitutional disquisition to prove that the Government of these United States is, in point of fact, no Government at all; that it has no principle of vitality; that it is to be overturned by a touch; dwindled into insignificance by a doubt; dissolved by a breath; not by maladministration merely, but in consequence of organic defects, interwoven with its very existence.

"But, sir, this purpose—strange and mournful in anybody, still more so in him—this purpose has a terrible significance now and here. In the judgment of the honorable Senator, the Union is this day dissolved; it is broken and disintegrated; civil war is a consequence at once necessary and inevitable. Standing in the Senate chamber, he speaks like a prophet of woe. The burden of the prediction is the echo of what the distinguished gentleman now presiding in that chair has said before—(Mr. Iverson in the chair)—'Too late! too late!' The gleaming and lurid lights of war flash around his brow, even while he speaks. And, sir, if it were not for the exquisite amenity of his tone and manner we could easily persuade ourselves that we saw the flashing of the armor of the soldier beneath the robe of the Senator.

"My purpose is far different; sir, I think it is far higher. I desire to contribute my poor argument to maintain the dignity, the honor of the Government under which I live, and beneath whose august shadow I hope to die. I propose, in opposition to all that has been said, to show that the Government of the United States is in very deed a real, substantial power, ordained by the people, not dependent upon States; sovereign in its sphere; a Union, and not a compact between sovereign States; that, according to its true theory, it has the inherent capacity of self-protection; that its Constitution is a perpetuity, beneficent, unfailing, grand; and that its powers are equally capable of exercise against domestic treason and against foreign foes. Such, sir, is the main purpose of my speech; and what I may say additional to this, will be drawn from me in reply to the speech to which I propose now to address myself."

He then proceeded to deny that this Government was a compact, that there was such a right as that of secession, or that the grievances complained of by the South, were sufficient to justify their proposed course of action.

These propositions went to the Committee of Thirteen, and the subsequent debate embraced all the measures before that committee. No separate and favorable action was taken upon them in the Senate.

The following resolution, presented in the Senate by Mr. Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, previous to his retirement, contains in a few words the entire claim made by Southern members of what was necessary to secure their rights. It was ordered to be printed.

Resolved, That it shall be declared, by amendment of the Constitution, that property in slaves, recognized as such by the local law of any of the States of the Union, shall stand on the same footing in all constitutional and Federal relations as any other species of property so recognized; and, like other property, shall not be subject to be divested or impaired by the local law of any other State, either in escape thereto, or of transit or sojourn of the owner therein; and in no case whatever shall such property be subject to be divested or impaired by any legislative act of the United States, or of any of the territories thereof.

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It does not appear to have been called up or discussed before the Senate.

The admission of Kansas, as a State of the Union, was made a question in the Senate by the report of a bill for that purpose. But the crisis of the country was the absorbing topic of the remarks of all speakers.

Mr. Nicholson, of Tennessee, expressed his conviction that the sentiments of a majority of the Northern people on the subject of slavery, as an abstract question, were embraced in these three propositions:

1. That slavery, as it exists in the Southern States, is a moral as well as social and political evil.
2. That the owners and their slaves are created equal; that they are endowed alike with the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and that to secure these rights equally to both governments are instituted, deriving their just power from the consent of the governed.
3. That as the owners and their slaves are created equal, the former cannot rightfully acquire or hold dominion over, or property in, the latter without his consent.

He said "that, under the freedom of speech and the freedom of conscience, they have a full and perfect right to entertain these opinions. It is no cause of quarrel between us and them. On the other hand, the South entertain directly antagonistic opinions as matters of conscience and as matters of political opinion, on each one of these propositions. They claim the right under the same high sanction to entertain these opinions, and we say that it is no cause of quarrel, and should be none.

"What we now complain of is, that in the year 1856 these questions, known to be questions of antagonism, morally and socially, if not politically, incapable of reconciliation between the North and South, were seized upon by political leaders at the North and incorporated as the basis, as the 'central idea,' of a political association which, rising upon the strength of this prevailing sentiment at the North, has finally taken possession of the Government of the country. Mr. President, the first fatal stab to this Union was made at the Philadelphia convention, in 1856, when these propositions were incorporated as a part of the Republican platform. There was the birth of Republicanism, and there was the birth of organized sectionalism; its legitimate fruits are agitation, dissension, alienation, and, finally, disunion, in some form or other. In my honest conviction, there is to be found the true origin of disunionism, and there the real responsibility for that catastrophe.

"Now, Mr. President, let us see what it is in this platform that is so offensive to the South; for the real foundation of our complaints is to be found here. Gentlemen of the North seem not to comprehend this. They even take up the idea that it is a mere suspicion that some wrong may be done; some, that it is merely because we were defeated in the election; because we have lost our candidates; because we have failed in holding the Government which we have held so long, that we manifest such deep concern. I tell them, in all candor, that they are mistaken in this. If Mr. Lincoln had entertained opinions and stood upon a platform that did not, in our estimation, involve our final destruction—I mean the destruction of our Southern interests and institutions—we should have acquiesced in his election as cheerfully as in that of any other man. What, then, is it in this platform to which we take exception? The first thing is, that it recognizes the general principle that ALL men are created equal; and, in recognizing this, asserts, as a fact, that Governments are made for the purpose of securing alike the rights of life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness to the slave and to his owner. That general principle, if applied in the States, would liberate four million slaves. This is a necessary deduction from the assertion of the principle of the equality of the two races. But the Republican party, I must do them the justice to say, do not in their platform make the application of this general principle to the States. They confine it to those places within which Congress has, according to the platform of 1856, 'exclusive jurisdiction.' Then, the position is this: you concede that in the States we have a right to enjoy this property, and you profess to be willing that this constitutional guarantee shall be maintained; yet, in so doing, you avow a principle to be applied to all other places within which Congress has jurisdiction, which principle fixes a stigma on every Southern man who is the owner of a slave; which principle would, if applied, (and which, if you had the power, it is fair to infer, you would apply,) would set free every slave of the South. Without undertaking to say that this would be done without regard to other consequences than the loss of property, yet to a Southern mind these other consequences are so frightful, that when a party plants itself on a principle so alarming and so destructive, if carried out into all its legitimate results, we can but feel that our security is small, when all we have to repose upon is the professions of that party, that it will regard our rights within the States, when the same party tells us that rights which we regard the same outside of the States, it intends to disregard.

"Mr. President, these, in my estimation, are the grounds on which the Southern mind is now resting, and upon which the Southern people have come to the settled conviction that the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency, on the principles laid down in the Republican platform, is tantamount to a declaration of war against an institution which, in the South, is identified with all our interests, with all our happiness, with all our prosperity, socially, politically, and materially. This is our conviction, and this conviction is strengthened when we turn to the antecedents, politically, of the candidate whom you have succeeded in electing."

In his opinion the overwhelming sentiment of the South is that of demanding guarantees

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which shall be unalterable—that shall recognize distinctly and fully the rights of the Southern man to his slave as property, and other points of much importance connected with the fugitive slave-law. This the South demands, or it demands secession or revolution. He then alluded to a border State Convention, to determine on these guarantees as a matter of extreme importance.

No direct reply was made to this speaker. Mr. Collamer, of Vermont, who followed, confined his remarks strictly to the question of the admission of Kansas. Much time was afterwards occupied in the details of the bill, and it was passed by the Senate—ayes, 36; noes, 16.

Subsequently the bill to provide a temporary government for the territory of Arizona being before the Senate,

Mr. Brown, of Mississippi, moved an additional section, providing that the act of the Legislature of New Mexico, providing for the protection of property in slaves, be extended to Arizona. To this motion Mr. Trumbull, of Illinois, moved an amendment, providing that the law of Mexico, respecting African slavery, as it existed in said territory upon its acquisition, should remain unchanged.

Mr. Doolittle, of Wisconsin, then took the floor, and declared that he should support the amendment. The people of this country have lived together in peace for more than seventy years. That peace has rested upon two fundamental ideas: first, that the Federal Government and the citizens of the free States shall make no aggression upon slavery in the States; and the other, equally fundamental, that neither the Federal Government nor the slaveholders of the slave States shall make any aggressions upon or undertake to overturn freedom in the territories. Upon these grounds the people may live for generations to come; but if the citizens of the free States or the Federal Government shall undertake, directly or indirectly, to overturn slavery in the States where it exists, or if the citizens of the slave States or the Federal Government shall undertake to overturn freedom in the territories, they cannot have peace.

After examining the Constitution on the subject of slavery, and the objections urged to the Republican platform by Senator Nicholson, he emphatically declared his sentiment thus: "I say to these gentlemen that, upon that idea that the Constitution establishes slavery, you cannot have peace on the slavery question; and you may just as well know it first as last. The people of the United States do not believe that the Constitution is, and will never consent that it shall be altered so that it will become, a slavery-extending Constitution by force of its own terms. We do not ask either that you put upon it that construction which shall abolish slavery in any State or in any territory. We say, let the Constitution be as our fathers made it; let it be neutral—neither affirming nor denying, and then you can have peace."

After discussing the various causes of irritation, he observed that those men who are regarded as the Abolitionists in this country; those men who have denounced the Constitution as being a covenant with hell, because they were bound to return these fugitives to slavery, stand looking on with an anxiety and intensity of interest which cannot be conceived. Their prayers go up, day and night, that this Union may be broken—that the free States of the North may no longer be compelled by the bond of Union to surrender the fugitive slaves; and proceeded by saying that the Constitution of the United States is the supreme law of the land, and every citizen of the United States, therefore, owes a double allegiance; one to this Federal Government, and another to the State in which he lives. He may be guilty of treason against either; he may be guilty of treason against both; but within their spheres each government is sovereign and supreme. If Congress steps beyond the powers delegated by the Constitution, to enact any law, it is absolutely void. If the State should step beyond the Constitution of the United States, which limits the power of the States to enact a law in conflict with it, it is simply unconstitutional, null, and void.

Mr. Benjamin, of Louisiana, wished to ask the gentleman from Wisconsin, if, in his opinion, under that form of government a citizen can be placed, by the conflict between these two governments, in a position where he must of necessity be guilty of treason to the one or the other, and therefore be bound to be hung any way?

Mr. Doolittle replied: "No, sir; he cannot; for if the State declares that to be treason which by the Constitution of the United States is void, as being in conflict with it, it is no treason; for the Constitution of the United States is the fundamental law of your State, and any act or declaration making it treason to do an act which is in conflict with the Constitution of the United States, cannot be made treason by the State, although they may declare it so."

Mr. Benjamin: "If they declare it so, and hang the citizen because they declare it so, what advantage would it be to him that in theory the decision was wrong?"

Mr. Doolittle: "The citizen must judge at his peril. If a law is enacted by Congress which is within the Constitution of the United States, the citizen will judge at his peril; and if he undertakes to break up the Government of the United States, and to be guilty of treason against the Government of the United States, any act which the State may declare in conflict with it is simply unconstitutional, null, and void."

Mr. Benjamin: "As a practical proposition, if the citizen of a State is, by the action of his State, which he cannot control, commanded to do a certain thing under the penalty of being hanged under the law of the State; and if that

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thing is treason under the Constitution and laws of the United States, is it possible, under the law of nations, and under the common sentiments of humanity that govern mankind, for the Federal Government to undertake to act upon the individual who is placed under duress to commit treason, instead of first relieving him from that duress by making war upon the State?"

Mr. Doolittle: "If the man is to be hung if he does the act, and to be hung if he does not, undoubtedly, so far as he is concerned, it will make no great difference, (laughter;) but, as a question of law, if he does an act which is treason against the United States, and is compelled to do that act by a law of the State, the State law is void, because it is in conflict with the Constitution of the United States."

Mr. Benjamin: "Then would the hanging be void?"

Mr. Doolittle: "The hanging would be a certainty, (laughter;) it would not be void for uncertainty. I say, Mr. President, that where the Constitution of the United States speaks in language clear enough to delegate power to this Government, it is not in the power of one, ten, one hundred, or all the citizens of a State, to annul that act of Congress; because the Constitution and the acts in pursuance of it are the supreme law of that State, and binding on every citizen and upon all the citizens in that State, and every citizen must, of course, act at his peril."

Mr. Brown, of Mississippi, continued the debate by saying: "It seems to me that Northern Senators most perniciously overlook the main point at issue between the two sections of our Confederacy. We claim that there is property in slaves, and they deny it. Until we shall settle, upon some basis, that point of controversy, it is idle to talk of going any further. The Southern people have $4,000,000,000 locked up in this kind of property. I do not mean to say that their slaves are worth so much; but their real property, their stock, their household goods, and all that belongs to them, are dependent upon the security of that kind of property.

"During the first forty years of our national existence, I undertake to affirm that no man, North or South, pretended to deny the great fact that there was such a thing as property in slaves. About 1818, 1819, 1820, this doctrine of refusing to recognize the right of property in slaves sprang up. It has continued to intensify from that day to this, until we find ourselves in our present condition. Now, I ask Senators on the other side if, looking at this thing calmly, they can for an instant suppose that, under any possible conceivable state of the case, we can voluntarily consent to live under a Government passing into the hands of a power, on the 4th of March, which openly and undisguisedly tells us that all this vast interest is to be outlawed under the common Government; that the $4,000,000,000 invested in this property, the accumulation of centuries of hard labor, muscular and physical labor, is going to be voluntarily abandoned—abandoned, I mean, so far as the action of this Federal Government is concerned; and that we, the inhabitants of fifteen States of this Union, will consent to live under a Government outlawed by its authority? That is the stern proposition which you submit to us. That is the proposition which we as sternly reject. Can we ever consent to remain in any Government, and know it only through its taxing power? Do rational men of the North suppose that nine million Southern people can ever consent to live in a Government outlawed by the Government, and known by it only when it wants tribute?

"I have no hope, no expectation, of changing the judgment of Senators on the other side, and very little hope of ever reaching their constituents; but there are some stubborn facts in history, which it were well enough their constituents should come to learn."

Mr. Green, of Missouri, referring to the question before the Senate, observed that when Mexico ceded all this territory to us by the Gadsden treaty, no slavery existed there except the peonage; but the very moment it became ceded to us, and became part of the United States, it was under the Constitution of the United States. There is no such thing as a constitutional Government acquiring property, and yet that property not be subject to the Constitution; and it is a contradiction to say so. If we have the power to acquire, it is by virtue of our organization under the Constitution; and the moment you acquire it, it is subject to that Constitution.

Mr. Doolittle replied, that the Senator of Missouri assumed, as a proposition which ought not to be doubted, that the Constitution of the United States entered the territory acquired from Mexico, repealed the Mexican law abolishing slavery, and established a law in its favor. This proposition was in direct contravention of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Prigg case, in which they held expressly that "the state of slavery is deemed to be a mere municipal regulation, founded upon, and limited to, the range of the territorial laws." It was in violation of the decisions of the supreme court of every State, both North and South, previous to 1848. When John C. Calhoun, on the floor of this Senate, first announced the doctrine that the Constitution of the United States, by its own positive force, guaranteed the right to take and hold slaves as property in the territories of the United States, it did not have half a dozen supporters in either House of Congress.

Mr. Mason, of Virginia, wished the privilege of saying, as Mr. Calhoun lives no longer, and had no representative of his State on that floor, that he never understood him, nor ever understood any jurist in the land, in giving a considered view of this question, as declaring that the Constitution of the United States established slavery anywhere; but he understood that

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great man, and those who concurred with him in opinion, to say this: that a slave is property, and nothing but property; and that the Constitution of the United States would protect that property in the territories, or upon the high seas as it would protect any other property. It establishes nothing; it recognizes property because it is property. That he understood to be Mr. Calhoun's view. Again he remarked: "We say, not that the Constitution establishes slavery anywhere, but that there is the same obligation upon those who administer the Constitution to protect the property in a slave as property, as in any thing else, wherever the Constitution is administered. That is what we claim."

Mr. Trumbull, of Illinois, observed that here was a region of country about to be organized into a territorial government, which, at the time we acquired it, was under a law excluding African slavery from it. Now, the question was, when it becomes incorporated with this Government, without any action of the people there, or any desire to have that law changed, whether we should not continue the existing state of things.

Mr. Green, of Missouri, urged that this was a mistaken view. The law which the Senator from Mississippi proposes to make the permanent law, is the existing law.

The debate here dropped, and the bill was subsequently passed without any provision for the exclusion of slaves from the territory.

On the 11th of January a resolution was offered in the Senate by Mr. Hunter, of Virginia, authorizing the retrocession by the President of the forts and arsenals within any State upon the application of the Legislature, or a convention of the people of such State, taking at the same time proper security for their safe-keeping and return, or payment for the same.

To this an amendment was offered, by Mr. Trumbull, of Illinois, approving the act of Major Anderson in abandoning Fort Moultrie and taking possession of Fort Sumter.

Mr. Hunter followed in a lengthy speech, embracing all the important points of the crisis. To him it appeared to be a question of reunion. "I say that, so far as I can weigh the question, it is no more a question of Union, but one of reunion. To produce reunion it is essential that the Southern States should be allowed to take that position which it is obvious they are going to take, in peace. You must give, too, all the time you can, and offer all the opportunities you may, to those who desire to make an effort for the reconstruction of this Confederacy. Sir, I say I am one of those; for while I believe that the South owes it to itself first to secure its own position, to provide for its own protection, to unite in such strength as will enable it to defend itself against all goers and comers, I also believe that the interests of mankind, our own interests, and the interests of our confederates, would then require that we should reconstruct the old Union if we can, or rather construct a new Union on terms of equality and of justice."

Mr. Harlan, of Iowa, replied: "Whatever may be pretended to the contrary, the real grievance inflicted on 'the South by the North,' is the invitation extended to the Southern Democracy, on the 6th day of last November, to resign the reins of Government into the hands of their political opponents. This will become manifest on an examination of the alleged causes of complaint. These are all stated in general and ambiguous terms, without specification. The most usual allegation, which has been reiterated to-day, is that the provisions of the Constitution have been violated. The secession argument which follows is, that when a contract has been violated by one party it may be declared void by the other party to its provisions; that the Constitution of the United States is such a contract between the several States; that the Federal Government is merely their agent appointed to carry out its provisions; that this contract having been broken by some of the States, the other States may voluntarily secede, and demand a division of liabilities and assets."

In regard to the apprehensions expressed relative to the future policy of the Republican party he thus expressed his views: "You may feign fear that we will interfere with your institutions in the slave States. Time at last will develop the fact that all those fears are groundless. If any man will read the speeches and the letters of the President of the United States elect, he can come to no other conclusion than that he will administer the Government, so far as he has power, precisely on the policy originally proposed by Henry Clay, who participated so largely in securing the compromise measures to which I have alluded. Why not consent to this? Why attempt the fearful experiment of destroying this Government, which has stood the test of time so well, under the vain hope of forming a better? But if you must do something to raise a smoke under which to retire from your unenviable position, admit the territories as States, and thus end the controversy forever. If this proposition is acceptable to the Republicans, surely it ought to be acceptable to you."

Mr. Polk, of Missouri, followed on the opposite side, and described the commercial condition of the country as of the most alarming character: "What," he asked, "is the condition of things all over the entire Confederacy, both North and South? Universal panic, prostration of credit, public and private. Our Government has just advertised for a loan of $5,000,000, and she could only get half of it bid for; nor even that except at usurious rates of interest, running up to the extreme of thirty-six per centum per annum. Failures and bankruptcies, stagnation and embarrassments everywhere and among all classes. Business languishing; trade crippled; commerce curtailed;

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industry paralyzed; artisans and mechanics idle for the want of employment; factories stopped and operatives discharged; suffering among the laboring poor; and families without necessaries even now and want and perhaps starvation just before them in the future; and this glorious fabric of our Union even now tottering to its fall. Four of the pillars that sustained the towering edifice are already removed; and among them, one of the original thirteen upon which it first reposed. Six others are on the point of being removed; soon to be followed, it may be, by half of the residue, including among the slaveholding States the first and the last to come into the Union."

Passing to an examination of the claims of the South, he urged in the most emphatic terms that they should be conceded, or, if dissolution finally took place, it should be peaceful.

No action was taken by the Senate upon this resolution.

On the 8th of January a message on the state of the Union was received in the Senate, together with copies of documents from the Commissioners from South Carolina.

Mr. Davis, of Mississippi, took the floor after the message had been read, and proceeded to express his views on passing events: "I intended to adduce some evidences, which I thought were conclusive, in favor of the opinions which I entertain; but events, with a current hurrying on as it progresses, have borne me past the point where it would be useful for me to argue, by the citing of authorities, the question of rights. To-day, therefore, it is my purpose to deal with events. Abstract argument has become among the things that are past."

On the seizure of forts in South Carolina and elsewhere, the reason given in justification was that self-preservation is the first law of nature; and when the people there no longer had confidence that this Federal Government would not seize the forts constructed for their defence, and use them for their destruction, they only obeyed the dictates of self-preservation when they seized the forts to prevent the enemy from taking possession of them as a means of coercion, for they then were compelled to believe this Federal Government had become an enemy.

The remedy for this state of affairs Mr. Davis proposed in these words: "To assure them, the people of the South, that you do not intend to use physical force against them is your first remedy; to assure them that you intend to consider calmly all the propositions which they make, and to recognize the rights which the Union was established to secure; that you intend to settle with them upon a basis in accordance with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. When you do that, peace will prevail over the land, and force become a thing that no man will consider necessary."

The right of a State to withdraw from the Union was then asserted, without any purpose to argue the question, and he proceeded to ask what shall be done with events as they stood? Taking the ground that separation is inevitable, he says: "There remains to us, I believe, as the consideration which is most useful, the inquiry, how can this separation be effected so as to leave to us the power, whenever we shall have the will, to reconstruct? It can only be done by adopting a policy of peace. It can only be done by denying to the Federal Government all power to coerce. It can only be done by returning to the point from which we started, and saying, 'This is a Government of fraternity, a Government of consent; and it shall not be administered in a departure from those principles.'

"There are two modes, however, of dissolving the Union. One alone has been contemplated. It was that which proceeded from States separating themselves from those to whom they are united. There is another. It is by destroying the Constitution; by pulling down the political temple; by forming a consolidated Government. Union, in the very meaning of the word, implies the junction of separate States. Consolidation would be the destruction of the Union, and far more fatal to popular liberty than the separation of the States. But, if fanaticism and sectionalism, like the blind giant of old, shall seize the pillars of the temple to tear them down, in order that they may destroy its inmates, it but remains for us to withdraw, and it will be our purpose to commence the erection of another on the same plan on which our fathers built this. We share no such common ruin as falls upon a people by consolidation and destruction of the principles of liberty contained in the Constitution; by interference with community and social rights; and we go out of such a Government whenever it takes that form, in accordance with the Constitution, and in defence of the principles on which that Constitution rests. We have warned you for many years that you would drive us to this alternative, and you would not heed. I believe that you still look upon it as a mere passing political move, as a device for some party end, knowing little of the deep struggle with which we have contemplated this as a necessity, not as a choice, when we have been brought to stand before the alternative—the destruction of our community independence, or the destruction of that Union which our fathers made. You would not heed us. You deemed our warning to be merely to the end of electing a candidate for the miserable spoils of office, of which I am glad to say I represent a people who have had so little indeed that they have never acquired an appetite for them. Yet you have believed—not looking to the great end to which our eyes were directed—that it was a mere political resort, by which we would intimidate some of your own voters. You have turned upon those true friends of ours at the North who have vindi-

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cated the Constitution, and pointed out to you the danger of your course, and held them responsible for the censure you received, as though you had not, in fact, aggressed. Even at this session, after forty years of debate, you have asked us what was the matter."

Mr. Trumbull, of Illinois, immediately rose to reply, saying: "We have listened to the Senator from Mississippi, and one would suppose, in listening to him here, that he was a friend of this Union, that he desired the perpetuity of this Government. He has a most singular way of preserving it, and a most singular way of maintaining the Constitution. What is it? Why, he proposes that the Government should abdicate. If it will simply withdraw its forces from Charleston, and abdicate either in favor of a mob or of the constituted authorities of Charleston, we will have peace! He dreads civil war, and he will avoid it by a surrender! He talks as if we Republicans were responsible for civil war if it ensues. If civil war comes, it comes from those with whom he is acting. Who proposes to make civil war but South Carolina? Who proposes to make civil war but Mississippi and Alabama and Georgia, seizing, by force of arms, upon the public property of the United States? Talk to us of making civil war! You inaugurate it, and then talk of it as if it came from the friends of the Constitution and the Union. Here stands this great Government; here stands the Union—a pillar, so to speak, already erected. Do we propose to pull it down? Do we propose undermining the foundations of the Constitution or disturbing the Union? Not at all; but the preposition comes from the other side. They are making war, and modestly ask us to have peace by submitting to what they ask!"

On a subsequent day the consideration of this message was again called up, and Mr. Seward improved the occasion to address the Senate on the state of public affairs. After saying what actions, in his opinion, would not save the Union, he declared his abhorrence of civil war in these words: "I dread, as in my innermost soul I abhor, civil war. I do not know what the Union would be worth if saved by the use of the sword. Yet, for all this, I do not agree with those who, with a desire to avert that great calamity, advise a conventional or unopposed separation, with a view to what they call a reconstruction. It is enough for me, first, that in this plan, destruction goes before reconstruction; and, secondly, that the strength of the vase in which the hopes of the nation are held consists chiefly in its remaining unbroken.

"Congressional compromises are not likely to save the Union. I know, indeed, that tradition favors this form of remedy. But it is essential to its success, in any case, that there be found a preponderating mass of citizens, so far neutral on the issue which separates parties, that they can intervene, strike down clashing weapons, and compel an accommodation. Moderate concessions are not customarily asked by a force with its guns in battery; nor are liberal concessions apt to be given by an opposing force not less confident of its own right and its own strength. I think, also, that there is a prevailing conviction that legislative compromises which sacrifice honestly cherished principles, while they anticipate future exigencies, even if they do not assume extra-constitutional powers, are less sure to avert imminent evils than they are certain to produce ultimately even greater dangers.

"Indeed, Mr. President, I think it will be wise to discard two prevalent ideas or prejudices, namely: first, that the Union is to be saved by somebody in particular; and, secondly, that it is to be saved by some cunning and insincere compact of pacification."

The immediate duty of Congress was, he thought, to redress any real grievances of the offended States, and then to supply the President with all the means necessary to maintain the Union in the full exhibition and discreet exercise of its authority. Beyond this, with the proper activity on the part of the Executive, the responsibility of saving the Union belonged to the people, and they are abundantly competent to discharge it.

Instead of regarding the Constitution as a compact upon which the Government was founded, his view of its authority was expressed in these words: "I fully admit the originality, the sovereignty, and the independence of the several States within their spheres. But I hold the Federal Government to be equally original, sovereign, and independent within its sphere. And the government of the State can no more absolve the people residing within its limits from allegiance to the Union, than the Government of the Union can absolve them from allegiance to the State. The Constitution of the United States, and the laws made in pursuance thereof, are the supreme law of the land, paramount to all legislation of the States, whether made under the Constitution, or by even their organic conventions. The Union can be dissolved, not by secession, with or without armed force, but only by the voluntary consent of the people of the United States, collected in the manner prescribed by the Constitution of the United States."

The question of the moment, the simple question to be then decided was, whether it conduces more to the interests of the people of this country to remain, for the general purposes of peace and war, commerce inland and foreign, postal communications at home and abroad, the care and disposition of the public domain, colonization, the organization and admission of new States, and, generally, the enlargement of empire, one nation under our present Constitution, than it would to divide themselves into separate confederacies or States.

The plan which he preferred to adopt in relation to the territories and to the troubles of

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the country was thus stated : "When the eccentric movements of secession and disunion shall have ended, in whatever form that end may come, and the angry excitements of the hour shall have subsided, and calmness once more shall have resumed its accustomed sway over the public mind, then, and not until then —one, two, or three years hence—I should cheerfully advise a convention of the people, to be assembled in pursuance of the Constitution, to consider and decide whether any and what amendments of the organic national law ought to be made."

On the conclusion of Mr. Seward's remarks the Senate immediately adjourned, and no action took place upon the message.

The States of Florida and Alabama, having retired from the Union, so far as any action on the part of their State conventions could effect it, the next step was taken by their Senators and Representatives in Congress, who withdrew from their seats. The Senators from South Carolina resigned before the session of Congress commenced. They had not, therefore, been in their seats. The Senate was called to witness this novel scene for the first time on the 21st of January.

Mr. Yulee, from Florida, taking the floor, said: "Mr. President, I rise to make known to the Senate, that in consequence of certain proceedings, which have lately taken place in the State of Florida, my colleague and myself are of the opinion that our connection with this body is legally terminated.

"The State of Florida has, through a convention of her people duly assembled, decided to recall the powers delegated to this Government, and to assume the full exercise of all her sovereign rights as an independent and separate community.

"I am sure that I truly represent her, when I say that her people have not been insensible to the many blessings they have enjoyed under the Constitution of the United States, nor to the proper advantages of a Union directed to the great purposes of 'establishing justice, insuring domestic tranquillity, promoting the general welfare, and securing the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity.' They have held in patriotic reverence the memories that belong to the Union of American States in its origin and progress, and have clung with a fond assurance to the hope that its wise plan, and the just principles upon which it was based, would secure for it a perpetual endurance and transcendent usefulness.

"They have decided that their social tranquillity and civil security are jeoparded by a longer continuance in the Union, not from the contemplated or necessary operation of the Constitution, but from the consequences, as they conceive, of an unjust exercise of the powers it conferred, and a persistent disregard of the spirit of fraternity and equality in which it was founded. Recent events have impressed them with the belief that the peace of their homes and the preservation of their community interest can only be secured by an immediate withdrawal from the dangers of a perverted and hostile employment of the powers of the Federal Government. They are not willing to disturb the peace of their associates by an inflamed and protracted struggle within the Union, for rights they could never, with self-respect or safety, surrender, and against a policy of administration which, although sanctioned and authorized by the late decision of a majority of the States, they regard to be hostile to their best interests, and violative of the legitimate duty and trusts of the Government. They have preferred to abandon all the hopes they rested upon the common growth and common power of the Union, and to assume the serious responsibilities of a separate existence and new and untried relations. It is only under a deep sense of duty to themselves and their posterity that so important a step has been taken. I am sure that the people of Florida will ever preserve a grateful memory of their past connection with this Government, and a just pride in the continued development of American society. They will also remember that although, to their regret, a majority of the people in the States of the Northern section of the Union have seen their duty to lie in a path fatal to the safety of Southern society, they have had the sympathies of a large array of noble spirits in all those States, whose sense of justice, and whose brave efforts to uphold the right, have been not the less appreciated, nor will be the less remembered, because unsuccessful.

"We have not been wanting in timely warning to our associates of the unhappy tendency of their policy. It was in the unhallowed pursuit, as we thought, of sectional aggrandizement, and the indulgence of unregulated sentiments of moral duty, that the equilibrium of power between the sections, which had been maintained until then, was ruthlessly and unwisely destroyed by the legislation of 1850. The injustice and danger of those proceedings were considered by a large portion of the South to be so flagrant, that we resorted to an unusual formality in bringing our views and apprehensions to the attention of the country. Upon our official responsibility, a number of the Senators, those of Florida among them, giving expression to the opinions of their constituents, presented a written protest against the wrong to which our section was subjected, and a fraternal warning against the dangerous tendency of the policy which incited to that wrong. That protest was refused a place in the journals of this body, contrary, as we thought, to the express duty enjoined by the Constitution; but it went before the public, and I think it proper to recall the attention of this body to its contents, in the hour when the apprehensions it expressed are fatally realized.*

* The following is the protest referred to in Mr. Yulee's remarks, and which was presented in the Senate by Mr.

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"Let me be pardoned, Mr. President, for detaining the Senate with a further remark. The circumstance that the State of Florida was formed upon territory acquired by the United States, and the paucity of her numbers, has been occasionally remarked upon. Owing to causes she could not control, her settlement has been, until recently, comparatively slow. But her population exceeds that of seven of the sixteen States that composed the Union when the census of 1790 was taken under the new Constitution; and six of the thirteen original States had fewer numbers when they formed the Constitution. Rights of sovereignty and liberty depend not upon numbers.

"It is quite true that her limits comprehend a part of the territory to which the title was acquired by the United States from Spain. But it is also true that a part of the consideration for the cession was a reservation to the inhabitants of the right to admission into the Federal Union upon terms of equality; and it was in view of this right that most of the inhabitants remained there. If their number has been increased by subsequent immigration, it was mostly of citizens from others of the United States, who were lineal inheritors of the glories and fruits of the American Revolution.

"In pursuance of this stipulation, and of the established policy of the country, they were admitted into the Union; and, in the act of admission, Florida was expressly recognized and 'declared to be a State,' and 'admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatever.'

"In the exercise of her equal right in the

Hunter on the 14th of August, 1850, with a motion for leave to have it spread upon the journal of the Senate:

We, the undersigned Senators, deeply impressed with the importance of the occasion, and with a solemn sense of the responsibility under which we are acting, respectfully submit the following protest against the bill admitting California as a State into this Union, and request that it may be entered upon the journal of the Senate. We feel that it is not enough to have resisted in debate alone a bill so fraught with mischief to the Union and the States which we represent, with all the resources of argument which we possessed, but that it is also due to ourselves, the people whose interests have been intrusted to our care, and to posterity, which, even in its most distant generations, may feel its consequences, to leave, in whatever form may be most solemn and enduring, a memorial of the opposition which we have made to this measure, and of the reasons by which we have been governed. Upon the pages of a journal which the Constitution requires to be kept so long as the Senate may have an existence, we desire to place the reasons upon which we are willing to be judged by generations living and yet to come, for our opposition to a bill whose consequences may be so durable and portentous as to make it an object of deep interest to all who may come after us.

We have dissented from this bill because it gives the sanction of law, and thus imparts validity to the unauthorized action of a portion of the inhabitants of California, by which an odious discrimination is made against the property of the fifteen slaveholding States of the Union, who are thus deprived of that position of equality which the Constitution so manifestly designs, and which constitutes the only sure and stable foundation upon which this Union can repose.

Because the right of the slaveholding States to a common and equal enjoyment of the territory of the Union has been defeated by a system of measures which, without the authority of precedent, of law, or of the Constitution, were manifestly contrived for that purpose, and which Congress must sanction and adopt, should this bill become a law. In sanctioning this system of measures, this Government will admit that the inhabitants of its territories, whether permanent or transient, and whether lawfully or unlawfully occupying the same, may form a State without the previous authority of law; without even the partial security of a territorial organization formed by Congress; without any legal census or other sufficient evidence of their possessing the number of citizens necessary to authorize the representation which they may claim; and without any of those safeguards about the ballot-box which can only be provided by law, and which are necessary to ascertain the true sense of a people. It will admit, too, that Congress, having refused to provide a government except upon the condition of excluding slavery by law, the executive branch of this Government may, at its own discretion, invite such inhabitants to meet in convention under such rules as it or its agents may prescribe, and to form a constitution affecting not only their own rights, but those also of fifteen States of the Confederacy, by including territory with the purpose of excluding those States from its enjoyment, and without regard to the natural fitness of boundary, or any of the considerations which should properly determine the limits of a State. It will also admit that the convention thus called into existence by the Executive may be paid by him out of the funds of the United States without the sanction of Congress, in violation not only of the plain provisions of the Constitution, but of those principles of obvious propriety which would forbid any act calculated to make that convention dependent upon it; and last, but not least, in the series of measures which this Government must adopt and sanction in passing this bill, is the release of the authority of the United States by the Executive alone to a government thus formed, and not presenting even sufficient evidence of its having the assent of a majority of the people for whom it was designed. With a view of all these considerations, the undersigned are constrained to believe that this Government could never be brought to admit a State presenting itself under such circumstances, if it were not for the purpose of excluding the people of the slaveholding States from all opportunity of settling with their property in that territory.

Because, to vote for a bill passed under such circumstances, would be to agree to a principle which may exclude forever hereafter, as it does now, the States which we represent, from all enjoyment of the common territory of the Union—a principle which destroys the equal rights of their constituents, the equality of their States in the Confederacy, the equal dignity of those whom they represent as men and as citizens in the eye of the law, and their equal title to the protection of the Government and the Constitution.

Because the admission of California as a State into the Union without any previous reservation assented to by her of the public domain, might involve an actual surrender of that domain to, or at all events places its future disposal at the mercy of that State, as no reservation in the bill can be binding upon her until she assents to it, and as her dissent "hereafter" would in no manner affect or impair the act of her admission.

Because all the propositions have been rejected which have been made to obtain either a recognition of the right of the slaveholding States to a common enjoyment of all the territory of the United States, or to a fair division of that territory between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States of the Union; every effort having failed which has been made to obtain a fair division of the territory proposed to be brought in as the State of California.

But lastly, we dissent from this bill, and solemnly protest against its passage, because, in sanctioning measures so contrary to former precedent, to obvious policy, to the spirit and intent of the Constitution of the United States, for the purpose of excluding the slaveholding States from the territory thus to be erected into a State, this Government in effect declares that the exclusion of slavery from the territory of the United States is an object so high and important as to justify a disregard, not only of all the principles of sound policy, but also of the Constitution itself. Against this conclusion we must now and forever protest, as it is destructive of the safety and liberties of those whose rights have been committed to our care, fatal to the peace and equality of the States which we represent, and must lead, if persisted in, to the dissolution of that Confederacy in which the slaveholding States have never sought more than equality, and in which they will not be content to remain with less.

J. M. MASON, R. M. T. HUNTER, A. P. BUTLER, E. B. BARNWELL, } *Virginia.* *South Carolina.*
H. L. TURNEY, *Tennessee.*
PIERRE SOULÉ, *Louisiana.*
JEFFERSON DAVIS, *Mississippi.*
DAVID R. ATCHISON, *Missouri.*
JACKSON MORTON, D. L. YULEE, } *Florida.*

SENATE CHAMBER, *August* 13, 1850.

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Union, and moved by a common sympathy with the people of the section of which her territory forms the extreme southern part, and with whose fate her destiny is indissolubly bound, Florida has resolved to withdraw from the present Union. Her course derives sanction from the important fact that she is preceded in it by the chivalrous State which, by a spirited act in 1765, became, by acknowledgment of a Massachusetts historian, 'the founder of the Union.' And her resolution is rendered more fixed by the development, since her movement began, of a general tendency in the public mind of the majority section to a theory of the Constitution, and to principles of construction, which must convert this Government into an unlimited despotism. She sees fast rising above all others the great issue of the right of the people of the States to sovereignty and self-government within their respective territorial boundaries; and in such an issue she is prepared to devote the lives and fortunes of all her people.

"Although the present means of Florida are acknowledged to be limited, yet, having once assumed the rank of a State, she assumed with its rights its duties also, and its responsibilities to her people and their posterity. These she must fulfil, according to her best judgment, with all the more jealousy of control because weak, but with none the less claim on that account to the respect of all true men.

"Acknowledging, Mr. President, with grateful emotions, my obligations for the many courtesies I have enjoyed in my intercourse with the gentlemen of this body, and with most cordial good wishes for their personal welfare, I retire from their midst in willing loyalty to the mandate of my State, and with full approval of her act."

Mr. Mallory, of Florida, followed: "Concurring, as I do, with all that my colleague has said, I ask but to add a word or two.

"In retiring from this body, I cannot but feel, and I will not forbear the expression of, profound regret that existing causes imperatively impel us to this separation. When reason and justice shall have asserted ascendency over party and passion, they will be justly appreciated; and this Southern movement, demanded by considerations dear to freemen in every age, will stand promptly vindicated.

"Throughout her long and patient endurance of insult and wrong, the South has clung to the Union with unfaltering fidelity; a fidelity which, while nourishing irritation in the hearts of her own sons, has but served to nerve the arms of her adversaries.

"Florida came into the Union fifteen years ago, upon an equality with the original States, and their rights in the Confederacy are equally her rights. She could not, if she would, separate her action from her Southern sisters; and, demanded as her action is, by those considerations which a free people can never ignore, she would not if she could. From the Union, governed by the Constitution as our fathers made it, there breathes not a secessionist upon her soil; but a deep sense of injustice, inequality, and insecurity, produced by the causes to which I have adverted, is brought home to the reason and patriotism of her people; and to secure and maintain those rights which the Constitution no longer accords them, they have placed the State of Florida out of the Confederacy.

"In thus turning from the Union to the veiled and unknown future, we are neither ignorant nor reckless of the lions in our path. We know that the prompt and peaceful organization of a practical republican government, securing liberty, equality, and justice to every citizen, is one of the most difficult, as it is one of the most momentous duties devolving upon men; and nowhere perhaps upon the earth, beyond our own country, could this great work be achieved. But so well are human rights and national liberty understood by our people; so deeply are they imbued with the spirit of freedom and knowledge of government, that were this Republic utterly broken and destroyed, like the shattered vase of the poet, to whose very fragments the scent of the roses still clung, its very ruins breathing the true spirit of civil and religious liberty, would plead for and demand a wise and noble reconstruction.

"Whatever may be the immediate results, therefore, of the momentous crisis now upon us, I have no fears for the freedom of my countrymen. Nor do I admit for a moment that the great American experiment of government has proved or can prove a failure; but I maintain, on the contrary, that passing events should inspire in the hearts of the patriot and statesman, not only hope, but confidence. Five States have already dissolved their connection with the Union; and throughout the several stages by which their people, in their sovereign capacity, have reached secession, they have exhibited a calmness and deliberation which find no parallel in the history of mankind. This is entirely the result of our admirable system of independent State governments. And, sir, were this Federal District, with President, Congress, Departments, and Courts, and all the machinery of Federal Government, suddenly sunk a thousand fathoms deep, under the admirable working of these State governments the rights and liberties of their people would receive no shock or detriment.

"In thus severing our connection with sister States, we desire to go in peace, to maintain towards them an attitude not only of peace, but, if possible, of kindness; and it is for them to determine whether we shall do so or not; and whether commerce, the great pacificator of earth, is to connect us as producers, manufacturers, and consumers, in future friendly relations. If folly, wickedness, or pride shall preclude the hope of peace, they may at once rear up difficulties in our path, leading at once to what I confess I regard and dread as one of the greatest calamities that can befall a nation

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—civil war; a civil war embracing equally North and South. But, sir, be our difficulties what they may, we stand forth a united people to grapple with and to conquer them. Our willingness to shed our blood in this cause is the highest proof we can offer of the sincerity of our connections; and I warn, nay, I implore you, not to repeat the fatal folly of the Bourbons, and mistake a nation for a faction; for the people of the South, as one man, declare that, sink or swim, live or die, they will not, as freemen, submit to the degradation of a constrained existence under a violated Constitution. But, sir, we desire to part from you in peace. From the establishment of the Anglo-Saxons upon this continent to this hour, they have never, as colonies or States, shed the blood of each other; and I trust we shall be spared this great calamity. We seek not to war upon or to conquer you; and we know that you cannot conquer us. Imbrue your hands in our blood, and the rains of a century will not wash from them the stain, while coming generations will weep for your wickedness and folly.

"In thus leaving the Senate, and returning to my own State, to pursue with unfaltering head and heart that path, be it gloomy or bright, to which her honor and interests may lead, I cannot forbear the acknowledgment of the kindness and courtesy which I have ever received from many of the gentlemen of the Opposition; Senators to whom I am indebted for much that I shall cherish through life with pleasure, and toward whom I entertain none but sentiments of kindness and respect. And I trust, sirs, that when we next confront each other, whether at this bar or that of the just God who knows the hearts of all, our lips shall not have uttered a word, our hands shall not have committed an act, directed against the blood of our people. On this side of the Chamber, we leave, with profound regret, those whom we will cherish in our hearts, and whose names will be hallowed by our children. One by one, we have seen the representatives of the true and fearless friends of the Constitution fall at our side, until hardly a forlorn hope remains; and whatever may be our destiny, the future, with all of life's darker memories, will be brightened by the recollection of their devotion to the true principles of our Government, and of that wealth of head and heart in their intercourse with us, which has endeared them to us and to ours forever."

Mr. Clay: "I rise to announce, in behalf of my colleague and myself, that the people of Alabama, assembled in convention at their capitol on the 11th of this month, have adopted an ordinance whereby they withdraw from the Union, formed under a compact styled the Constitution of the United States, resume the powers delegated to it, and assume their separate station as a sovereign and independent people. This is the act, not of faction or of party, but of the people. True, there is a respectable minority of that convention who opposed this act, not because they desired to preserve the Union, but because they wished to secure the coöperation of all, or of a majority, of the Southern or of the planting States. There are many coöperationists, but I think not one Unionist in the convention; all are in favor of withdrawing from the Union. I am therefore warranted in saying that this is the act of the freemen of Alabama.

"In taking this momentous step they have not acted hastily or unadvisedly. It is not the eruption of sudden, spasmodic, and violent passion. It is the conclusion they have reached after years of bitter experience of enmity, injustice, and injury at the hands of their Northern brethren; after long and painful reflection; after anxious debate and solemn deliberation; and after argument, persuasion, and entreaty have failed to secure them their constitutional rights. Instead of causing surprise and incurring censure, it is rather matter of amazement, if not reproach, that they have endured so much and so long, and have deferred this act of self-defence until to-day.

"It is now nearly forty-two years since Alabama was admitted into the Union. She entered it, as she goes out of it, while the Confederacy was in convulsions, caused by the hostility of the North to the domestic slavery of the South. Not a decade, nor scarce a lustrum, has elapsed, since her birth, that has not been strongly marked by proofs of the growth and power of that anti-slavery spirit of the Northern people which seeks the overthrow of that domestic institution of the South, which is not only the chief source of her prosperity, but the very basis of her social order and State polity. It is to-day the master-spirit of the Northern States, and had, before the secession of Alabama, of Mississippi, of Florida, or of South Carolina, severed most of the bonds of the Union. It denied us Christian communion, because it could not endure what it styles the moral leprosy of slaveholding; it refused us permission to sojourn, or even to pass through the North with our property; it claimed freedom for the slave if brought by his master into a Northern State; it violated the Constitution and treaties and laws of Congress, because designed to protect that property; it refused us any share of lands acquired mainly by our diplomacy and blood and treasure; it refused our property any shelter or security beneath the flag of a common Government; it robbed us of our property, and refused to restore it; it refused to deliver criminals against our laws, who fled to the North with our property or our blood upon their hands; it threatened us by solemn legislative acts, with ignominious punishment if we pursued our property into a Northern State; it murdered Southern men when seeking the recovery of their property on Northern soil; it invaded the borders of Southern States, poisoned their wells, burnt their dwellings, and murdered their people; it de-

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nounced us by deliberate resolves of popular meetings, of party conventions, and of religious and even legislative assemblies, as habitual violators of the laws of God and the rights of humanity; it exerted all the moral and physical agencies that human ingenuity can devise or diabolical malice can employ to heap odium and infamy upon us, and to make us a by-word of hissing and of scorn throughout the civilized world. Yet we bore all this for many years, and might have borne it for many more, under the oft-repeated assurance of our Northern friends, and the too fondly cherished hope that these wrongs and injuries were committed by a minority party, and had not the sanction of the majority of the people, who would, in time, rebuke our enemies, and redress our grievances.

"But the fallacy of these promises and folly of our hopes have been too clearly and conclusively proved in late elections, especially the last two Presidential elections, to permit us to indulge longer in such pleasing delusions. The platform of the Republican party of 1856 and 1860 we regard as a libel upon the character and a declaration of war against the lives and property of the Southern people. No bitterer or more offensive calumny could be uttered against them than is expressed in denouncing their system of slavery and polygamy as "twin relics of barbarism." It not only reproaches us as unchristian and heathenish, but imputes a sin and a crime deserving universal scorn and universal enmity. No sentiment is more insulting or more hostile to our domestic tranquillity, to our social order, and our social existence, than is contained in the declaration that our negroes are entitled to liberty and equality with the white man. It is in spirit, if not in effect, as strong an incitement and invocation to servile insurrection, to murder, arson, and other crimes, as any to be found in Abolition literature.

"And to aggravate the insult which is offered us in demanding equality with us for our slaves, the same platform denies us equality with Northern white men or free negroes, and brands us as an inferior race, by pledging the Republican party to resist our entrance into the territories with our slaves, or the extension of slavery, which—as its founders and leaders truly assert—must and will effect its extermination. To crown the climax of insult to our feelings and menace of our rights, this party nominated to the Presidency a man who not only endorses the platform, but promises, in his zealous support of its principles, to disregard the judgments of your courts, the obligations of your Constitution, and the requirements of his official oath, by approving any bill prohibiting slavery in the territories of the United States.

"A large majority of the Northern people have declared at the ballot-box their approval of the platform and the candidates of that party in the late Presidential election. Thus, by the solemn verdict of the people of the North, the slaveholding communities of the South are 'outlawed, branded with ignominy, consigned to execration, and ultimate destruction.'

"Sir, are we looked upon as more or less than men? Is it expected that we will or can exercise that godlike virtue which 'beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things;' which teaches us to *love our enemies and bless them that curse us?* Are we devoid of the sensibilities, the sentiments, the passions, the reason, and the instincts of mankind? Have we no pride of honor, no sense of shame, no reverence of our ancestors, no care of our posterity, no love of home, or family, or friends? Must we confess our baseness, discredit the fame of our sires, dishonor ourselves, degrade our posterity, abandon our homes, and flee from our country, all for the sake of the Union? Must we agree to live under the ban of our own Government? Must we acquiesce in the inauguration of a President chosen by confederate but unfriendly States, whose political faith constrains him, for his conscience and country's sake, to deny us our constitutional rights, because elected according to the forms of the Constitution? Must we consent to live under a Government which we believe will henceforth be controlled and administered by those who not only deny us justice and equality, and brand us as inferiors, but whose avowed principles and policy must destroy our domestic tranquillity, imperil the lives of our wives and children, degrade and dwarf, and ultimately destroy, our State? Must we live, by choice or compulsion, under the rule of those who present us the dire alternative of an "irrepressible conflict" with the Northern people in defence of our altars and our fireside, or the manumission of our slaves, and the admission of them to social and political equality? No, sir, no! The freemen of Alabama have proclaimed to the world that they will not; and have proved their sincerity by seceding from the Union, and hazarding all the dangers and difficulties of a separate and independent station among the nations of the earth.

"They have learned from history the admonitory truth, that the people who live under governors appointed against their consent by unfriendly foreign or confederate States, will not long enjoy the blessings of liberty, or have the courage to claim them. They feel that were they to consent to do so, they would lose the respect of their foes and the sympathy of their friends. They are resolved not to trust to the hands of their enemies the measure of their rights. They intend to preserve for themselves, and to transmit to their posterity, the freedom they received from their ancestors, or perish in the attempt. Cordially approving this act of my mother State, and acknowledging no other allegiance, I shall return, like a true and loyal son, to her bosom, to defend her honor, maintain her rights, and share her fate."

Mr. Fitzpatrick: "Mr. President, I rise merely to add, that having had an opportunity of

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knowing beforehand the sentiments which my colleague has expressed; and believing that they fairly represent the feelings, opinions, and purposes of our constituents, and correctly explain the reason and causes of their late action, he was fully warranted in saying he had my full concurrence in the views which he has just submitted. I therefore deem it unnecessary, if not improper, to abuse the privilege which the courtesy of the Senate accords to me, by further remarks. I feel that I am bound by the act of Alabama, and cannot claim the rights and privileges of a member of this body. I acknowledge no loyalty to any other power than that of my sovereign State; and shall return to her with the purpose to sustain her action and to share her fortunes, for weal or woe."

Mr. Davis: "I rise, Mr. President, for the purpose of announcing to the Senate that I have satisfactory evidence that the State of Mississippi, by a solemn ordinance of her people in convention assembled, has declared her separation from the United States. Under these circumstances, of course, my functions are terminated here. It has seemed to me proper, however, that I should appear in the Senate to announce the fact to my associates, and I will say but very little more. The occasion does not invite me to go into argument; and my physical condition would not permit me to do so if it were otherwise; and yet it seems to become me to say something on the part of the State I here represent, on an occasion so solemn as this.

"It is known to Senators who have served with me here, that I have for many years advocated, as an essential attribute of State sovereignty, the right of a State to secede from the Union. Therefore, if I had not believed there was justifiable cause; if I had thought that Mississippi was acting without sufficient provocation, or without an existing necessity, I should still, under my theory of the Government, because of my allegiance to the State of which I am a citizen, have been bound by her action. I, however, may be permitted to say that I do think she has justifiable cause, and I approve of her act. I conferred with her people before that act was taken, counselled them then that if the state of things which they apprehended, should exist when the convention met, they should take the action which they have now adopted.

"I hope none who hear me will confound this expression of mine with the advocacy of the right of a State to remain in the Union, and to disregard its constitutional obligations by the nullification of the law. Such is not my theory. Nullification and secession, so often confounded, are indeed antagonistic principles. Nullification is a remedy which it is sought to apply within the Union, and against the agent of the States. It is only to be justified when the agent has violated his constitutional obligation, and a State, assuming to judge for itself, denies the right of the agent thus to act, and appeals to the other States of the Union for a decision; but when the States themselves, and when the people of the States, have so acted as to convince us that they will not regard our constitutional rights, then, and then for the first time, arises the doctrine of secession in its practical application.

"A great man, who now reposes with his fathers, and who has been often arraigned for a want of fealty to the Union, advocated the doctrine of nullification, because it preserved the Union. It was because of his deep-seated attachment to the Union, his determination to find some remedy for existing ills short of a severance of the ties which bound South Carolina to the other States, that Mr. Calhoun advocated the doctrine of nullification, which he proclaimed to be peaceful, to be within the limits of State power, not to disturb the Union, but only to be a means of bringing the agent before the tribunal of the States for their judgment.

"Secession belongs to a different class of remedies. It is to be justified upon the basis that the States are sovereign. There was a time when none denied it. I hope the time may come again, when a better comprehension of the theory of our Government, and the inalienable rights of the people of the States, will prevent any one from denying that each State is a sovereign, and thus may reclaim the grants which it has made to any agent whomsoever.

"I therefore say I concur in the action of the people of Mississippi, believing it to be necessary and proper, and should have been bound by their action, if my belief had been otherwise; and this brings me to the important point which I wish on this last occasion to present to the Senate. It is by this confounding of nullification and secession that the name of a great man, whose ashes now mingle with his mother earth, has been invoked to justify coercion against a seceded State. The phrase "to execute the laws," was an expression which General Jackson applied to the case of a State refusing to obey the laws, while yet a member of the Union. That is not the case which is now presented. The laws are to be executed over the United States, and upon the people of the United States. They have no relation to any foreign country. It is a perversion of terms, at least it is a great misapprehension of the case, which cites that expression for application to a State which has withdrawn from the Union. You may make war on a foreign State. If it be the purpose of gentlemen, they may make war against a State which has withdrawn from the Union; but there are no laws of the United States to be executed within the limits of a seceded State. A State finding herself in the condition in which Mississippi has judged she is, in which her safety requires that she should provide for the maintenance of her rights out of the Union, surrenders all the benefits, (and they are known to be many,) deprives herself of the advantages, (they are

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known to be great,) severs all the ties of affection, (and they are close and enduring,) which have bound her to the Union; and thus divesting herself of every benefit, taking upon herself every burden, she claims to be exempt from any power to execute the laws of the United States within her limits.

"I well remember an occasion when Massachusetts was arraigned before the bar of the Senate, and when then the doctrine of coercion was rife, and to be applied against her, because of the rescue of a fugitive slave in Boston. My opinion then was the same that it is now. Not in a spirit of egotism, but to show that I am not influenced in my own opinion because the case is my own, I refer to that time and that occasion as containing the opinion which I then entertained, and on which my present conduct is based. I then said, if Massachusetts, following her through a stated line of conduct, chooses to take the last step which separates her from the Union, it is her right to go, and I will neither vote one dollar nor one man to coerce her back; but will say to her, God speed, in memory of the kind associations which once existed between her and the other States.

"It has been a conviction of pressing necessity, it has been a belief that we are to be deprived in the Union of the rights which our fathers bequeathed to us, which has brought Mississippi into her present decision. She has heard proclaimed the theory that all men are created free and equal, and this made the basis of an attack upon her social institutions; and the sacred Declaration of Independence has been invoked to maintain the position of the equality of the races. That Declaration of Independence is to be construed by the circumstances and purposes for which it was made. The communities were declaring their independence; the people of those communities were asserting that no man was born—to use the language of Mr. Jefferson—booted and spurred to ride over the rest of mankind; that men were created equal—meaning the men of the political community; that there was no divine right to rule; that no man inherited the right to govern; that there were no classes by which power and place descended to families, but that all stations were equally within the grasp of each member of the body-politic. These were the great principles they announced; these were the purposes for which they made their declaration; these were the ends to which their enunciation was directed. They have no reference to the slave; else, how happened it that among the items of arraignment made against George III. was that he endeavored to do just what the North has been endeavoring of late to do—to stir up insurrection among our slaves? Had the Declaration announced that the negroes were free and equal, how was the Prince to be arraigned for stirring up insurrection among them? And how was this to be enumerated among the high crimes which caused the colonies to sever their connection with the mother country? When our Constitution was formed, the same idea was rendered more palpable, for there we find provision made for that very class of persons as property; they were not put upon the footing of equality with white men—not even upon that of paupers and convicts; but, so far as representation was concerned, were discriminated against as a lower caste only to be represented in the numerical proportion of three-fifths.

"Then, Senators, we recur to the compact which binds us together; we recur to the principles upon which our Government was founded; and when you deny them, and when you deny to us the right to withdraw from a Government which, thus perverted, threatens to be destructive of our rights, we but tread in the path of our fathers when we proclaim our independence, and take the hazard. This is done not in hostility to others, not to injure any section of the country, not even for our own pecuniary benefit; but from the high and solemn motive of defending and protecting the rights we inherited, and which it is our sacred duty to transmit unshorn to our children.

"I find in myself, perhaps, a type of the general feeling of my constituents towards yours. I am sure I feel no hostility to you, Senators from the North. I am sure there is not one of you, whatever sharp discussion there may have been between us, to whom I cannot now say, in the presence of my God, I wish you well; and such, I am sure, is the feeling of the people whom I represent towards those whom you represent. I therefore feel that I but express their desire, when I say I hope, and they hope, for peaceful relations with you, though we must part. They may be mutually beneficial to us in the future, as they have been in the past, if you so will it. The reverse may bring disaster on every portion of the country; and if you will have it thus, we will invoke the God of our fathers, who delivered them from the power of the lion, to protect us from the ravages of the bear; and thus, putting our trust in God, and in our own firm hearts and strong arms, we will vindicate the right as best we may.

"In the course of my service here, associated at different times with a great variety of Senators, I see now around me some with whom I have served long; there have been points of collision; but whatever of offence there has been to me, I leave here; I carry with me no hostile remembrance. Whatever offence I have given, which has not been redressed, or for which satisfaction has not been demanded, I have, Senators, in this hour of our parting, to offer you my apology for any pain which, in heat of discussion, I have inflicted. I go hence unencumbered of the remembrance of any injury received, and having discharged the duty of making the only reparation in my power for any injury offered.

"Mr. President, and Senators, having made the announcement which the occasion seemed

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to me to require, it only remains for me to bid you a final adieu."

The State of Louisiana having passed an ordinance of secession from the United States, her Senators in Congress, Messrs. Slidell and Benjamin, took leave of the Senate on the 4th of February.

Mr. Slidell, in addressing the Senate for the last time, made a very full statement of the views and purposes entertained by the seceding States, particularly Louisiana. They anticipated reconstruction, although South Carolina said the Union was gone forever. He said: "The occasion, however, justifies, if it does not call for, some parting words to those whom we leave behind, some forever, others we trust to meet again, and to participate with them in the noble task of constructing and defending a new confederacy; which, if it may want at first the grand proportions and vast resources of the old, will still possess the essential elements of greatness, a people bold, hardy, homogeneous in interests and sentiments, a fertile soil, an extensive territory, the capacity and the will to govern themselves through the forms and in the spirit of the Constitution under which they have been born and educated. Besides all these, they have an advantage which no other people seeking to change the Government under which they had before lived have ever enjoyed; they have to pass through no intervening period of anarchy; they have in their several State Governments, already shaped to their hands, every thing necessary for the preservation of order, the administration of justice, and the protection of their soil and their property from foreign or domestic violence. They can consult with calmness and act with deliberation on every subject, either of immediate interest or future policy.

"But, if we do not greatly mistake the prevailing sentiment of the Southern mind, no attempt will be made to improve the Constitution; we shall take it such as it is; such as has been found sufficient for our security and happiness, so long as its true intent and spirit lived in the hearts of a majority of the people of the free States, and controlled the action not only of the Federal but of the State Legislatures. We will adopt all laws not locally inapplicable or incompatible with our new relations; we will recognize the obligations of all existing treaties—those respecting the African slave trade included. We shall be prepared to assume our just proportion of the national debt; to account for the cost of all the forts and other property of the United States, which we have been compelled to seize in self-defence, if it should appear that our share of such expenditure has been greater than in other sections; and, above all, we shall, as well from the dictates of natural justice and the principles of international law as of political and geographical affinities and of mutual pecuniary interests, recognize the right of the inhabitants of the valley of the Mississippi and its tributaries to its free navigation; we will guarantee to them a free interchange of all agricultural productions without impost, tax, duty, or toll of any kind; the free transit from foreign countries of every species of merchandise, subject only to such regulations as may be absolutely necessary for the protection of any revenue system we may establish, and for purposes of police.

"As for such States of the Union as may not choose to unite their destinies with ours, we shall consider them, as we shall all other foreign nations, 'enemies in war, in peace friends.' We wish and we hope to part with them amicably; and, so far as depends on us, they shall have no provocation to pursue a hostile course; but in this regard we, from the necessities of the case, can only be passive; it will be for the people of the non-slaveholding States to decide this momentous question. This declaration, however, requires some qualification. Could the issue be fairly presented to the people of those States, we should have little doubt of a peaceful separation, with the possibility of a complete, and the probability of a partial, reconstruction on a basis satisfactory to us and honorable to them; but, with the present representations in either branch of Congress, we see nothing to justify our indulging any such expectation. We must be prepared to resist coercion, whether attempted by avowed enemies, or by a hand heretofore supposed friendly; by open war, or under the more insidious, and, therefore, more dangerous pretext of enforcing the laws, protecting public property, or collecting the revenue. We shall not cavil about words, or discuss legal and technical distinctions; we shall consider the one as equivalent to the other, and shall be prepared to act accordingly. *Utroque arbitrio parati.* You will find us ready to meet you with the outstretched hand of fellowship, or in the mailed panoply of war, as you may will it; elect between these alternatives.

"We have no idea that you will even attempt to invade our soil with your armies; but we acknowledge your superiority on the sea, at present, in some degree accidental, but in the main, natural, and permanent, until we shall have acquired better ports for our marine. You may, if you will it, persist in considering us bound to you during your good pleasure; you may deny the sacred and indefeasible right, we will not say of secession, but of revolution—ay, of rebellion, if you choose so to call our action—the right of every people to establish for itself that form of government which it may, even in its folly, if such you deem it, consider best calculated to secure its safety and promote its welfare. You may ignore the principles of our immortal Declaration of Independence; you may attempt to reduce us to subjection, or you may, under color of enforcing your laws, or collecting your revenue, blockade our ports. This will be war, and we shall meet it with

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different but equally efficient weapons. We will not permit the consumption or introduction of any of your manufactures; every sea will swarm with our volunteer militia of the ocean, with the striped bunting floating over their heads, for we do not mean to give up that flag without a bloody struggle—it is ours as much as yours; and although for a time more stars may shine on your banner, our children, if not we, will rally under a constellation more numerous and more resplendent than yours. You may smile at this as an impotent boast, at least for the present, if not for the future; but if we need ships and men for privateering, we shall be amply supplied from the same sources as now almost exclusively furnish the means for carrying on, with such unexampled vigor, the African slave-trade—New York and New England. Your mercantile marine must either sail under foreign flags or rot at your wharves.

"But, pretermitting these remedies, we will pass to another equally efficacious. Every civilized nation now is governed in its foreign relations by the rule of recognizing governments '*de facto*.' You alone invoke the doctrine of the '*de jure*,' or divine right of lording it over an unwilling people, strong enough to maintain their power within their own limits. How long, think you, will the great naval powers of Europe permit you to impede their free intercourse with their best customers for their various fabrics, and to stop the supplies of the great staple which is the most important basis of their manufacturing industry, by a mere paper blockade? You were, with all the wealth and resources of this once great Confederacy, but a fourth or fifth-rate naval power, with capacities, it is true, for large, and in a just quarrel, almost indefinite, expansion. What will you be when not merely emasculated by the withdrawal of fifteen States, but warred upon by them with active and inveterate hostility?

"But enough, perhaps somewhat too much, of this. We desire not to speak to you in terms of bravado or menace. Let us treat each other as men, who, determined to break off unpleasant, incompatible, and unprofitable relations, cease to bandy words, and mutually leave each other to determine whether their differences shall be decided by blows or by the code which some of us still recognize as that of honor."

The cause of their action, he says, is not the mere election by the forms of the Constitution, of a President distasteful to them, as it was so often and so confidently asserted. "It is this: we all consider the election of Mr. Lincoln, with his well-known antecedents and avowed principles and purposes, by a decided majority over all other candidates combined in every non-slaveholding State on this side of the Pacific slope, noble, gallant New Jersey alone excepted, as conclusive evidence of the determined hostility of the Northern masses to our institutions. We believe that he conscientiously entertains the opinions which he has so often and so explicitly declared; and that, having been elected on the issues thus presented, he will honestly endeavor to carry them into execution."

The proceedings of the House of Representatives, from the commencement of the session until this time, although of the same general character with those of the Senate, serve, when taken in connection with the latter, to show more clearly the views thus far entertained of the powers and duties of the Government, and its ability to obviate the crisis. In the House the difficulties of the country produced as much impression as upon the public at large. The first apprehensions had settled into a firm conviction that the movement begun in South Carolina was calm, deliberate, and decided. The leaders in the extreme South made up in bold determination and bitterness of crimination for what they lacked in numbers. The Republicans in the North, restive and uneasy, maintained a firmness and fixedness of purpose which brooked no change, and which was largely due to the extreme portion of their party. Meantime, the mass of the people in the central States, in the heart of the Union, who enjoyed all its genial blessings, were filled with alarm. The defeated Democratic party, always interpreting the Constitution after that strict construction peculiar to the Southern States, and aware by long experience of the true nature of the difficulties, were not only equally alarmed, but greatly embarrassed by being stripped of all political power.

Not a step was taken to arrest the progress of secession before Congress assembled. In the House, a body so sensitive of the public impulses and convictions, a flood of propositions aiming to restore the harmony of the country were promptly introduced. Scarcely had the President's Message been read, when Mr. Botelor, of Virginia, and Mr. Cochran, of New York, rose to move resolutions in reference to so much of it as related to the condition of the country.

The resolution adopted was this:

Resolved, That so much of the President's Message as relates to the present perilous condition of the country, be referred to a special committee of one from each State.

The vote was—ayes, 145; noes, 38.

Pending the vote the spirit of many of the members from the most Southern States was conspicuously shown. Mr. Singleton, of Mississippi, declined to vote for the reason that the Legislature of the State of Mississippi had called a convention of the people of that State to take into consideration the subject-matter before the House. He was not sent here for the purpose of making any compromise, or to patch up existing difficulties. "I leave, sir, to the sovereign State of Mississippi to determine for herself her present Federal relations."

Mr. Hawkins, of Florida, stated that a con-

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vention had been called in that State to consider the same subject. The people of that State had resolved to determine in convention, in their sovereign capacity, the time, place, and manner of redress. It was not for him to take any action on the subject. "While I am up, Mr. Speaker, I may as well say, in advance, that I am opposed, and I believe my State is opposed, to all and every compromise. The day of compromise has passed."

Mr. Clopton, of Alabama, declined to vote, for the reason that a convention had been called in Alabama to consider what action is required to maintain her rights, honor, and safety. Believing that a State had a right to secede, and that the only remedy for present evils was secession, he would not hold out any delusive hope, or sanction any temporizing policy.

Mr. Miles, of South Carolina, said: "Mr. Speaker, the South Carolina delegation have not voted on this question because they conceive they have no interest in it. We consider our State as already withdrawn from the Confederacy in every thing except in form."

Mr. Pugh: "As my State of Alabama intends following South Carolina out of the Union by the 10th of January next, I pay no attention to any action taken in this body."

Subsequently the committee was announced by the Speaker to consist of the following members of the House:

Messrs. Corwin, of Ohio; Millson, of Virginia; Adams, of Massachusetts; Winslow, of North Carolina; Humphrey, of New York; Boyce, of South Carolina; Campbell, of Pennsylvania; Love, of Georgia; Ferry, of Connecticut; Davis, of Maryland; Robinson, of Rhode Island; Whiteley, of Delaware; Tappan, of New Hampshire; Stratton, of New Jersey; Bristow, of Kentucky; Morrill, of Vermont; Nelson, of Tennessee; Dunn, of Indiana; Taylor, of Louisiana; Davis, of Mississippi; Kellogg, of Illinois; Houston, of Alabama; Morse, of Maine; Phelps, of Missouri; Rust, of Arkansas; Howard, of Michigan; Hawkins, of Florida; Hamilton, of Texas; Washburn, of Wisconsin; Curtis, of Iowa; Burch, of California; Windom, of Minnesota; and Stout, of Oregon.

Mr. Hawkins, of Florida, asked to be excused, and said: "The idea of getting up this committee was one of unanimity—a great peace and Union-saving measure; and, as I said the other day, I am opposed to any thing of that kind, believing that the day has gone by, and the time for compromise has passed forever."

Mr. Cochran, of New York, replied to this request: "Mr. Speaker, I have listened with a great deal of regret to the application that has been made by my friend from Florida to be excused from service upon this committee. It has been well intimated here to-day that the gray shadow of the dark wing of dissolution is reaching and extending over the House and over the country; and so deep is the gloom under its influence that hardly can members be brought to attend to their ordinary duties. Men's minds have been devoted, for now these weeks past to this one great absorbing topic of conversation, that enlists all minds, commands all judgments, and demands of every individual, from every section, his best exertions, his purest emotions, and justest wisdom.

"Sir, it is of importance in this issue that the Republic should command the exertions and efforts of all her sons; and I believe, sir, that now, in the midst of a vital crisis, perils impending and dangers upon us, as has been proclaimed, there is no good reason why this assemblage of the representative patriotism of the country should, of either its prudence or discretion, excuse my friend from Florida. I believe that even now, from his State, from its glades and everglades, whence the eyes of his constituents are directed with anxious vigilance upon our proceedings, could their voice penetrate, a beseeching appeal would be heard that their Representative should stand forward at this juncture in the front of the controversy.

"I appeal to him, therefore, sir, in the name of our common humanity; I appeal to him in the hour of peril and in the name of our common country; I appeal to him by the memories of the past, by the prosperity and continued existence of the State sovereignty in which he glories, to remain on the committee to which he is presented. If, sir, this appeal be unheard, should it prove vain and ineffectual, I may be permitted further to appeal to the House, representing that common country whose integrity is threatened, that, without intentional reflection upon him, but under the obligation of a great duty to be performed, it negative the motion that my friend from Florida be excused."

After this eloquent appeal from Mr. Cochran, the House spent some time on minor details relative to its action, and adjourned without taking the question on excusing Mr. Hawkins.

On a subsequent day the question was taken up, and, stating at length his reasons for declining, Mr. Hawkins objected to the composition of the committee as "unfortunate and ill-advised." "No Democrat from the powerful and mighty Northwest was a member." He said: "If asked what is all this to me, inasmuch as I decline to serve upon the committee, I answer, *I want the country to know* that it cannot, does not, represent the true sentiment of some of the States, and that a great moral effect is sought to be produced by something that savors of a constructive fraud. So far as the extreme South is concerned, I tell them this committee is the Grecian horse introduced into Troy. The object is to gain time; delay and demoralize the South by holding forth to its people that there is a great pacificator at work, certain to bring about a political millennium."

Mr. Vallandigham, of Ohio, observed that he

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was absolutely precluded from voting to place the member on the committee by the consideration that there was not a single representative of the Democratic party on the committee from the sixteen free States of the Union.

Mr. McClernand, of Illinois, asked what was the cause of this offensive discrimination? Is it because the Northern Democracy have become insignificant in numbers and influence? No, sir. He continued: "Although defeated in the late election, they polled, according to official and unofficial returns, one million three hundred and forty three thousand one hundred and eighty-four votes; and, including the vote of the national Democracy in the South, their whole vote is one million five hundred and sixty-four thousand six hundred and fifty; thus showing that the vote of the Northern Democracy alone is greater than that which elected either Pierce or Buchanan, and is larger than that ever before polled in any Presidential election.

"And how is it with the other political organizations in the country? Let facts speak for themselves. With a popular vote, according to the same returns, of five hundred and eighty thousand two hundred and forty-nine, in the same election, the Union party is represented by three of its members on the committee. With a popular vote of six hundred and seventy-five thousand seven hundred and eighty-two, the Breckinridge party is represented by six members; while the Republican party, comparatively with but few more votes aggregately than the national Democracy, and no votes in most of the slaveholding States, and only twenty-six thousand five hundred and eight votes in all of them, is represented by sixteen members. If so, then the Republican party, with only one million eight hundred and forty-six thousand two hundred and three votes, is represented by sixteen members; while all the votes opposed to it, in the late election, amounting to two millions eight hundred and twenty thousand six hundred and eighty-one, are only represented by eleven members.

"How unjust such constitution of an important committee! There is no parallel or precedent for it in parliamentary history, so far as I know."

On a division, the House refused to excuse the member from Florida from serving on the special committee. Ayes, 95; noes, 101.

Upon a call of the States and territories for bills and resolutions to be submitted to the Committee of Thirty-three, the following propositions were received and referred:

By Mr. Thayer, of Massachusetts: That no territory should ever be acquired, to be owned by the United States or to be governed by Congress; that there should be no congressional legislation whatever on the subject of slavery; that every congressional district should be an election district.

By Mr. Cochran, of New York: That the Constitution be so amended as to make all territory north of 36° 30′ free territory; and in all territory south of that line neither Congress nor any territorial Government shall pass any law prohibiting or impairing the establishment of slavery. No law shall prohibit or interfere with the trade in slaves between the slaveholding States and territories; importation of slaves from a foreign country prohibited; the surrender of fugitives and the right of transit and temporary sojourn to be guaranteed.

By Mr. Adrain, of New Jersey: The non-intervention by Congress over the subject of slavery in the territories to be adopted; all territories, on application, etc., to be admitted as States, without regard to whether their Constitution permits or prohibits the institution of domestic slavery; all laws of States in conflict with the Constitution to be repealed; no obstacles to be put in the way of the execution of the fugitive slave law by State Legislatures. The people should be permitted to regulate their own internal affairs without interference.

By Mr. Morris, of Pennsylvania: That the committee review the personal liberty laws, and report which of them are in conflict with the Constitution, and also what amendments they are susceptible of to effectually prevent kidnapping.

By Mr. Stewart, of Maryland: That the committee inquire if any measures can be adopted to preserve in their purity the constitutional rights of all the States within the Union; if this appears impracticable, then further to inquire as to the most reasonable mode by which their rights may be secured in a state of separation; each sovereign State, in that event, being repossessed of its delegated authority to the Federal Union, and adjusting the relative liabilities of each, with such other measures of fair settlement as may appear to them just; and recommend some plan by which, in that event, disputes that arise may be fairly and speedily adjusted.

By Mr. Leake, of Virginia: That Congress should be deprived of all power and jurisdiction over the subject of slavery in the States or Territories, or District of Columbia, and also over the internal slave-trade, except to protect slavery by legislation in any territory or district where it exists; that no Territorial Legislature shall have jurisdiction over the subject; that the rights of owners, in sojourn or *in transitu* with their slaves, shall be guaranteed; that fugitives shall be given up on demand, or, where lost in consequence of State legislation, to be paid for by such State.

By Mr. Smith, of Virginia: That the committee consider the policy of declaring out of the Union every member which shall, by her legislation, aim to nullify an act of Congress.

By Mr. Jenkins, of Virginia: That the committee inquire what amendments are necessary to the fugitive slave law; also, to provide for the better security of the rights of slaveholders in the territories; also, what checks are demanded by a sense of self-preservation on the

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part of slaveholding States against the operation of the Federal Government, when administered by those who have come into power avowedly on grounds of hostility to their institutions; whether a majority of the slave interest should not be required to sanction the measures of the Government; also, a dual executive be established, etc.

By Mr. Cox, of Ohio: That the committee inquire what further legislation is necessary to carry out the fugitive slave law, especially so as to punish attorneys, judges, and others who obstruct its operation.

By Mr. Hutchins, of Ohio: That the committee inquire what legislation is necessary, if any, to secure to the citizens of each State all the privileges and immunities of the citizens in the several States; also, to secure the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, effects, etc.

By Mr. Sherman, of Ohio: That the only effectual remedy for the dissensions is a faithful observance of all the compromises of the Constitution, and the laws made in pursuance thereof.

By Mr. Bingham, of Ohio: That the committee report such further legislation as may be necessary to put down armed rebellion against the laws and authority of the United States, etc.

By Mr. Mallory, of Florida: That the line of 36° 30′ be adopted, etc.; all future States to be admitted with or without slavery, as their Constitution may provide; that Congress shall not interfere with the internal slave-trade, or abolish slavery where it has exclusive jurisdiction.

By Mr. Stevenson, of Kentucky: That it be made felony to resist the officers, or to attempt to rescue a fugitive in their custody.

By Mr. English, of Indiana: That the territory of the United States be divided, and that when either portion has a sufficient population, it shall be admitted as a State, without regard to the question of slavery. Congress shall not interfere with the rights of property in the slaveholding portion of the territory; and whenever a fugitive is rescued from his master, the township in which it takes place shall be liable in double the amount.

By Mr. Kilgore, of Indiana: To give right of trial by jury in fugitive slave cases; also, allow a writ of error; rescued slaves to be paid for; and those who obstruct the operation of the law to be criminally prosecuted.

By Mr. Holman, of Indiana: That the Constitution is a compact of mutual and permanent obligation—duty of the Federal Government to enforce the laws, and that the committee inquire if the acts of Congress now in force are sufficient for that purpose.

By Mr. Niblack, of Indiana: That the committee inquire if Congress is competent to provide by law for the payment of the value of fugitives, and, if so, to report accordingly.

By Mr. Noell, of Missouri: That the committee report the propriety of abolishing the office of President, and establishing an Executive Council of three, each armed with the veto power, etc.; also, report what measures may be necessary to restore the equilibrium of the States.

By Mr. Hindman, of Arkansas: An express recognition of the right of property in slaves; a denial to the Government of all right or power to prohibit the trade between the slaveholding States; the right of property in slaves to be protected in the territories; every territory to be admitted with or without slavery, as their Constitution may provide, safety of slave property *in transitu*, etc.

By Mr. Larrabee, of Wisconsin: That it be recommended to the several States to request Congress to call a convention to amend the Constitution.

Mr. Anderson, of Missouri, submitted the following resolution, with a proposition that the questions contained therein be submitted to the Supreme Court for their decision:

That the questions at issue between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States now involving the integrity and stability of the Union, are: 1. The constitutional power of Congress to prohibit the introduction of slaves into the territories of the United States by persons emigrating to said territories from States wherein slavery exists. 2. The constitutional power of a Territorial Legislature to prohibit or establish slavery. 3. The constitutional right of Congress to protect slave property in the territories of the United States. 4. The constitutional power of Congress to pass laws making it a criminal offence for any person to prevent or obstruct, or attempt to prevent or obstruct the execution of the "fugitive slave act." 5. The constitutional power of Congress to pass laws punishing any person who shall, directly or indirectly, aid or assist any other person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, to escape from the person to whom such service or labor may be due. 6. The constitutional right of a State to pass laws preventing, hindering, or in any way, directly or indirectly, obstructing the execution of the "fugitive slave act."

Many other propositions were offered and referred to the same committee. They embraced generally the points of the preceding ones, except the following, offered by Mr. Sickles, of New York, as an amendment to the Constitution:

Whenever a convention of delegates, chosen in any State by the people thereof, under the recommendation of its Legislature, shall rescind and annul its ratification of this Constitution, the President shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint commissioners, not exceeding three, to confer with the duly appointed agents of such State, and agree upon the disposition of the public property and territory belonging to the United States lying within such State, and upon the proportion of the public debt to be assumed and paid by such State; and if the President shall approve the settlement agreed upon by the commissioners, he shall thereupon transmit the same to the Senate, and upon the ratification thereof by two-thirds of the Senators present, he shall forthwith issue his proclamation declaring the assent of the United States to the withdrawal of such State from the Union.

A series of manœuvres was then commenced, to secure some kind of expression in the House

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which might be looked upon as a proof that conciliation was its ultimate purpose.

Mr. Adrain, of New Jersey, moved a preamble and resolution deprecating the spirit of disobedience, and recommended that all laws conflicting with the Constitution be repealed. On a division of the House this was adopted. Ayes, 153; noes, 14.

As an offset to this, Mr. Lovejoy, of Illinois, offered a preamble and resolution similar to the preceding, except that it embraced also the repeal of all "nullification laws so called," together with other laws conflicting with the Constitution.

Upon this, Mr. Crawford, of Georgia, boldly declared: "The truth is, Mr. Speaker, that there is no propriety, as I conceive, in undertaking to fool each other or the country by the resolutions that may be introduced. Now, let us meet this question fairly. The gentleman from Illinois is not afraid to vote for any thing which he is in favor of; nor am I. Let a resolution be introduced by the member from Ohio, or the member from Illinois, or any other member, stating exactly what each of us understands to be our constitutional rights in regard to slavery, and let us vote on it. I have no objection to vote on any proposition that may be presented."

This resolution of Mr. Lovejoy was adopted by ayes, 136; noes, none.

Upon the first opportunity after the passage of this preamble and resolution, Mr. Morris, of Illinois, claimed the floor. He had been endeavoring for some days, without success, to get before the House a strong Union resolution. The report in detail of the proceedings is not without its interest.

Mr. Morris, of Illinois: "Mr. Speaker, I now send up to the Clerk's desk a resolution upon which I desire the vote of the House."

Mr. Landrum: "I rise to a question of order. I call for the regular order of business."

The Speaker: "The Chair must be allowed to say to the gentleman from Louisiana that, although these proceedings seem a little irregular, yet, under the rules, the House is now proceeding with the regular order of business."

Mr. Morris: "I am now entitled to the floor, and I do not yield it to any one, nor do I intend to be cheated out of it."

The Speaker: "The Chair has assigned the floor to the gentleman from Illinois, and he will submit his proposition."

Mr. Morris: "Yes, sir, I have the floor, and I want to see a fair fight. This House has to-day, by large majorities, recommended the repeal of the acts of the State Legislatures, known as personal liberty laws, recommending the repeal of the nullification laws, and all laws in violation of the Constitution and laws of the United States. Now it only remains for us to declare our devotion to the Union of these States."

Mr. Barksdale: "I call the gentleman from Illinois to order."

Mr. Morris: "I do not yield to the gentleman from Mississippi, or to any other gentleman."

Mr. Hughes: "Permit me to call the attention of the Chair to the question of order before the House. I think that while the House is carrying out the regular order of business under the 130th rule, the motion to suspend the rules is not in order."

Mr. Morris: "I decline to yield the floor to the gentleman from Maryland or to any other gentleman. I ask that my resolution may be read."

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved by the House of Representatives, That we properly estimate the immense value of our national Union to our collective and individual happiness; that we cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; that we will speak of it as of the palladium of our political safety and prosperity; that we will watch its preservation with jealous anxiety; that we will discountenance whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned, and indignantly frown upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts; that we regard it as a main pillar in the edifice of our real independence, the support of tranquillity at home, our peace abroad, our safety, our prosperity, and that very liberty which we so highly prize; that we have seen nothing in the past, nor do we see any thing in the present, either in the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency of the United States, or from any other existing cause, to justify its dissolution; that we regard its perpetuity as of more value than the temporary triumph of any party or any man; that whatever evils or abuses exist under it ought to be corrected within the Union, in a peaceful and constitutional way; that we believe it has sufficient power to redress every wrong and enforce every right growing out of its organization or pertaining to its proper functions; and that it is a patriotic duty to stand by it as our hope in peace and our defence in war.

Mr. Landrum: "I object to that resolution."

Mr. Branch: "I have no objection to the reception of the resolution; but I move that it be referred to the Select Committee of Thirty-three."

Mr. Morris: "As I understand there is objection to the resolution, I move a suspension of the rules. The resolution is in the language of the Farewell Address of the Father of his Country, and I want to see who will vote against it."

Mr. Jenkins: "I desire to ask the gentleman from Illinois, whether Lincoln had been elected in Washington's time?" [Cries of "Order!"]

The question was taken, and the rules were suspended, (two-thirds having voted therefor.)

Mr. Morris then submitted his resolution, and demanded the previous question upon it.

The previous question was seconded, and the main question ordered to be put.

Mr. Hindman called for the yeas and nays upon the resolution.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

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The question was taken, and it was decided in the affirmative. Yeas, 116; nays, 44.

Immediately after these proceedings, Mr. Crawford, of Georgia, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Constitution of the United States recognizes property in slaves; that Congress has passed laws to aid slaveholders in recapturing their slaves whenever they escape and make their way into the free States; that the Supreme Court of the United States have decided that negroes were not included, either in the Declaration of Independence or in the Constitution of the United States, except as slaves, and that they cannot become citizens; and we, the members of this House, hereby sustain and will support this construction of the Constitution, these laws, and said decision of the Supreme Court.

This is a brief expression of the views generally of the Southern members. It was pushed aside for the day, and on the next day various shifts were resorted to for evading the vote, until it was finally laid on the table. Ayes, 88; noes, 81.

While these scenes were passing in the House, a portion of the people were looking with great anxiety to its action, flattering themselves that some measures might be proposed which would be acceptable to all sections, and restore the country to its previous peaceful and prosperous state. Their hopes were vain, and not even their gloomiest visions presented the dread realities which the impenetrable curtain of the future hid from their sight.

At this time the Representatives from the State of South Carolina withdrew. Their reasons are thus very summarily stated:

WASHINGTON, *December* 21, 1860.

SIR: We avail ourselves of the earliest opportunity, since the official communication of the intelligence, of making known to your honorable body that the people of the State of South Carolina, in their sovereign capacity, have resumed the powers heretofore delegated by them to the Federal Government of the United States, and have thereby dissolved our connection with the House of Representatives.

In taking leave of those with whom we have been associated in a common agency, we, as well as the people of our Commonwealth, desire to do so with feelings of mutual regard and respect for the rights of each other, cherishing the hope that, in our future relations, we may better enjoy that peace and harmony essential to the happiness of a free and enlightened people.

JOHN McQUEEN,
M. L. BONHAM,
W. W. BOYCE,
J. D. ASHMORE.

Hon. WILLIAM PENNINGTON,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Mr. Cobb, of Alabama, subsequently rising for a personal explanation, thus alluded to the position which the Republican party had now assumed on the state of affairs:

"But gentlemen say they cannot do any thing. They say that the edict went forth on the sixth day of November last; that the people decided such and such questions involving certain principles in reference to the slavery question. I deny that the jury impanelled at that time gave any such verdict. There were other questions in issue which entered into that canvass. I tell you what I believe is the truth, and I tell the country what I believe is right; and I say I do not believe the question of slavery was the only question that was submitted to the people, but that other questions entered into that contest which went far to influence the result. Is that so? Have you, Republicans, got a majority of the people of this vast country to indorse your principles?

"I say that the tariff question entered into the controversy at the last election; I say that the internal improvement question entered into that controversy; I say the homestead question entered into that contest; I say the Pacific Railroad question entered into that contest; and I am ashamed to acknowledge that a question entered into that contest in relation to the corruptions of the Administration."

On the great point maintained by the Southern States, that slaves are regarded as property under the Constitution, he laid before the House the following extract from treaties made by the Government in which they are called property, to wit:

"*Provisional Articles between the United States of America and his Britannic Majesty.*

"Agreed upon by and between Richard Oswald, Esquire, the commissioner of his Britannic Majesty, for treating of peace with the commissioners of the United States of America, in behalf of his said Majesty, on one part, and John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens, four of the commissioners of the said States, &c.

"ART. VII. * * * * All prisoners on both sides shall be set at liberty, and his Britannic Majesty, with all convenient speed, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any negroes or other *property* of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garrisons, and fleets from the said United States, and from every fort, place, and harbor within the same." * * * * * * *

"Done at Paris, November 30, 1782.

"RICHARD OSWALD, [L. S.]
"JOHN ADAMS, [L. S.]
"B. FRANKLIN, [L. S.]
"JOHN JAY, [L. S.]
"HENRY LAURENS. [L. S.]"

"*Definitive Treaty of Peace between the United States of America and his Britannic Majesty.*

"ART. VII. * * * * And his Britannic Majesty shall, with all convenient speed, and without causing any destruction, or carrying any negroes or other *property* of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, &c.

Done at Paris, September 3, 1783.

"D. HARTLEY, [L. S.]
"JOHN ADAMS, [L. S.]
"B. FRANKLIN, [L. S.]
"JOHN JAY. [L. S.]"

"*Treaty of Peace and Amity between his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America.*

"(Ratified and confirmed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, February 11, 1815.)

"ART. I." * * * "shall be restored without delay, and without causing any destruction, and without carrying away any of the artillery or other public property originally captured in the said forts or places, and which shall remain therein upon the exchange of

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the ratifications of this treaty, or any slaves or other private *property*."

* * * * * * * * *

"Done, in triplicate, at Ghent, December 24, 1814.

"GAMBRIE, [L. S.]
"HENRY COULBURN, [L. S.]
"WILLIAM ADAMS, [L. S.]
"JOHN Q. ADAMS, [L. S.]
"J. A. BAYARD, [L. S]
"H. CLAY, [L. S.]
"JONA. RUSSELL, [L. S.]
"ALBERT GALLATIN. [L. S.]

"Also, a further evidence that slaves are regarded by the General Government as property, they sell them for debts due the Government."

The movements in South Carolina had been so rapid that her commissioners had already presented themselves to the President, for the purpose of entering into negotiations for the settlement of difficulties as between separate nations. A Message from the President to the House, on the 8th of January, (see previous pages,) states his proceedings relative to this application. It was, after being read, referred to a committee of five, with instructions to report from time to time. No report which led to any important results was made.

The Committee of Thirty-three reported to the House a joint resolution to amend the Constitution of the United States; an act for the admission of New Mexico into the Union as a State; and an amendment to the fugitive slave law, and the law relating to fugitives from justice. A number of minority reports were also made, embracing other propositions.

The debate on these propositions was continued by Messrs. Corwin, Clemens, Bingham, Washburne, Lovejoy, and others.

The state of opinion in the House at this period is thus described by Mr. Montgomery: "I think that every impartial observer, who has witnessed our deliberations since the commencement of the session, will admit that there is nothing like unity of sentiment or concurrence of opinion among us. The votes had on the various propositions of compromise presented from time to time, abundantly prove that there is not the slightest probability that a constitutional majority can be obtained for any proposition which will restore harmony and peace to our distracted country. Day after day is spent in the delivery of speeches, many of which only tend to increase our troubles, and add fuel to the flame of public discord. While we are engaged in this profitless controversy—for I doubt whether any speech that has been made, or that will be made, will change the opinion or vote of a single member—State after State is seceding from this Union, and delegation after delegation is bidding us farewell, and vacating the seats around us. While these things are being done, what are we doing to avert this dreadful calamity? Revolution is sweeping over the land. We can feel the temple of our country's liberty tremble, yet we stand here idle."

A general debate followed in the House, which continued some weeks. It not only embraced the topics which had been previously discussed, but looked forward to the great question of the rightfulness and legality of secession, or peace or war, which was coming up for speedy decision.

Mr. Stevens, of Pennsylvania, on this question thus expressed his views: "It is time that this important question was solved. I do not perceive when any better occasion can present itself to decide whether this Union exists by the sufferance of individual States, or whether it requires a constitutional majority to absolve them from their allegiance. If it should be determined that secession is a rightful act, or that there is no power to prevent it, then the Union is not worth preserving for a single day; for whatever disposition shall be made of the present difficulty, fancied wrongs will constantly arise, and induce State after State to withdraw from the Confederacy. If, on the other hand, it should be decided that we are ONE PEOPLE, and that the Government possesses sufficient power to coerce obedience, the public mind will be quieted, plotters of disunion will be regarded as traitors, and we shall long remain a united and happy people."

The members of the House from Louisiana presented the ordinance of that State, seceding from the United States. Upon this occasion, Mr. Taylor addressed the House, and thus expressed the views generally held with regard to the importance of cotton to the manufacturing interests of the world:

"If you fulfil your menaces, and blockade Southern ports, the Southern States will lay an embargo upon all cotton seeking transportation through the Northern channels open to it. Not a bale will be permitted to be moved inland in that direction until the commerce of their ports is freed from your impediments. And if your people could stand this state of things, how long do you suppose that England and France would stand by in silence and inaction? And if the two sections are engaged in actual war, so that the cotton is not only arrested in our ports, but not made, will they stand idly by and see you, who have heretofore been the partisans of the right of self-government, engaged in the despotic work of compelling us to submit to be governed at your mere will and pleasure; and that, too, when, by this most gross and palpable violation of the fundamental principle of your own Government, you inflict on them, in common with other countries, an injury which will shake the whole social system of Europe to its very centre? I, for one, think they will not. If those evil times come, to which you seem to look forward, they will be compelled to interpose in their own interest, and you and we will be at their mercy."

Mr. Bouligney, of the same State, next took the floor, and declared in the most positive language that he should not then withdraw from a seat as a member of the House. He was the only Representative from all the seceding States who maintained his seat in

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the House. He thus expressed his reason for his course:

"In the outset permit me to say that, until a few moments ago, I was in the same condition with my colleague, not having received official information of the passage of the ordinance of secession by the convention of my State. Nor have I received from the Legislature of my State, now in session, any information of the passage by that body of a resolution, instructing her Senators or requesting her Representatives to withdraw from Congress. For one, although I respect that body, I shall not obey its request. I was not elected by that body, and I have nothing to do with it, or it with me.

"Mr. Speaker, there is another reason which compels me to differ with the Senators and Representatives of my State. I am the only member of Congress from Louisiana who was elected as an American Union man. To those principles I shall stand forever." [Great applause in the galleries.]

"Again: when I came here, I took the oath to sustain the Constitution of the United States. What does that mean? Does not the Constitution of the United States mean the Union of the United States? I so understand it; and to that oath I shall adhere firmly to the end. Whenever I am instructed by my immediate constituents, and am requested by them to withdraw from Congress, I shall comply with those instructions as soon as they are received. Then, and not until then, I shall resign; and after resigning my position here, I shall yet be a Union man, and stand under the flag of the country which gave me birth." [Great applause in the galleries and on the floor]

The following resolution was offered at a subsequent session of the House, and unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That neither the Federal Government, nor the people or the governments of the non-slaveholding States, have the right to legislate upon or interfere with slavery in any of the slaveholding States in the Union.

The proposition to organize new Territories was brought forward in the House by a motion of Mr. Thayer, of Massachusetts, to constitute the Dakota Land District, and to provide for the admission to the House of Representatives of a delegate therefrom.

Mr. Cox, of Ohio, wished to inquire of the chairman whether the committee, of which he is chairman, proposed any legislation with respect to this or the other territories? And if so, whether they proposed to change the bills they reported last session, so as to obliterate those obnoxious provisions which caused them to be defeated?

Mr. Grow, of Pennsylvania, replied that the Committee on Territories propose, when they have an opportunity, to submit to this House bills for organizing territories for the people in the region around Pike's Peak; for the people in the region of the Washoe silver mines, called Nevada; for the people of what is called Arizona; and for the people of this very Dakota Territory, and for the territory above it, which will cover all the territory of the nation; and thus arranging the whole matter, they will get rid of this whole territorial legislation. And they propose to report the bills in the usual form.

Mr. Cox further asked: "And do they propose the same proviso in respect to slavery that was contained in the former bills? That is the point."

Mr. Grow replied: "We shall, I take it, report the same proviso as before, with the privilege of any member to move to strike it out; and if a majority is against us upon that question, we propose to vote for those bills. If a majority shall strike the clause out, then you have not a word in the bills about slavery—no reference to it whatever. We propose to leave it to be settled by a majority of the House, whether they will retain that proviso or not; and if a majority say no, it will be out of the bills."

On a subsequent day, bills were introduced by Mr. Grow to provide temporary governments for all the territories above mentioned. These bills were passed after the proviso had been struck out.

Apprehensions began to exist in the minds of many Southern members of the House that the army and navy were to be used for the purpose of coercion against a portion of the States which had endeavored to place themselves out of the Confederacy. These apprehensions were expressed in the House, and an opportunity for discussion was demanded on the naval bill. It was refused on this bill, but when the army appropriation bill was taken up the field for general debate was thrown open.

Mr. McClernand, of Illinois, was the first to address the House. He argued that no State had any lawful or constitutional right to withdraw from the contract of the national Union: *first*, because that contract was made by the people, and not the States; and *second*, because, if made by the States, still, as artificial persons, they were bound by it, and have no independent, constitutional right to withdraw from or rescind it. And again, because, in such case, the contract of Union subordinates the States to a paramount sovereignty ordained by their own act and consent. And again, because that sovereignty acts directly upon the *people* of the "United States;" and by its own independent force must act upon them, despite of whatever the States, as such, may do. Being sovereign, its first duty was to preserve itself; and being sovereign, where is there a power more than sovereign to control it, disintegrate it, or dissolve it? When the States show their right to do so, the paradox will have been established, that the minor is the greater proportion; that the inferior has the right to substitute himself for the superior; that inferiority is sovereignty, and that sovereignty is subordination!

Mr. Cox, of Ohio, followed: "Mr. Chairman,

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I speak from and for the capital of the greatest of the States of the great West. That potential section is beginning to be appalled at the colossal strides of revolution. It has immense interests at stake in this Union, as well from its position as its power and patriotism. We have had infidelity to the Union before, but never in such a fearful shape. We had it in the East during the late war with England. Even so late as the admission of Texas, Massachusetts resolved herself out of the Union. That resolution has never been repealed; and one would infer, from much of her conduct, that she did not regard herself as bound by our covenant. Since 1856, in the North, we have had infidelity to the Union. more by insidious infractions of the Constitution than by open rebellion. Now, sir, as a consequence, in part, of these very infractions, we have rebellion itself, open and daring, in terrific proportions, with dangers so formidable as to seem almost remediless. And I must warn the people of Ohio that it is the well-grounded fear, almost the foregone conclusion of the patriotic statesmen here, that the work of breaking up will go on, until the entire South shall be arrayed against the entire North."

He then submitted these propositions for consideration:

That secession is not a right in any possible relation in which it can be viewed; to tolerate it in theory or practice is moral treason to patriotism and good government. That, while it may not involve such direful consequences as other revolutions, still it is revolution. That every effort of conciliation should be exhausted to check it, before force is applied. That, if the North does not do her part fully in recession from aggression, it will be impossible to unite the Northern people, or any portion of the Southern people, in repressing secession. That, if the South will make a patient endeavor, equal to the great occasion, to secure her rights in the Union, he believed that she would succeed; and if she was then repulsed, it would be impossible for her to receive any detriment from the North, but she will depart in peace. If she go inconsiderately, as some States are going, the country may incur the fearful hazard of war. If the South press the one hard overmastering question upon the North, and follow it up with seizure of forts and revenue, cannonading of our vessels, and other aggressive acts, without giving an opportunity for conciliation, there will be no power in the conservatism of the North to restrain the people. No sacrifice will be considered too great to make in the protection and defence of the Union. That, in the present state of facts, so long as the revenues can be collected on land or sea, and the forts and harbors can be commanded by the Federal Government, that Government must be, as to these matters, the Government *de facto*, as well as *de jure;* and that, so long as this *status* can be maintained by the Executive, it should be done by all the legal forces of the Government. Only when revolution becomes so formidable as to be irresistible, would it be proper to inquire whether coercion would not be both suicidal to the Union and criminal to mankind.

Mr. Reagan, of Texas, replied to both the preceding speakers. He endeavored to correct some of the errors upon which the arguments advanced against the South seemed to be predicated: "We do rightly estimate the value of the Union. We do rightly estimate the value of the blessings of this Government. We have loved and cherished the Union. Nobody has a better right than I have, although I say so myself, to make that declaration. I have loved the Union with an almost extravagant devotion. I have fought its battles whenever they were to be fought in my section of the country. I have met every sectional issue, at home in my section, and in my State particularly, which was attempted to be forced upon the public mind, and which I thought would mar the harmony of the Democratic party. I have fought the battles of the Union without looking forward to the consequences. I have fought them in times when the result for the Union seemed hopeless. If I could believe we could have security of our rights within the Union, I would go home and fight the battles of the Union in the future with the same earnestness and energy that I have done in times past."

The debate was further continued by Mr. Adrain, of New Jersey, Mr. Anderson, of Missouri, Mr. Garnett, of Virginia, and Mr. Gurley, of Ohio.

Mr. Garnett argued that peace might end in reconstruction, but war was inevitable, eternal separation. Supposing war might follow, he submitted what he regarded as the true policy of the seceded States, both in respect to a blockade and an invasion:

"I will suppose you have the naval force necessary, and the revenues, without resorting to loans or direct taxes to maintain it. I will suppose the Southern people quietly submit to it even for a year; and imagine not that their hearts would grow weary, or fail them, once embarked in the great cause. They are the sons of men who endured and suffered under the entire military power of England for ten years, and by endurance came out conquerors. During that period of blockade they would have abundant provisions; for every man who has studied the statistics of the country knows that the South produces more food, in proportion to her population, than the North. For her, it would be the loss of income only; and while her cotton was thus held up for a single year, what would be the consequences to New England, whose whole supply is drawn from the South; to France, where Southern cotton furnishes employment directly to some two hundred and seventy thousand persons, and indirectly to more than a million? Above all, what would be the effect of this withdrawal from Great Britain of three-fourths of the cotton she uses, upon which, as the *London Times*

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lately estimated, four million of her people depend for daily bread? Rely upon it, sir, that, bitter and unreasonable as her prejudices may be, the same causes which have reconciled England to the use of slave-grown sugar and cotton, would never suffer either France or herself to acquiesce in this blockade. The South need only wait patiently and silently, with absolute assurance that those great Powers would be forced to an active interference. And then, sir, how would you conduct the war?

"No course would be open to you but actual invasion, which, indeed, passion and resistance would probably bring about at a much earlier period. Invasion, sir! invasion of what? and under what conditions? Of an agricultural country eight hundred and fifty-one thousand square miles in extent—larger than all the empires and kingdoms of central Europe, yet with only about fourteen inhabitants to the square mile, and consequently without large cities or means to sustain an invading host; but, sir, not without brave men, trained to the use of arms, and ready to destroy the invading army, which would melt away like snows of winter every mile as they advanced into the Southern clime, far from their resources. Napoleon, in his disastrous Russian invasion, was not so far from his supplies, and in a country twice as densely peopled, twice as able to sustain him. Your population may outnumber ours by millions; but you would be hundreds of miles from your true base of operations, while we would be at home. You are doubtless as brave as we are, though not more so; but your soldiers would be led on by the unhallowed lust to bring brothers beneath their yoke, while ours would strike for their homes and their altars. I know that fanatics daily depreciate to the Northern people the exertions of the South in the Revolution, and teach that, as slaveholding is the sum of all human villanies, so is it the source of incurable weakness and impotence. But before they believe such teachers, let them read history.

"But, sir, no sane man believes that we could be conquered. If we have no ships of war, you have vessels in abundance who would accept our letters of marque and reprisal; and the same Northern capital that now engages in the slave-trade could be transferred to privateering on your commerce. If we did not invade you, we could at least repel your invasion, and cut off your attacking forces. Patience alone, on our side, would insure a victory. But I will not contemplate such scenes."

Mr. Thomas, of Maryland, followed, saying: "You complain that the seceding States have seized the forts and other public property. These forts were permitted to be erected in these States for their defence, and the arms that have been taken were placed there for the same purpose. The Federal Government has no right to use this property for any other purpose. And whenever the people who had granted the sites of the forts for their defence discovered that they were to be used for the opposite purpose—of an attack upon them—it was not only just, but wise, for them to see that they were used for their defence, the legitimate purpose for which they were erected."

Mr. Ferry, of Connecticut, said he would have the President collect the revenues in every Southern port, and every other port in the Union, peaceably if he can, forcibly if he must. More than this, he would have him maintain the national flag at every hazard, over every fortification, arsenal, dock-yard, and navy-yard in the Union. If, in the discharge of this duty, he is met by force, then he would place at his command the army and navy and purse of the nation. This Union must and shall be preserved. The experiment of self-government was not yet exhausted. It would be a shame, an everlasting reproach to the American name, to allow it to be destroyed by the hand of domestic violence.

Mr. Sherman, of Ohio, in reply to the assertion that the army should not be used to coerce a State, submitted that if, by this, it was meant that the army should not be used to conquer a State, to compel her to be represented, to maintain the courts or post-offices within her limits, to burn her cities or desolate her fields, it was entirely correct. He did not believe that any Administration will pursue such a policy. But we have a Government, a great Government, to maintain. It was supreme within the powers delegated to it; and it was provided with ample authority to protect itself against foreign or domestic enemies. It had the exclusive right to collect duties on imports. It was the exclusive owner of forts, arsenals, navy-yards, vessels, and munitions of war. It had a flag, the symbol of its nationality, the emblem of its power and determination to protect all those who may of right gather under its folds. It was our duty, as the representatives of this Government, to maintain and defend it in the exercise of its just powers. Had it trespassed upon the rights of a single individual? Did any citizen of South Carolina complain that this Government had done him wrong? No man can say that. The Government for years had been in the hands of the Democratic party, controlled chiefly by Southern citizens. They controlled its power and patronage; and now, when the Republican party was about to assume the reins, they seek to subvert it. They organized revolution under the name of secession.

He continued: "My argument is, that South Carolina is not coerced, but that she is coercing this great Government; that she is coercing all the border slave States; that she is leading them, by wild fanaticism and by the community of interests, to take a step which I do not believe Virginia, or North Carolina, or Maryland, or any of the border States would take, in the light of calm and cool reason.

"Mr. Chairman, I appeal in all candor to the Representatives of the border States to arrest the tide that, but for you, will in a few days

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place us in hostile array with each other. I know that the movements in the cotton States have gone so far that we cannot arrest them. I appeal to the Representatives of the border States to arrest the progress of this storm, for a little time at least. Let us see whether there is any hope for peace and conciliation. If there is not, then, if we cannot agree, let us fight; but if we can agree, let us do it like men, and not be hurried off by wild and insane feelings of rage and disappointment by the weakest State in this Confederacy."

The object for which the army was to be used he frankly declared to be, in his opinion, for the purpose of protecting the acknowledged property of the United States, in recovering that which has been unlawfully taken, and in maintaining the Union.

On the subject of compromise, his opinion was expressed in these words: "I say again, Mr. Chairman, that I do not believe any terms which our people could yield and preserve their own self-respect would satisfy South Carolina, Florida, or some of the other Southern States, because they are bent upon disunion."

The proposition made in the Senate by Mr. Crittenden was objected to by Mr. Sherman, because, to use his language, "it protects the institution of slavery in the Territory of New Mexico; it takes away from Congress all power over the subject; it takes away from the people of the territory all power over the subject; it makes this Government establish, protect, and uphold slavery in that territory. I believe that slavery is a local institution, municipal in its character, protected by State laws, having rights exclusively within those States, and having no rights beyond those States except the right to recapture fugitives who escape from service. Believing, as I do, that that is the correct construction of the Constitution, I never will, whatever may be the consequences, vote for a proposition to establish, protect, and uphold slavery anywhere on God's earth."

Mr. Crawford, of Georgia, found himself under the necessity of replying upon the spur of the moment, or the debate would be closed. He commenced by saying that it was with feelings of great distrust that he undertook the vindication of South Carolina and the other seceding States, from the charges made by the gentleman from Ohio; but its very necessity left him no other alternative. His speech, without correction, would have the effect of producing upon the public mind of the North the impression that South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana had commenced an aggressive war upon the Government of the United States. "It is not just either to ourselves or to them, that they should believe, for one moment, that we had, or intended to commence, an aggressive war upon this Government or the people of the North. All that they ever intended was to protect and defend themselves against encroachments upon their rights and liberties, come from what quarter they might."

On the movement of Major Anderson to Fort Sumter, his view was thus declared: "This was an an act of war. But to make it beyond question, and show that he considered it war, he did that which no sane man would do in peace, which was to destroy as far as possible Fort Moultrie, and render it unfit for use or service as a fortification; add to this the burning of the gun carriages and the spiking of the cannon, and then tell me, either that your Government has kept its faith, or that South Carolina was guilty of the first act of hostility. Up to that moment, nothing had been done by South Carolina inconsistent with the good faith pledged for her by her Representatives; yet when they saw these things done, and were chafing under the *mala fides* of your Government, and losing all hope of any other result than war, they seized such defences as were within their reach, and have held them since for purposes of protection and safety."

Again he said: "And I assert upon Southern honor, that no fort would have been taken, no arsenals seized, and no hostile attitude assumed by a single State, had it not been for the action of Major Anderson at Charleston; and upon him rests whatsoever of blame may attach to the subsequent conduct of South Carolina, Georgia, and the other States."

The fundamental view of the Government formed under the Constitution, entertained by all the Southern members, is thus repeated: "I say that, in view of these things, believing that this creature of ours had no right to use these fortifications, erected for our defence, for our destruction, we seized them under the universally-recognized principle of law, that the rights of the agent are always subordinate to the rights of the principal; and your rights within the limits of our State must be subordinate to ours whenever you violate the compact between us. That is the principle upon which we have acted, and, as I have said before, which we intend to maintain to the very utmost of our men and means."

Mr. Hill, of Georgia, in reply to the assertion of Mr. Sherman, of Ohio, that the South would hearken to no proposition of conciliation, believed that this was said without authority, so far as it related to all the Southern States.

His views were so strongly in contrast with the heated and fiery language so much used by the Southern members, and, withal, so hopeful and conciliatory, that they fell upon the wearied and perplexed assembly like a gentle dream. As his time expired and he was forced to close, cries of "Go on!" "Go on!" rose from all parts of the House.—He proceeded:

"Despite the attitude of South Carolina herself, I believe to-day she is approachable with reason and words of kindness, and that she will listen to the voice of conciliation if it come in so gentle a form as could be tendered by

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gentlemen upon the other side of this House. I beg, I invoke it for her, as my mother, who cherished me in the early part of my life, and upon whose bosom sleep my honored parents, and where dwell to-day my near kindred; and I ask you to present to her, far gone as you may consider her, the olive branch. Tender it gracefully; you can afford to do it, as guardians of this great and powerful Government. South Carolina may be, and in my judgment she is, extreme in her precipitancy. I have regretted it; I have remonstrated against it, and I have implored the people of my own State, notwithstanding her example, to delay their action, and never to follow her example until assured that it would meet a hearty and undivided response from the people of Georgia. Will you, under these circumstances, urged and entreated as you are by men who are as much and as faithfully attached to the Union of these States as you yourselves are, refuse to make this last effort in behalf of conciliation between these distracted sections of our common country? I hope not. I hope the door to conciliation is not yet closed. There are good men yet from the North in this House. There are good men yet in the other wing of the Capitol; and I mistake if they do not yet send forth words of love and kindness to soothe an exasperated people, and thus give quiet to an afflicted nation. I regret not to find a greater degree of it in my honorable friend from Ohio. Surely the time has not yet arrived to determine, as positively as he does, that if there can be no reconciliation there must be a resort to the stern arbitrament of war. Surely he does not mean what he says: that there must be an accommodation or a fight. Not yet—not yet, sir, I would hope. Let him, let every man who feels that there is an inevitable result, wait for the accumulated voice of American patriots to come up and determine this question. I abide that result with confidence and hope. I trust that the convention of my own State—which is sitting to-day, and in which is assembled a large amount of the best intelligence and the best patriotism of that State—will give time to the people of the United States to confess their conservatism, their attachment to the Union, and their devotion to the interests of the several States. I believe it will do it; and I trust, if my State shall resolve to secede in this the hour of her extremity, as she believes, that she will make her secession prospective, so as to afford ample time to intervene, and still save the great structure under which we live, and which has blessed us so long."

Mr. Burnett, of Kentucky, offered the following amendment to the clause making an appropriation:

Provided, That no part of the appropriations made in this bill shall be used by the Federal Government in making war, or in any attempt to subject any State which has or may hereafter secede from the United States.

He said: "I want that the country shall understand, and that we on this side of the House shall understand, distinctly from gentlemen on the other side whether it is their purpose to wage war or not.

"Under the terms of 'enforcing the law,' and 'the execution of the law,' gentlemen cover up their purposes to make war. [Cries of 'Oh, no!' from the Republican side of the House.] It must result in war, gentlemen. You may blockade the port of Charleston to-morrow; send down your floating custom-house, and undertake to collect the revenue, and the first gun that is fired results in civil war.

"It must do that. We all so understand it. I do not want gentlemen, under the term of 'enforcing the law,' to shrink from the announcement of their purpose, which is to make war. It is nothing else. The mere blockading of the port of Charleston is, in my judgment, an act of war. I believe, whether gentlemen so regard it or not, that the President has no power to use the army and navy of this country, except as subservient to the civil authority. South Carolina, as has been before remarked on this floor, has no Federal officers. She has no Federal judiciary there. None of the powers in that State recognize the authority of the Federal Government, or can enforce obedience to any of the laws of Congress. And yet you propose to send an army down there, under the name of enforcing laws, to make war upon South Carolina. It is nothing else; and there is not a sensible man on that side of the chamber who does not so understand it. If that be your purpose, come up like men and say so. Do not shrink from it. Do not undertake to carry on war under a specious pretext of enforcing law."

Mr. Stanton, of Ohio, replied: "Mr. Chairman, I do not apprehend that anybody on this side of the House contemplates making war on any State of this Confederacy, unless war is first made by that State on the Federal Government. There is no war contemplated by this Government, or by any gentleman on this side of the House, except a defensive war, for the protection of its executive officers, and of the men engaged in the discharge of executive and ministerial duties."

Mr. Burnett: "May I ask the gentleman from Ohio one question?"

Mr. Stanton: "Yes, sir."

Mr. Burnett: "If you do not intend to make war, why do you object to my amendment?"

Mr. Stanton: "Mr. Chairman, I will tell the gentleman why. If, in the execution of those laws, the officer of the law is resisted by a military power, by State authority; and if it become necessary for his protection, and for the discharge of his duties, that the United States shall defend itself, protect itself, protect its property, its arsenals, its forts, its executive and ministerial officers; if it becomes necessary to make defensive war, then I suppose the money appropriated by this act will

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be used in that war. That is what I understand."

The amendment was not voted upon, and the bill was subsequently passed without further debate.

The withdrawal of the members of the House from Georgia was made known by their joint letter to the Speaker, namely:

WASHINGTON CITY, *January* 23, 1861.

SIR: We have received official information that the people of the State of Georgia, in convention assembled, on the 19th day of January, 1861, adopted and passed an ordinance of secession.

The sovereign State of Georgia, of which we are Representatives in this House, having thereby dissolved the political connection between that State and the Government of the United States, and having thereby repealed the ordinance of 1788, by which the Constitution of the United States was ratified, and having resumed all the powers delegated to the Federal Government, we hereby announce to you that we are no longer members of the House of Representatives of the United States Congress.

PETER C. LOVE,
MARTIN J. CRAWFORD,
THOMAS HARDEMAN, JR.,
LUCIUS J. GARTRELL,
JOHN W. H. UNDERWOOD,
JAMES JACKSON,
JOHN J. JONES.

Hon. WILLIAM PENNINGTON,
Speaker House of Representatives of the United States.

WASHINGTON CITY, *January* 23, 1861.

SIR: Satisfied, as I am, that a majority of the convention of the people of Georgia, now sitting, desire that the State should no longer be represented upon this floor, I, in obedience to this wish of the people's representatives, hereby resign the seat I hold as a member of this House.

I am, respectfully, your obedient servant.

JOSHUA HILL.

Hon. WILLIAM PENNINGTON,
Speaker House of Representatives of the United States.

It was now the middle of February—Congress had prepared the usual appropriation bills, arranged the measures for procuring the funds necessary to meet the expenses of the Government. A highly protective tariff bill had passed one House and was certain to pass the other, but on the great subject which absorbed the attention of the whole country nothing had been accomplished. The Senate had discussed the point whether there could be a compromise or not, without arriving at any conclusion. Much less had they been able to determine what should be the plan of compromise. The crisis of the country was the great topic of discussion in the House, but the committee had not yet made any formal or final report. It was evident that Congress, with its conflicting and determined elements, could do nothing. Those who looked for a satisfactory adjustment from that quarter now gave up all hopes. In this they were confirmed by the continued unsuccessful action of the Peace Convention, a body which had assembled at Washington, as recommended by the Legislature of Virginia.

The views of Congress relative to the future difficulties of the country manifest at this time a change. Six States had withdrawn from the Union, no immediate prospect of an adjustment existed, and the question had become one of peace or war. Its solution seemed to be in the hands of the new Administration. An effort was therefore made to discover the purposes of the President elect, either through his own expressions or from those of his friends in Congress. After the delivery of the inaugural, the chief theme of the discussions in the Senate, during its brief session, was whether the meaning of that document was peace or war.

The views of the Republican portion of the Congress, with few exceptions, at this time, are to be found in such declarations as were made in the House. They were opposed to compromise, and demanded the enforcement of the laws.

Mr. Beale, of New York, said: "Sir, I am opposed to any and all compromises—

"1. Because they are to be extorted from us by threats of dissolution of the Union in case we refuse. I desire to see the strength of this Government tested, and to know whether the Union is a Federal rope of sand, to be washed away by every wave of passion, or an 'indissoluble Government.'

"2. Because they will fail to accomplish the reintegration of the Union.

"Six States have already seceded, and will not be parties to the transaction or bound by it; and one, if not more, has avowed her determination never to come back, even upon the principle of reconstruction; and several of them are represented in a convention to form a Southern Confederacy, and have formed such a confederacy.

"3. Because the Republican party is not now in power, and should not submit to any terms as a condition-precedent to obtaining it.

"Our candidate has been constitutionally elected; entertains no principles hostile to the interests of any one of the States. We are resolved to inaugurate him in the same constitutional manner. In the words of the distinguished Senator elect from Ohio, 'inauguration first, adjustment afterward.'

"4. Because the sentiment of nine-tenths of the Republicans of the free States is opposed to compromise of principle. I speak not of the commercial circles, where the opinion of Mr. Webster prevails, that 'Governments were instituted to protect property,' no matter of what kind; but of the intelligent masses of the free country, where, upon the mountain sides, in the valleys, and along the rivers of the North, no shackle rings—no unpaid labor degrades, but where to work is to be ennobled, and where the god of Freedom baptizes the foreheads of his sons with the dew of toil. These men want no compromises with slave labor—no unfair competition between their adventurous toil and the investments of Southern capital. These men believe that 'to secure the inalienable rights of life and liberty, governments were instituted among men.'"

After stating the measures to which he was

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opposed, he thus declared those of which he was in favor: "Mr. Speaker, having stated thus frankly what I will not support, it may be asked me 'what affirmative action do you propose shall be taken?' This is a most important inquiry. But, sir, aware of all the responsibilities which devolve upon me as a Representative, of all the perils which environ my country, asking for that wisdom of duty which cometh down freely from above, and hoping for that fortitude which renders man 'equal to either fortune,' I have no difficulty in answering the inquiry. I propose that the Constitution of the Republic shall remain forever intact, the same invulnerable, immortal ægis of human rights, forged upon the stithies of our revolutionary demi-gods. I propose that the Union of the States ordained by our fathers, and upon which their and our common Father has smiled glory and prosperity, shall, at all hazard and by every power of the Government, be maintained. I propose that the just laws of my country shall be enforced everywhere throughout her borders, and by every constitutional means; and that such additional legislation shall be immediately had as will enable such object to be accomplished. I propose that the property of the Republic which has been unlawfully seized shall be repossessed; that the civil and military officers of the Government, who for the discharge of their duties have been imprisoned or beleaguered, shall immediately be succored; and that the honor of our flag, which has been tarnished, shall be vindicated before the world. I propose that the will of the people of the Union, mighty, majestic, and constitutionally expressed at the national election, shall be respected and obeyed. And above all, sir, do I propose that liberty shall not again be beaten down upon the threshold and beside the altars of this her temple. That the free principles which underlie the whole structure of the Republic, for which constitutions were ordained, laws enacted, and the will of the people expressed, shall not again be compelled to pass under the yoke of slavery."

Mr. Duell, of New York, also said: "In my judgment, the present is no time for compromise. Until the strength of the Government be tested, it is not right, or legal, or politic to consider concessions. It is only when traitors have been reduced to obedience, or the Government has proved impotent, that we should be constructing articles of agreement. A compromise at this time would be the humiliation of one section, loyal to the Union and obedient to the laws made under the Constitution, to another section in array against the Government of the Union, and defying law, order, justice, and right. My remedy, then, will be found in executing the Constitution as it is, and enforcing the laws of the General Government. I have no sympathy with any man who repudiates the Constitution of our common country, whether he resides North or South. By that Constitution I abide, both in its letter and in its spirit. Standing firmly upon the principles of freedom and the Constitution we shall have no cause for self-reproach, even if civil war should follow."

Mr. Reynolds, of New York, said: "We are asked to make new laws. I answer, there are too many already. Let the present laws be enforced. Amend the Constitution? Let the people do it in the regular way, whenever they think it desirable. I shall not object. No, sir; obey the Constitution, and administer the laws as they are, and all will be well. Stand by the Union of our fathers. Rally under the glorious folds of the Stars and Stripes, AND THE COUNTRY WILL BE SAVED. And for the rest, let us 'trust in God, and keep our powder dry.'"

In the House the Committee on Military Affairs reported a supplementary bill which proposed to amend the act of 1798, that provides for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, to suppress insurrection and repel invasion.

Mr. Stanton, of Ohio, thus explained the supplementary bill: "In my judgment, that law covers the case of an insurrection against the authority of the United States, and authorizes the calling out of the militia for the purpose of putting down an insurrection against the authority of the United States. But I find that the late Attorney-General, Mr. Black, has expressed a different opinion to the President of the United States of this section of the law, and holds that it only authorizes the President to call out the militia to aid the officer of the court—the marshal—in the execution of process directed to him, and to overcome combinations against the execution of some particular law, and does not authorize the calling out of the militia for the purpose of putting down a general insurrection against the authority of the United States. In my judgment, the law was intended to go that far; but in order to remove doubt and ambiguity, and to avoid any obscurity, the Committee on Military Affairs deemed it their duty to report this bill."

Mr. Sickles, of New York, inquired: "Do I understand that it is one of the premises upon which this bill is founded that there is a general insurrection against the authority of the United States?"

Mr. Stanton: "Yes, sir."

Mr. Sickles: "Then the gentleman differs broadly with the President elect, who says that there is no danger, no trouble, and treats the idea of apprehension with ridicule. There is a great discrepancy here.

"I will state what I understand to be the present condition of things, and what I understand to be the necessity that exists for the passage of such a measure as this. The incoming Administration does not desire to be under the necessity of running counter to the opinion of the Attorney-General under the present Administration, and of subjecting itself to the charge of usurpation, by exercising powers the

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existence of which is denied by that officer. It therefore desires, by remedial legislation, to cure that defect and omission. We have before us six seceding States organized into a separate hostile confederacy. It is said that it is about to have, in thirty days, an army of fifty regiments, backed up by a fund of $14,000,000."

Mr. Craige, of North Carolina, said: "I desire to correct the gentleman. The Southern Confederacy is not hostile. Its Government desires to be friendly."

Mr. Stanton: "So I understand. It regards the right of secession as a constitutional right, and on that idea claims to be friendly; but, not recognizing that theory, we cannot so regard it.

"Mr. Speaker, we have the important ports of Charleston, Savannah, and New Orleans, in which the authorities of the United States are superseded, where its laws cannot be executed, and where no duties can be collected, unless some mode be adopted, aside from the ordinary mode of collection. One of two things has to be done: either this right of secession has to be recognized, the execution of the laws of the United States in these ports to be abandoned, or they must be treated as free ports, and all the foreign commerce of the country diverted from the ports of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore; or else the duties on imported goods must be collected at those ports, or they may be suspended as ports of entry, and their commerce made illegitimate.

"One of these two things must be done. Now, I take it there are very few gentlemen that are prepared to say that the authority of the United States over those ports shall be surrendered and abandoned; that the whole foreign commerce of the country shall change its course and go to those ports for the purpose of escaping duties. That, I take it, there are very few gentlemen prepared to recognize as a state of things which is to be allowed to continue.

"Now, Mr. Speaker, I have no doubt that it is the expectation of the incoming Administration either to collect duties at those ports by vessels of war stationed off their harbors, or, by some measure to be authorized at this session of Congress, to close their ports, and not regard them any longer as ports of entry. One of these things has to be, and inevitably must be done. Now, if the Southern Confederacy should treat that as a hostile act, an act of war, and should organize an armed force to make an aggressive war upon the United States, this Government must be placed in a position to protect and defend itself. I do not myself suppose that even the possession of the forts in the Southern States will be regarded as a matter of sufficient practical importance to imperil the peace of the country by attempting their recapture, until all hopes of a peaceable adjustment are abandoned. But if there should be a hostile attack made on vessels of the United States stationed off Southern ports, if that mode of executing the laws should be resisted by marching Southern armies into Northern States, or by seeking the capture of the capital of the Republic, then the Administration must be placed in a position to protect and defend itself against aggression."

Mr. Howard, of Michigan, who supported the bill, said: "I suppose the idea of those gentlemen who attack the bill so violently is that, in some way, secession is a peaceful or constitutional remedy; or, in other words, that it has a legal existence. Could any thing be more absurd? Or, if they themselves admit that this is revolution, how can they resist the suppression of revolution? Mr. Speaker, we need but a moment to show that it has no legal foundation whatever; for an ordinance of secession can by no possibility rise higher, in a legal point of view, than the State constitution. If a secession convention be legal, or if it be regular, if it observe all formality, if it receive the unanimous indorsement of the people of the seceding States, then it rises just as high, and no higher, than any other organic act of the State. It is just as high as a State constitution, and no higher. And yet the Constitution makes the Constitution itself, and the laws of the Union, and the treaties made by the authorities of the United States the supreme law of the land, any thing in any State constitution, or, if you please, any thing in your ordinances of secession, to the contrary notwithstanding. It is absurd. It needs only to be stated, to show that it can have no legal foundation whatever. It is, therefore, a revolution—no more and no less."

Mr. Pryor, of Virginia, replied: "In a word, sir, it is a measure of coercion—a measure under the authority of which the President may carry on a campaign of vigorous hostilities against a State—a measure, in truth, of civil and fraternal war.

"Such, sir, are the object and effect of this bill; but it is distinguished by details of a still more monstrous character. It submits to the fallible and capricious judgment of a single individual—the President of the United States—to determine when occasion shall require the employment of force against a State, and so invests him with the arbitrary power of initiating civil war. To carry out the suggestion of his understanding, (it may be the impulse of his resentment or the dictate of his ambition,) the bill authorizes the President to grasp all the naval and military resources of the country—the militia as well as the regular service—millions of men—and to hurl them in fatal attack upon a member of this Confederacy."

Mr. Curtis, of Iowa, continued the debate, and in reply to the previous speaker said: "To say that we have not the constitutional power to protect ourselves is an absurdity; and to say that we are going to revolutionize ourselves, is to say that we are going to commit suicide, and conclude our career as a *felo de se*. Can it be possible, does anybody suppose, that the Federal Government designs to create revolution; that it designs to promote civil war; that it de-

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signs to destroy itself? Does anybody really suppose a nation would be guilty of the folly of raising soldiers for the purpose of desolating and destroying its own fair proportions? Is there any President, any prince, any potentate, that would, with purpose and power, seek to destroy his own power? And will our Government, our republican Government, disregard this fundamental principle of self-preservation?"

On the motion to postpone the further consideration of the bill to a future day, Mr. Bouligny, of Louisiana, when the vote was taken, said: "With all due respect to the gentleman who introduced this bill, I must say—and it is my duty to say—that it is the most infamous and outrageous bill that has ever been presented to Congress; and I say, shame on the head of the man who did it. I vote 'aye.'"

The following resolution, censuring the Secretary of the Navy, was reported to the House by Mr. Dawes:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Navy, in accepting without delay or inquiry the resignations of officers of the navy who were in arms against the Government when tendering the same, and of those who sought to resign that they might be relieved from the restraint imposed upon them by their commissions on engaging in hostility to the constituted authorities of the nation, has committed a grave error, highly prejudicial to the discipline of the service and injurious to the honor and efficiency of the navy; for which he deserves the censure of this House.

On taking the question, it was adopted. Ayes, 95; noes, 62.

Subsequently, the report of the Committee of Thirty-three was taken up for final action. The vote was first taken on the following proposition of Mr. Burch, of California:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That it be, and is hereby, recommended to the several States of the Union, that they, through their respective Legislatures, request the Congress of the United States to call a convention of all the States, in accordance with article fifth of the Constitution, for the purpose of amending said Constitution, in such manner and with regard to such subjects as will more adequately respond to the wants, and afford more sufficient guarantees to the diversified and growing interests of the Government, and of the people composing the same.

This proposition was rejected by a vote of 74 to 108.

A motion was then made to lay the whole subject on the table, which was lost. Ayes, 14; noes, 179.

A vote was next taken on the following proposition of Mr. Kellogg, of Illinois:

Strike out all after the word "that," and insert:

The following articles be, and are hereby, proposed and submitted as amendments to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of said Constitution, when ratified by Conventions of three-fourths of the several States.

ART. 13. That in all the territory now held by the United States situate north of latitude 36° 30′ involuntary servitude, except in the punishment for crime, is prohibited while such territory shall remain under a territorial government; that in all the territory now held south of said line, neither Congress nor any Territorial Legislature shall hinder or prevent the emigration to said territory of persons held to service from any State of this Union, when that relation exists by virtue of any law or usage of such State, while it shall remain in a territorial condition; and when any territory north or south of said line, within such boundaries as Congress may prescribe, shall contain the population requisite for a member of Congress, according to the then Federal ratio of representation of the people of the United States, it may, if its form of government be republican, be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, with or without the relation of persons held to service and labor, as the constitution of such new State may provide.

ART. 14. That nothing in the Constitution of the United States, or any amendment thereto, shall be so construed as to authorize any department of the Government to in any manner interfere with the relation of persons held to service in any State where that relation exists, nor in any manner to establish or sustain that relation in any State where it is prohibited by the laws or constitution of such State. And that this article shall not be altered or amended without the consent of every State in the Union.

ART. 15. The third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution shall be taken and construed to authorize and empower Congress to pass laws necessary to secure the return of persons held to service or labor under the laws of any State, who may have escaped therefrom, to the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

ART. 16. The migration or importation of persons held to service or involuntary servitude, into any State, territory, or place within the United States, from any place or country beyond the limits of the United States or territories thereof, is forever prohibited.

ART. 17. No territory beyond the present limits of the United States and the territories thereof, shall be annexed to or be acquired by the United States, unless by treaty, which treaty shall be ratified by a vote of two-thirds of the Senate.

This proposition was rejected. Ayes, 33; noes, 158.

The vote of the House was next taken on the following proposition, submitted by Mr. Clemens, of Virginia:

Joint Resolution.

Whereas the Union is in danger; and owing to the unhappy divisions existing in Congress, it would be difficult, if not impossible, for that body to concur, in both its branches, by the requisite majority, so as to enable it either to adopt such measures of legislation, or to recommend to the States such amendments to the Constitution, as are deemed necessary and proper to avert that danger; and whereas, in so great an emergency, the opinion and judgment of the people ought to be heard, and would be the best and surest guide to their Representatives: Therefore,

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That provision ought to be made by law, without delay, for taking the sense of the people, and submitting to their vote the following resolutions as the basis for the final and permanent settlement of those disputes that now disturb the peace of the country and threaten the existence of the Union.

Joint Resolutions proposing certain amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

Whereas serious and alarming dissensions have arisen between the Northern and Southern States, concerning the rights and security of the rights of the slaveholding States, and especially their right in the common territory of the United States; and whereas it is eminently desirable and proper that those dissensions, which now threaten the very existence of this

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Union, should be permanently quieted and settled by constitutional provisions which shall do equal justice to all sections, and thereby restore to the people that peace and good will which ought to prevail between all the citizens of the United States: Therefore,

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, (two-thirds of both Houses concurring,) That the following articles be, and are hereby, proposed and submitted as amendments to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of said Constitution, when ratified by conventions of three-fourths of the several States.

ART. 1. In all the territory of the United States now held or hereafter acquired, situate north of the southern boundary of Kansas and the northern boundary of New Mexico, slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, is prohibited, while such territory shall remain under territorial government. In all the territory south of said line now held or hereafter acquired, slavery of the African race is hereby recognized as existing, and shall not be interfered with by Congress; but shall be protected as property by all the departments of the territorial government during its continuance; and when any territory, north or south of said line, within such boundaries as Congress may prescribe, shall contain the population requisite for a member of Congress, according to the then Federal ratio of representation of the people of the United States, it shall, if its form of government be republican, be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, with or without slavery, as the constitution of such new State may provide.

ART. 2. Congress shall have no power to abolish slavery in places under its exclusive jurisdiction, and situate within the limits of States that permit the holding of slaves.

ART. 3. Congress shall have no power to abolish slavery within the District of Columbia so long as it exists in the adjoining States of Virginia and Maryland, or either, nor without the consent of the inhabitants, nor without just compensation first made to such owners of slaves as do not consent to such abolishment. Nor shall Congress at any time prohibit officers of the Federal Government, or members of Congress, whose duties require them to be in said district, from bringing with them their slaves, and holding them as such, during the time their duties may require them to remain there, and afterwards taking them from the district.

ART. 4. Congress shall have no power to prohibit, or hinder the transportation of slaves from one State to another, or to a territory in which slaves are by law permitted to be held, whether that transportation be by land, navigable rivers, or by the sea.

ART. 5. That, in addition to the provisions of the third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States, Congress shall have power to provide by law, and it shall be its duty so to provide, that the United States shall pay to the owner who shall apply for it, the full value of his fugitive slave, in all cases, when the marshal, or other officer, whose duty it was to arrest said fugitive, was prevented from so doing by violence or intimidation, or when, after arrest, said fugitive was rescued by force, and the owner thereby prevented and obstructed in the pursuit of his remedy for the recovery of his fugitive slave, under the said clause of the Constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof. And in all cases, when the United States shall pay for such fugitive, they shall have the power to reimburse themselves by imposing and collecting a tax on the county or city in which said violence, intimidation, or rescue was committed, equal in amount to the sum paid by them, with the addition of interest and the costs of collection; and the said county or city, after it has paid said amount to the United States, may, for its indemnity, sue and recover from the wrong-doers or rescuers, by whom the owner was prevented from the recovery of his fugitive slave, in like manner as the owner himself might have sued and recovered.

ART. 6. No future amendment of the Constitution shall affect the five preceding articles, nor the third paragraph of the second section of the first article of the Constitution, nor the third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article of said Constitution; and no amendment shall be made to the Constitution which will authorize or give to Congress any power to abolish or interfere with slavery in any of the States by whose laws it is or may be allowed or permitted.

ART. 7. SEC. 1. The elective franchise and the right to hold office, whether Federal, State, territorial, or municipal, shall not be exercised by persons who are, in whole or in part, of the African race.

SEC. 2. The United States shall have power to acquire, from time to time, districts of country in Africa and South America, for the colonization, at the expense of the Federal Treasury, of such free negroes and mulattoes as the several States may wish to have removed from their limits, and from the District of Columbia, and such other places as may be under the jurisdiction of Congress.

And whereas also, besides those causes of dissension embraced in the foregoing amendments proposed to the Constitution of the United States, there are others which come within the jurisdiction of Congress, and may be remedied by its legislative power; and whereas it is the desire of Congress, as far as its power will extend, to remove all just cause for the popular discontent and agitation which now disturb the peace of the country and threaten the stability of its institutions: Therefore,

1. *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the laws now in force for the recovery of fugitive slaves are in strict pursuance to the plan and mandatory provisions of the Constitution, and have been sanctioned as valid and constitutional by the judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States; that the slaveholding States are entitled to the faithful observance and execution of those laws, and that they ought not to be repealed, or so modified or changed as to impair their efficiency; and that laws ought to be made for the punishment of those who attempt, by rescue of the slave, or other illegal means, to hinder or defeat the due execution of said laws.

2. That all State laws which conflict with the fugitive slave acts, or any other constitutional acts of Congress, or which, in their operation, impede, hinder, or delay the free course and due execution of any of said acts, are null and void by the plain provisions of the Constitution of the United States. Yet those State laws, void as they are, have given color to practices, and led to consequences which have obstructed the due administration and execution of acts of Congress, and especially the acts for the delivery of fugitive slaves, and have thereby contributed much to the discord and commotion now prevailing. Congress, therefore, in the present perilous juncture, does not deem it improper, respectfully and earnestly, to recommend the repeal of those laws to the several States which have enacted them, or such legislative corrections or explanations of them as may prevent their being used or perverted to such mischievous purposes.

3. That the act of the 18th of September, 1850, commonly called the Fugitive Slave Law, ought to be so amended as to make the fee of the commissioner, mentioned in the eighth section of the act, equal in amount, in the cases decided by him, whether his decision be in favor of, or against the claimant. And to avoid misconstruction, the last clause of the fifth section of said act, which authorizes the person holding a warrant for the arrest or detention of a fugitive slave, to summon to his aid the *posse comitatus*, and which declares it to be the duty of all good citizens to assist him in its execution, ought to be so amended as to expressly limit the authority and duty to cases in which there shall be resistance, or danger of resistance or rescue.

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4. That the laws for the suppression of the African slave trade, and especially those prohibiting the importation of slaves into the United States, ought to be made effectual, and ought to be thoroughly executed, and all further enactments necessary to those ends ought to be promptly made.

This proposition was rejected. Ayes, 80; noes, 113.

The first series of resolutions reported by the Committee of Thirty-three were next put to vote. They were as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all attempts on the parts of the Legislatures of any of the States to obstruct or hinder the recovery and surrender of fugitives from service or labor, are in derogation of the Constitution of the United States, inconsistent with the comity and good neighborhood that should prevail among the several States, and dangerous to the peace of the Union.

Resolved, That the several States be respectfully requested to cause their statutes to be revised, with a view to ascertain if any of them are in conflict with or tend to embarrass or hinder the execution of the laws of the United States, made in pursuance of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States for the delivering up of persons held to labor by the laws of any State and escaping therefrom; and the Senate and House of Representatives earnestly request that all enactments having such tendency be forthwith repealed, as required by a just sense of constitutional obligations, and by a due regard for the peace of the Republic; and the President of the United States is requested to communicate these resolutions to the Governors of the several States, with a request that they will lay the same before the Legislatures thereof respectively.

Resolved, That we recognize slavery as now existing in fifteen of the United States by the usages and laws of those States; and we recognize no authority, legally or otherwise, outside of a State where it so exists, to interfere with slaves or slavery in such States, in disregard of the rights of their owners or the peace of society.

Resolved, That we recognize the justice and propriety of a faithful execution of the Constitution, and laws made in pursuance thereof, on the subject of fugitive slaves, or fugitives from service or labor, and discountenance all mobs or hindrances to the execution of such laws, and that citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

Resolved, That we recognize no such conflicting elements in its composition, or sufficient cause from any source, for a dissolution of this Government; that we were not sent here to destroy, but to sustain and harmonize the institutions of the country, and to see that equal justice is done to all parts of the same; and finally, to perpetuate its existence on terms of equality and justice to all the States.

Resolved, That a faithful observance, on the part of all the States, of all their constitutional obligations to each other and to the Federal Government, is essential to the peace of the country.

Resolved, That it is the duty of the Federal Government to enforce the Federal laws, protect the Federal property, and preserve the Union of these States.

Resolved, That each State be requested to revise its statutes, and, if necessary, so to amend the same as to secure, without legislation by Congress, to citizens of other States travelling therein, the same protection as citizens of such State enjoy; and also to protect the citizens of other States travelling or sojourning therein against popular violence or illegal summary punishment, without trial in due form of law, for imputed crimes.

Resolved, That each State be also respectfully requested to enact such laws as will prevent and punish any attempt whatever in such State to recognize or set on foot the lawless invasion of any other State or territory.

Resolved, That the President be requested to transmit copies of the foregoing resolutions to the Governors of the several States, with a request that they be communicated to their respective Legislatures.

These resolutions were passed. Ayes, 136; noes, 53.

The next proposition was the report of the committee for an amendment of the Constitution, as follows:

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, (two-thirds of both Houses concurring,) That the following article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as a part of the said Constitution, namely:

ART. 12. No amendment shall be made to the Constitution which will authorize or give to Congress the power to abolish or interfere, within any State, with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or service by the laws of said State.

This proposition failed to receive a two-thirds vote, and was therefore rejected. Ayes, 123; noes, 71.

The vote was subsequently reconsidered, and the resolution was then passed by the constitutional majority. Ayes, 133; noes, 65.

The bill granting to fugitives from labor a trial by jury in certain cases, was then passed.

The next proposition of the committee relative to fugitives from justice was rejected.

In the Senate a bill was introduced which provided that whenever, in the opinion of the Postmaster-General, the postal service cannot be safely continued, or the post-office revenues collected, or the postal laws maintained, or the contents of the mails preserved inviolate till delivered to the proper address, or any post route, by reason of any insurrection or resistance to the laws of the United States, he may discontinue the postal service on such route, or any part thereof, and any post-offices thereon, till the same can be safely restored, and he shall report his action to Congress.

Mr. Douglas, of Illinois, said: "It strikes me it is rather a peace measure than otherwise."

Mr. Wade, of Ohio, said: "I hope that this simple bill, that has been said to be a peaceful measure, which contemplates nothing but peace, will be suffered to pass without involving any of the controverted subjects that undoubtedly will come up better on some other occasion. I am anxious to get it through without any unnecessary delay. We have no time to debate."

Mr. Green, of Missouri, replied: "I am not certain but that the substitute proposed by the Senator from Texas will accomplish all that I desire. It is useless for us to try to deceive each other, and blink a question which underlies the whole proceeding. There is no insurrection in this Union; there is no obstruction to the passage of the mails within this Union;

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but this is an indirect attempt to strike at States which claim to have seceded from the Union. That is the sole purpose of it; and why, therefore, shall we undertake to employ terms to deceive the public and mislead honorable citizens, with reference to the real purposes that we have in view?"

Mr. Mason, of Virginia, opposed the bill, saying: "Mr. President, if the bill passes the Senate in this form, it will be as the deliberate sense of Congress that there is no independent government consisting of States that formerly belonged to this Government; that there is no such thing as a new empire under the title which they have recently assumed; that there is no part of that which once constituted the United States that is no longer a part of the United States. It assumes that the Federal Government is just as potential within the limits of those States as it was twelve months ago. It assumes that the whole machinery of this Government is in operation within the limits of those States now, and competent to execute and to enforce the laws. It assumes, in other words, as facts upon which legislation is to rest, those which have no existence but in the chimerical brain of the visionary. Sir, there are no Federal laws—I mean laws of the United States—now in operation in one of those States. There are no Federal officers there—not one. The Post-office Department, as I understand, occupies a very equivocal relation, adopted for the convenience of those States that have abandoned the Union; and so far, without any act disaffirming it on the part of those States—a mere temporary arrangement until some other is made; but there is no Federal law under the sanction of any power here now existing in one of those States. Yet, this bill assumes, as the existing relation between the two separate countries, that the people of one are in a state of insurrection or rebellion."

Again, he said: "When it is determined as the fixed purpose of this Government to treat these States as in insurrection and rebellion, with all the consequences that must enter, let it be done as a deliberate act, and not as a mere recital in a post-office bill; and then, God defend the right!"

Mr. Fessenden, of Maine, alluding to the opposition to the bill, replied, generally: "Sir, what is the secret of all this? The secret is found in the proposition of the Senator from Texas, [Mr. Hemphill.] Gentlemen want us to acknowledge, and to force us to an acknowledgment, on this side of the chamber, that secession is lawful and has been carried into effect. They are perfectly willing to agree to this proposition if we will acknowledge that; and gentlemen here, acting as Senators of the United States, wish to compel the Congress of the United States to make that acknowledgment before they will even pass a measure of peace, before they will even allow the President to suspend the operation and the enforcement of the laws. It seems, from their action, they would rather force the President into the use of force than pass a measure of this sort without compelling this side of the chamber and Congress to consent and assent to the idea that secession is of itself proper and constitutional, and has been carried into effect, and that we have no right to interfere. They will not let us have a measure of peace, unless we shall give up our opinions on this subject. That is simply the truth about it; and the question is, whether it is to be carried out."

Mr. Douglas later in the day thus expressed his opinion: "Sir, I must say, in all frankness, that I regard no man as friendly to this Union who is unwilling to enter upon such a system of pacification and compromise as will preserve it. In my opinion, there is a deliberate plot to break up this Union, under pretence of preserving it. In my opinion, there are as many disunionists on this floor and on the floor of the other branch of Congress, from the North as from the South, men who have reasoned themselves into the belief that it is wiser and better to drive the sections into collision, to force disunion, and to get up a war, to have bloodshed, and render reunion impossible, and then make a treaty of peace. I hope I am mistaken in this. I have too much respect for the intelligence of the Senators to believe for one moment that they hope to preserve this Union by military force. They know that the use of military force, producing collision and bloodshed, must result in a civil war between fifteen States on one side, and the remainder of the States of the Union on the other. How can you avoid that result? You must do one of two things. Either settle the difficulty amicably, or by the sword. An amicable settlement is a perpetuation of the Union. The use of the sword is war, disunion, and separation, now and forever."

Mr. Hemphill, of Texas, in opposing the bill said: "I intended to say there was but one issue in this case; and that is, whether the laws of the United States are in force in those States that have seceded, or not. There is no other issue whatever. It is impossible to evade or dodge the issue in any way. The only objection I had to the amendment of the Senator from Delaware was, that it contained the words 'till the same can be safely restored.' If that clause was stricken out, I should have no objection to the amendment; but any words or sentence, or any provision whatsoever which in any way whatever intimated that the laws of the United States were still in force in those States, I object to. They are not in force. They have no power whatever there. That is the only and sole issue in this case, as stated by the Senator from Maine [Mr. Fessenden] the other day."

Mr. Nicholson, of Tennessee, took the same view. "I concur with the Senator from Texas, that there is really but one question here; and that is, whether the laws of the United States are in force or not in the States that have seceded? I do not propose to discuss the ques-

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tion; but simply to state the reason why I cannot vote for his amendment. According to my view of the relations now subsisting between this Government and the seceding States, the laws of the United States are suspended there by act of revolution, not by act of peaceful secession; and therefore, being in a state of suspension, I think any law on the subject wholly unnecessary."

The last hours of the Thirty-sixth Congress were rapidly approaching, and the remainder of the session was chiefly devoted to making that decision which had already been anticipated. The adjournment of Congress without any action relative to the crisis of the country, had been steadily foretold. The various propositions now came up in each House for the last time.

In the Senate a communication was received from the President of the Peace Conference, (*see* PEACE CONFERENCE,) containing the final action of that body. This was referred to a committee consisting of Messrs. Crittenden, Bigler, Thomson, Seward, and Trumbull. At the next meeting of the Senate the committee reported the propositions as they came from the Peace Conference. After the report was made, Mr. Seward, of New York, rose and said:

"The honorable Senator from Illinois (Mr. Trumbull) and myself constituted a minority of the committee. We dissent from the report, and we proposed in committee to submit a substitute. The majority held that, for some reason sufficient in their estimation, we were not entitled to submit a minority report. I therefore ask leave of the Senate to introduce a joint resolution in my own name, and in which the honorable Senator from Illinois authorized me to say that he concurs with me, and which I ask unanimous consent to have read and printed; and it will be the subject of consideration at such time, hereafter, as the Senate shall choose to hear it, either in connection with the other or not."

The proposition of Mr. Seward was read, as follows:

A joint resolution concerning a national convention to propose amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

Whereas the Legislatures of the States of Kentucky, New Jersey, and Illinois, have applied to Congress to call a convention for proposing amendments to the Constitution of the United States: Therefore,

Be it resolved, &c., That the Legislatures of the other States be invited to take the subject into consideration, and to express their will on that subject to Congress, in pursuance of the fifth article of the Constitution.

Mr. Hunter, of Virginia, moved to amend the first section of the report by substituting the first section of the Crittenden proposition.

A discussion followed on the propriety of amending the recommendation of the Peace Conference, when Mr. Pugh, of Ohio, rose and said:

"I want to make an appeal to the friends of some proposition of peace. This is the last day of the session but one, and we have not made the progress of one line. We have gone into an eternal discussion about questions of order, and that, too, in defiance of the rule of the Senate. I insist that the question shall be decided without further debate."

Mr. Hunter, of Virginia, replied:

"After as careful an examination as I have been able to give this proposition from the Peace Conference since it was printed, that is to say, within the last day or two, I have come to the conclusion that it would not only make a great many more difficulties than it would remove, if it should be adopted as an amendment to the Constitution, but that it would place the South—the slaveholding States—in a far worse position than they now occupy under the present Constitution, with the Dred Scott decision as its exposition."

Mr. Crittenden followed, urging the Senate to approve of the Peace Conference proposition, and justifying his support of it in preference to his own propositions for the following reasons:

"I do not stop to inquire whether I like these resolutions better than I do those proposed by myself, or the amendments now offered by the Senator from Virginia. We are near the close of our session. I have looked upon the proceedings of this great and eminent body of men as the best evidence of public opinion outside of this body, and of the wish and will of the States they represent. I am for peace. I am for compromise. I have not an opinion on the subject of what would be best that I would not be perfectly willing to sacrifice to obtain any reasonable measure of pacification that would satisfy the majority. I want to save the country and adjust our present difficulties." [Applause.]

The Presiding Officer (Mr. Bright in the chair) called to order.

Mr. Crittenden: "That is what I want to do. That is the object I am aiming at. I attach no particular importance—I feel, at least, no selfish attachment—to any opinions I may have proclaimed on the subject heretofore. I proclaimed those opinions because I thought them right; but I am ready to sacrifice them, any and every one of them, to any more satisfactory proposition that can be offered. I look upon the resolutions proposed by this convention as furnishing us, if not the last, the best hope of an adjustment; the best hope for the safety of the people and the preservation of the Government. I will not stop to cavil about the construction of these words; but I see none of the difficulties that suggest themselves to the mind of my friend from Virginia. Look at that third section, which has been the subject of his particular criticism. Every part and portion of it is a negation of power to Congress, and nothing else; and yet he has argued as if it gave Congress power; as if it conferred more power upon Congress. It leaves to the States all the rights they now have; all the remedies

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which they now have; and consists merely in a negation of power to Congress. How can that take away the rights of the people? How can that make our condition worse? I cannot possibly see. It is nothing but a negative from beginning to end; and therefore it cannot take away any thing from the people. It may take from Congress, but cannot take away from the States, or the people, any thing. It is negative in its form and in its language, from beginning to end, that Congress shall have no power to do this, that, or the other. If they have that power under the present Constitution, it is taken away. That is all. It takes away no power from the States. It takes away no rights from individuals. Its simple office is the negation of power to Congress. That is all there is in it; and how, under that, can the gentleman find constructions which are to increase our difficulties and diminish our rights? He says the language will need construction. So does all language need construction. I do not see that this is particularly so.

"Now, sir, the Senator offers my own proposition as an amendment to this. I shall vote against my own proposition here; I shall vote for this.

"I shall vote for the amendments proposed by the convention, and there I shall stand. That is the weapon offered now, and placed in my hand, by which, as I suppose, the Union of these States may be preserved; and I will not, out of any selfish preference for my own original opinions on this subject, sacrifice one idea or one particle of that hope. I go for the country; not for this resolution or that resolution, but any resolution, any proposition, that will pacify the country. Therefore, I vote against my own to give place to a proposition which comes from an authority much higher than mine—from one hundred and thirty of the most eminent men of this country, out of which number a Senate might be selected that might well compare in point of talent and intellect and ability even with this honorable body."

In conclusion he said:

"Mr. President, I have gone perhaps a little further than I ought to have done. It is not now necessary that I should enter into a vindication of every provision of these amendments offered by the convention. It is sufficient to speak to the amendment which the gentleman has offered. Excluding territory hereafter to be acquired, I think in substance we ought to be satisfied with that; I believe that will make peace; I believe that will give substantial security to our rights, and to the rights which the Southern States claim. With that I am satisfied. It is enough for the dreadful occasion. It is the dreadful occasion that I want to get rid of. Rid me of this, rid the nation of this, and I am willing to take my chance for the future, and meet the perils of every day that may come. Now is the appointed time upon which our destiny depends. Now is the emergency and exigency upon us. Let us provide for them. Save ourselves now, and trust to posterity and that Providence which has so long and so benignly guided this nation, to keep us from the further difficulties which in our national career may be in our way."

Mr. Mason, of Virginia, followed with a careful examination of the proposition of the Peace Conference, and thus expressed his opinion:

"I should have been certainly gratified, if my honored State of Virginia had been successful in the mediation which she invited of all the States, with a view to agree upon an adjustment which would guarantee the rights of the South. I deeply deplore, and I doubt not my State will deplore, that that mediation has not been effected. So far from impugning any motives or purpose of that honorable and distinguished body, I doubt not that, in the short time that was allowed to them, they got together the best mode of adjustment which would satisfy their judgment, but which, I am sure, will not satisfy the judgment of the Southern States, but would place them in still greater peril, if they were to admit that to become a part of the Constitution. I did not intend to do more than state my objections to it as briefly as I could. I have done so temperately and without heat. I regret that I cannot, as one Senator, propose this as an amendment to the Constitution."

In the debate which still further ensued, Mr. Baker of Oregon avowed his purpose to support the proposition, and in justification of his views said:

"Mr. President, let us be just to these propositions. As a Republican, I give up something when I vote for them; but remember, sir, I am not voting for them now; I am only voting to submit them to my people; and I shall go before them, when the time comes, being governed in my opinion and advice as to whether they shall vote for them or not, as I see what Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, North Carolina, and Missouri, by their people, desire. To be frank, sir, if this proposition will suit the border States, if there will be peace and union, and loyalty and brotherhood, with this, I will vote for it at the polls with all my heart, and with all my soul; but if I see that the counsels of the Senators from Virginia shall prevail; if my noble friend from Tennessee [Mr. Johnson] shall be overwhelmed; if secession shall still grow in the public mind there; if they are determined, upon artificial causes of complaint, as I believe, still to unite their fate, their destiny, and their hope, with the extremest South, then, perceiving them to be of no avail, I shall refuse them. Therefore, at the polls at last, I shall be governed as an individual citizen by my conviction at the moment of what the ultimate result of these propositions will be; but I am not voting for that to-day. I am saying, 'People of the United States, I submit it to you; twenty States demand it; the peace of the country requires it; there is dissolution in the very atmosphere; States have gone off;

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others threaten; the Queen of England upon her throne declares to the whole world her sympathy with our unfortunate condition; foreign Governments denote that there is danger to-day that the greatest Confederation the world has ever seen is to be parted in pieces, never to be reunited.' Now, not what I wish, not what I want, not what I would have, but all that I can get, is before me. I know that I do no harm. If the people of Oregon do not like it, they can easily reject it. If the people of Pennsylvania will not have it, they can easily throw it aside. If they do not believe there is danger of dissolution, if they prefer dissolution, if they think they can compel fifteen States to remain in or come back, or if they believe they will not go out, let them reject it. I repeat again, it is their business, it is not mine.

"But, sir, whether I vote for it at the polls or not, in voting for it here it may be said that I give up some of my principles. Mr. President, we sometimes mistake our opinions for our principles. I am appealed to often; it is said to me: 'you believed in the Chicago platform.' Suppose I did. 'Well, this varies from the Chicago platform.' Suppose it does. I stand to-day, as I believe, in the presence of greater events than those which attend the making of a President. I stand, as I believe, at least, in the presence of peace and war; and if it were true that I did violate the Chicago platform, the Chicago platform is not a Constitution of the United States to me. If events, if circumstances change, I will violate it, appealing to my conscience, to my country, and to my God, to justify me according to the motive."

Mr. Green, of Missouri, emphatically opposed the Peace Conference proposition, saying:

"Now, Mr. President, I want all these propositions voted down, and I hope my friend from Kentucky will revive his propositions and bring them up again. There is some vitality in them; there is some point in them; but as for these wishy-washy resolutions, that amount to nothing, it is impossible that any Senator here will, for a moment, entertain the idea of supporting them. The Peace Conference! And the smallest peace that ever I have heard of. Let the Senator adhere to his original propositions; let the Senator bring them up and press them upon the attention of the Senate. That is as far backing down as I will go. It is a little more than I want; but still, as a last effort to save the Union, I would go that far. Talk about these measures! These measures, that have no vitality—these measures that amount to a total surrender of every principle—I never will vote for; and let the consequences of the future be what they may, I stake my faith and reputation upon the vote I intend to cast."

On the following day the debate was resumed, and Mr. Lane, of Oregon, expressed his opposition to the propositions of the Peace Conference, and gave these reasons:

"I will say only a word, now, as to the amendments proposed to the Constitution. We should never compromise principles nor sacrifice the eternal philosophy of justice. Whenever the Democratic party compromised principle, it laid the foundation of future troubles for itself and for the country. When we do, then, amend the Constitution, it ought to be in the spirit of right and justice to all men, and to all sections. I voted for the Senator's propositions, and I will do so again, if we can get a vote, because there was something in them; something that I could stand by; but there is nothing in the amendments proposed by the Peace Conference. He proposed to establish the line of 36° 30′, and to prohibit slavery north of it, and protect it south of it, in all the present territory, or of the territory to be hereafter acquired. In that proposition there was something like justice and right; but there is nothing in the amendments proposed by the Peace Conference that any man, north or south, ought to take. They are a cheat; they are a deception; they are a fraud; they hold out a false idea; and I think, with all due respect to the Senator—for I have the highest regard for him personally—that he is too anxious to heal the trouble that exists in the country. He had better place himself upon the right and stand by it. Let him contend, with me, for the inalienable and constitutional rights of every American citizen. Let him beware of 'compromising' away the vital rights, privileges, and immunities of one portion of the country to appease the graceless, unrelenting, and hostile fanaticism of another portion. Let him labor, with me, to influence every State to mind its own affairs, and to keep the territories entirely *free* to the enterprise of all, with equal security and protection—without invidious distinctions—to the property of every citizen. Thus, and only thus, can we have peace, happiness, and eternal Union."

Further debate on these propositions was then suspended to take up, on the motion of Mr. Douglas, the joint resolution of the House for the amendment of the Constitution, as follows:

Resolved, &c., That the following article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the said Constitution, namely:

ART. 13. No amendment shall be made to the Constitution which will authorize or give to Congress the power to abolish, or interfere, within any State, with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or service by the laws of said State.

Mr. Pugh, of Ohio, moved to amend by striking out the words "authorize or"; a lengthy debate followed in opposition to all amendments as sure to cause the defeat of the resolution in consequence of the adjournment of the House on the 4th of March. The amendment was finally rejected.

A motion was then made by the same Senator to amend by striking out all after the caption "Article Thirteen" and inserting the Crit-

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tenden proposition. Another lengthy debate followed, when the Senate adjourned at a late hour on Saturday night, to meet on the next evening at seven o'clock.

It was Sunday evening, at seven o'clock, on the third of March, when the Senate next assembled. The final hours of the existence of the Thirty-sixth Congress had come. The curtain was about to fall upon a national career of rising greatness and prosperity unequalled. The future was uncertain, alarming, hidden. At this unusual hour on the close of a peaceful day, the Senate came together once more to adopt or to reject those propositions which the most venerable member of their body had brought forward with the hope of allaying the irritations, of soothing the angry passions, and of satisfying the imperious demands of the conflicting sections of a great nation.

Long before the Senate met, the galleries were densely filled with spectators, and all the available space on the floor of the chamber was occupied by strangers. After this breach of decorum had been corrected by clearing the floor, and order had been restored, a prelude was offered to the business of the night by the Senator from Massachusetts, Mr. Sumner, rising and saying:

"I offer a memorial of five thousand citizens of Massachusetts, in which they call upon Congress to stand by the Constitution as it is, and the Government of the country, and to make no compromise whatever. I understand that there are memorials, signed by thirty-seven thousand persons, similar to this, but they have not yet come to hand. This is simply the forerunner of the others. I offer this now, and ask that it lie on the table."

It was so ordered.

The regular order of business was then called up, and the Senator from Kentucky, Mr. Crittenden, took the floor, saying: "I have not risen with any vain ambition or purpose to play the orator. I have no set speech to make."

[Great disturbance was now occasioned by persons endeavoring to get into the already over-crowded galleries.]

The Presiding Officer: "The Sergeant-at-Arms will be required to prevent other persons from entering the gallery doors, and see that order is maintained. It is impossible to proceed with the business in the present condition of things."

Mr. Crittenden: "The subject, Mr. President, upon which I wish to address the Senate is altogether too solemn and too interesting to the country to be made the occasion for declamation or eloquence. I do not aim at it. I am a plain man, and I wish to speak plainly what I think and what I believe on this great subject; and my wish is to do it with as much brevity as possible."

Mr. Clark: "I do not think it possible at all for the Senator to be heard."

The Presiding Officer: "It is impossible to do business with the prevailing noise."

Mr. Bragg: "I think we shall have to order the galleries to be cleared. I move that the galleries be cleared."

Some brief remarks followed, when the motion was withdrawn, and Mr. Crittenden continued—to be soon interrupted by the tumult in the galleries, and the discussions which followed relative to clearing them. Order being finally restored, he proceeded to examine all the grounds upon which a compromise was urged, with much eloquence and force. In regard to the sentiment of the people upon the proposition for a compromise, he said:

"What is the number of petitions forwarded? I suppose, if I should say we have received petitions from not less than a quarter of a million, I should be within bounds. In addition to that, societies everywhere have been petitioning in the name of their whole body. State Legislatures have memorialized, and, in fact, petitioned Congress in the name of the people of their States. I do not know how many. The chief agents of the great railroad companies, owning railroads in value to the amount of more than three hundred million dollars, traversing the country from North to South in every direction, have petitioned in favor of the adoption of these propositions of peace, and they, gentlemen of the highest standing and the highest respectability, have declared that, as far as all their travels extended along all these mighty railroads, they have found the people, with great unanimity, of the same opinion, and in favor of the adoption of these propositions."

His views were thus embraced in a few words: "My principle, and the doctrine I teach, is, take care of the Union; compromise it; do any thing for it; it is the palladium—so General Washington called it—of your rights; take care of it, and it will take care of you. Yes, sir, let us take care of the Union, and it will certainly take care of us. That is the proposition which I teach."

Mr. Trumbull, of Illinois, followed, and describing the present condition of affairs and examining the measures proposed for adjustment, he thus expressed his views: "Sir, if my friend from Kentucky would employ some of that eloquence of his which he uses in appealing to Republicans, and talking about compromise—in defence of the Constitution as it is, and in favor of maintaining the laws and the Government—we should see a very different state of things in the country. If, instead of coming forward with compromises, instead of asking guarantees, he had put the fault where it belongs; if he called upon the Government to do its duty; if, instead of blaming the North for not making concessions where there is nothing to concede, and not making compromises where there was nothing to compromise about, he had appealed to the South, which was in rebellion against the Government, and painted before them, as only he could do it, the hideousness of the crimes they were committing, and called upon them to return to their allegiance,

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and upon the Government to enforce its authority, we would have a very different state of things in this country to-day from what now exists.

"This, in my judgment, is the way to preserve the Union; and I do not expect civil war to follow from it. You have only to put the Government in a position to make itself respected, and it will command respect."

The debate was continued by Mr. Wade, of Ohio, Mr. Baker, of Oregon, Mr. Mason, of Virginia, Mr. Pugh, of Ohio, who made an interesting declaration in his remarks, thus: "The Crittenden proposition has been indorsed by the almost unanimous vote of the Legislature of Kentucky. It has been indorsed by the Legislature of the noble old Commonwealth of Virginia. It has been petitioned for by a larger number of electors of the United States than any proposition that was ever before Congress. I believe in my heart, to-day, that it would carry an overwhelming majority of the people of my State; ay, sir, and of nearly every other State in the Union. Before the Senators from the State of Mississippi left this chamber, I heard one of them who now assumes, at least, to be president of the Southern Confederacy, propose to accept it and to maintain the Union if that proposition could receive the vote it ought to receive from the other side of this chamber. Therefore, of all your propositions, of all your amendments, knowing as I do, and knowing that the historian will write it down, at any time before the 1st of January, a two-thirds vote for the Crittenden resolutions in this chamber would have saved every State in the Union but South Carolina. Georgia would be here by her representatives, and Louisiana also—those two great States, which, at least, would have broken the whole column of secession. Yet, sir, it has been staved off—staved off for your futile railroad bill; and where is it to-night? Staved off by your tariff bill; staved off by your pension bill."

Mr. Douglas, of Illinois, observed in relation to this statement of Mr. Pugh, that it was true. He thus expressed himself: "The Senator has said that if the Crittenden proposition could have been passed early in the session, it would have saved all the States, except South Carolina. I firmly believe it would. While the Crittenden proposition was not in accordance with my cherished views, I avowed my readiness and eagerness to accept it, in order to save the Union, if we could unite upon it. No man has labored harder than I have to get it passed. I can confirm the Senator's declaration, that Senator Davis himself, when on the Committee of Thirteen, was ready, at all times, to compromise on the Crittenden proposition. I will go further, and say that Mr. Toombs was also."

The motion to substitute the Crittenden resolutions in the House joint resolution was rejected. Ayes, 14; noes, 25.

The next amendment was offered by Mr. Bingham, of Michigan, as follows:

Resolved, That the provisions of the Constitution are ample for the preservation of the Union, and the protection of all the material interests of the country; that it needs to be obeyed rather than amended; and that an extrication from our present danger is to be looked for in strenuous efforts to preserve the peace, protect the public property, and enforce the laws, rather than in new guarantees for particular interests, compromises for particular difficulties, or concessions to unreasonable demands.

Resolved, That all attempts to dissolve the present Union, or overthrow or abandon the present Constitution, with the hope or expectation of constructing a new one, are dangerous, illusory, and destructive; that in the opinion of the Senate of the United States no such reconstruction is practicable; and therefore, to the maintenance of the existing Union and Constitution should be directed all the energies of all the departments of the Government, and the efforts of all good citizens.

This was also rejected. Ayes, 13; noes, 25.

Mr. Grimes, of Iowa, now moved the report of the minority of the Senate Committee, which was embraced in the following resolution:

Whereas the Legislatures of the States of Kentucky, New Jersey, and Illinois have applied to Congress to call a convention for proposing amendments to the Constitution of the United States: Therefore,

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Legislatures of the other States be invited to take the subject of such a convention into consideration, and to express their will on that subject to Congress, in pursuance of the fifth article of the Constitution.

This was rejected. Ayes, 14; noes, 25.

The propositions submitted by the Peace Conference were then offered as an amendment by Mr. Johnson, of Arkansas, and rejected. Ayes, 3; noes, 34.

The question was then taken on the resolution from the House—ayes 24, noes 12—which the presiding officer decided to be a two-thirds vote.

After a vote on several motions for amendment, the question was finally taken on the joint resolutions of Mr. Crittenden, which were rejected. Ayes, 19; noes, 20.

At a very late hour the Senate took a recess until 10 o'clock A. M., March 4th.

The regular session of Congress was closed at the usual hour by the adjournment of both Houses. Of all the acts and resolutions passed during the session, only two very brief ones appear to have arisen out of, or to refer to, the existing or threatening difficulties of the country. One provides for the suspension of the postal service, and is in these words:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That whenever, in the opinion of the Postmaster-General, the postal service cannot be safely continued, or the Post-office revenues collected, or the postal laws maintained, on any post route, by reason of any cause whatsoever, the Postmaster-General is hereby authorized to discontinue the postal service on such route, or any part thereof, and any post-offices thereon, till the same can be safely restored, and shall report his action to Congress.

APPROVED, February 28, 1861.

The other was a joint resolution for an amendment of the Constitution. (*See* pp. 222.)

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A more conclusive proof of a determination somewhere to prevent every settlement of difficulties by any concession on the part of the North could not be furnished.

The inauguration of Mr. Lincoln took place at 12 o'clock on the 4th of March. Previous to the delivery of his address (*see* PUBLIC DOCUMENTS) a new Senate, composed of members for the Thirty-seventh Congress, were convened and organized for a session of some days.

On the motion to print the usual number of the Inaugural, a debate commenced on the topic whether it was in favor of peace or war.

Mr. Clingman, of North Carolina, commenced the debate by saying: "I have no objection to printing the Inaugural, as a matter of course; but I must say, that I do not wish to be understood, for one Senator, in assenting to the printing of it, as indorsing its positions at all. If I understand it aright, all that is direct in it, I mean at least, that purpose which seems to stand out clearly and directly, is one which I think must lead to war—war against the confederate or seceding States; and, as I think that policy will be very unwise for the United States, I must say frankly to gentlemen on the other side that I do not see, if we adopt the principles of the Inaugural, how that is to be avoided."

Mr. Douglas, of Illinois, replied: "I understand it to contain a distinct pledge that the policy of the Administration shall be conducted with exclusive reference to a peaceful solution of our national difficulties."

An extended debate followed entirely on the part of Senators in opposition to the Administration. It was suspended to consider the following resolution offered by Mr. Foster, of Connecticut:

Whereas Hon. L. T. Wigfall, now a Senator of the United States from the State of Texas, has declared in debate that he is a foreigner; that he owes no allegiance to this Government; but that he belongs to, and owes allegiance to, another and foreign State and Government: Therefore,

Resolved, That the said L. T. Wigfall be, and he hereby is, expelled from this body.

An amendment was moved by Mr. Clingman, of North Carolina, in these words:

It is understood that the State of Texas has seceded from the Union, and is no longer one of the United States: Therefore,

Resolved, That she is not entitled to be represented in this body.

A brief debate ensued, which was suspended on the introduction of other topics, and afterwards continued, fruitless in results, until nearly the close of the month, when the Senate finally adjourned.

The general character of the legislation of this session of Congress may be stated in a few words. No act was passed increasing or strengthening the military power of the Government. The bills having that object in view, designated "force bills," failed. The appropriations were only of such an amount as were necessary for the successful administration of the Government for the year. The loans authorized were small, one of twenty-five millions and another of ten millions, and designed only to obviate temporary emergencies. Whatever increase was authorized in the navy was no more than might be regarded as necessary to maintain its reputation and efficiency. The troubles of the country, which were referred to this Congress by President Buchanan, received no solution at their hands. They were left as they were found. The olive branch was not offered, nor was the sword loosed from the sheath. A revenue law affording uncommon protection to manufactures was enacted. This was proposed not for the purpose of husbanding the resources of the country in anticipation of approaching strife, but chiefly as a party measure, and to secure an increase of prosperity to this great national interest. It has proved to be the wisest measure adopted during the session. It immediately checked the importation of foreign manufactures, secured the reduction of the debt of the country to other nations, caused a large importation of specie in payment of exports, and thereby enabled the citizens to advance loans to the Government in its most pressing hour.

EXTRA SESSION.

On the 4th of July, 1861, the first or extra session of the Thirty-seventh Congress* convened at Washington, in compliance with a proclamation of President Lincoln issued on April 15th. (*See* UNITED STATES.)

* The following is a list of the members of both Houses:

SENATE.

California.—Milton S. Latham and Jos. A. MacDougall
Connecticut.—James Dixon and Lafayette S. Foster.
Delaware.—James A. Bayard and Willard Saulsbury.
Illinois.—Orville H. Browning and Lyman Trumbull.
Indiana.—Jesse D. Bright and Henry S. Lane.
Iowa.—James W. Grimes and James Harlan.
Kansas.—James H. Lane and Samuel C. Pomeroy.
Kentucky.—Lazarus W. Powell and Garret Davis.
Maine.—Lot M. Morrill and William Pitt Fessenden.
Massachusetts.—Charles Sumner and Henry Wilson.
Maryland.—Anthony Kennedy and James A. Pearce.
Michigan.—Zachariah Chandler and Jacob M. Howard.
Minnesota.—Henry M. Rice and Morton S. Wilkinson.
Missouri.—Trusten Polk and W. P. Johnson.
New Hampshire.—John P. Hale and Daniel Clark.
New York.—Preston King and Ira Harris.
New Jersey.—John R. Thomson and John C. Ten Eyck.
Ohio.—Benjamin F. Wade and John Sherman.
Oregon.—E. D. Baker and George W. Nesmith.
Pennsylvania.—David Wilmot and Edgar Cowan.
Rhode Island.—Jas. F. Simmons and Henry B. Anthony.
Tennessee.—Andrew Johnson.
Vermont.—Solomon Foote and Jacob Collamer.
Virginia.—Waitman T. Willey and James S. Carlile.
Wisconsin.—James R. Doolittle and Timothy O. Howe.

HOUSE.

California.—Aaron A. Sargent, T. G. Phelps.
Connecticut.—Dwight Loomis, James E. English, Alfred A. Burnham, George C. Woodruff.
Delaware.—George P. Fisher.
Illinois.—Elihu B. Washburne, Isaac N. Arnold, Owen Lovejoy, William Kellogg, William A. Richardson, James C. Robinson, Philip B. Fouke, John A. Logan.
Indiana.—John Law, James A. Cravens, William McKee Dunn, William S. Holman, George W. Julian, Albert G. Porter, Daniel W. Voorhees, Albert S. White, Schuyler Colfax, William Mitchell, John P. C. Shanks.

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The Vice-President, Hannibal Hamlin, called the Senate to order.

In the House of Representatives Galusha A. Grow was elected Speaker. He received 99 votes of 159, the whole number cast.

The political complexion of the Senate when all the non-seceding States were represented, was—Republicans, 31; Democrats, 11; Unionists, 5; vacancy, 1. That of the House was—Republicans, 106; Democrats, 42; Unionists, 28; vacancies, 2.

When the oath was administered to the members of the House, Mr. Burnett, of Kentucky, moved the following resolution:

Resolved, That the question of the right of Charles H. Upton, William G. Brown, R. V. Whaley, John S. Carlisle, and E. H. Pendleton, to seats upon this floor, be referred to the Committee of Elections, when formed, and that they report to this House thereon.

Iowa.—James F. Wilson, William Vandever.
Kansas.—Martin F. Conway.
Kentucky.—James S. Jackson, Henry Grider, Aaron Harding, Charles A. Wickliffe, George W. Dunlap, Robert Mallory, John J. Crittenden, William H. Wadsworth, John W. Menzies.
Maine.—John N. Goodwin, Charles W. Walton, Samuel C. Fessenden, Anson P. Morrill, John H. Rice, Frederick A. Pike.
Maryland.—John W. Chrisfield, Edwin H. Webster, Cornelius L. L. Leary, Henry May, Francis Thomas, Charles B. Calvert.
Massachusetts.—Thomas D. Eliot, James Buffinton, Benjamin F. Thomas, Alexander H. Rice, Samuel Hooper, John B. Alley, Daniel W. Gooch, Charles R. Train, Goldsmith F. Bailey, Charles Delano, Henry L. Dawes.
Michigan.—Bradley F. Granger, Fernando C. Beaman, Francis W. Kellogg, Rowland E. Trowbridge.
Minnesota.—Cyrus Aldrich, William Windom.
Missouri.—Francis P. Blair, jr., James S. Rollins, William A. Hall, Elijah F. Norton, Thomas L. Price, John S. Phelps, John W. Noell.
New Hampshire.—Gilman Marston, Edward H. Rollins, Thomas M. Edwards.
New Jersey.—John T. Nixon, John L. N. Stratton, William G. Steele, George T. Cobb, Nehemiah Perry.
New York.—Edward H. Smith, Moses F. Odell, Benjamin Wood, James E. Kerrigan, William Wall, Frederick A. Conkling, Elijah Ward, Isaac C. Delapalne, Edward Haight, Charles H. Van Wyck, John B. Steele, Stephen Baker, Abraham B. Olin, Erastus Corning, James B. McKean, William A. Wheeler, Socrates N. Sherman, Chauncey Vibbard, Richard Franchot, Roscoe Conkling, R. Holland Duell, William E. Lansing, Ambrose W. Clark, Charles B. Sedgwick, Theodore M. Pomeroy, Jacob P. Chamberlin, Alexander S. Diven, Robert B. Van Volkenburg, Alfred Ely, Augustus Frank, Burt Van Horn, Elbridge G. Spaulding, Reuben E. Fenton.
Ohio.—George H. Pendleton, John A. Gurley, Clement L. Vallandigham, William Allen, James M. Ashley, Chilton A. White, Richard A. Harrison, Samuel Shellabarger, Warren P. Noble, Carey A. Trimble, Valentine B. Horton, Samuel S. Cox, Samuel T. Worcester, Harrison G. Blake, Robert H. Nugen, William P. Cutter, James R. Morris, Sidney Edgerton, Albert G. Riddle, John Hutchins, John A. Bingham.
Oregon.—George K. Shiel.
Pennsylvania.—William E. Lehman, Charles J. Biddle, John P. Verree, William D. Kelley, William Morris Davis, John Hickman, Thomas B. Cooper, Sydenham E. Ancona, Thaddeus Stevens, John W. Killinger, James H. Campbell, Hendrick B. Wright, Philip Johnson, Galusha A. Grow, James T. Hale, Joseph Bailey, Edward McPherson, Samuel S. Blair, John Covode, Jesse Lazear, James K. Moorhead, Robert McKnight, John W. Wallace, John Patton, Elijah Babbitt.
Rhode Island.—George H. Browne, William P. Sheffield.
Tennessee.—Horace Maynard.
Vermont.—Ezekiel P. Walton, Justin S. Morrill, Portus Baxter.
Virginia.—Charles H. Upton, Edmund Pendleton, Wm. G. Brown, Jacob B. Blair, Kellian V. Whaley.
Wisconsin.—John F. Potter, Luther Hanchett, A. Scott Sloan.
Colorado.—Hiram P. Bennett.
Dakota.—John B. S. Todd.
Nebraska.—Samuel G. Daily.
Nevada.—John C. Cradlebaugh.
New Mexico.—John S. Watts.
Utah.—John M. Bernhisel.
Washington.—James H. Wallace.

On making this motion he said it was not his purpose to offer any factious opposition to the action of the House, but the State Convention repealed the law ordering an election of members of Congress on the 23d of May. That was the day upon which these persons claimed to be elected. "If Virginia still be in the Union, as is contended by many, then, sir, Virginia is sovereign, and she has the right to prescribe the mode, manner, and time of holding her election for members upon this floor. If the reverse of that proposition be true, then she has no right to be represented here."

Mr. Carlile, of Western Virginia, in reply, said, "that he was elected by nearly a unanimous vote, and the only question that could be raised in his case was: had the convention of Virginia—itself convened by a law enacted by the Legislature, and restricted in its action by that law—had that powerless body the right to annul a solemn act of the Legislature of the State? For, the law convening the convention expressly declared upon its face that no act of that body changing the federal relations of the State, or affecting the organic law of the State, should have any validity until such act of the convention had been referred to the people and ratified by them at the polls."

He further said: "I maintain, and those I represent upon this floor maintain, that we have as much right and as high an interest in the government of the Union as we have in that of our own State. I contend that both proceed from the same sovereign power of the people, and that while the State can change its own organic law, it cannot change its relations to the Federal Union without the consent of those who with the people of that State form the Union."

The whole subject was laid on the table, and the members whose seats were not contested were sworn in.

The Message was communicated to both Houses on the 5th. (*See* PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.)

On the same day, in the Senate, Mr. Chandler, of Michigan, gave notice of his intention to offer a bill to confiscate the property of all Governors of States, members of Legislatures, judges of courts, and all military officers above the rank of lieutenant, who shall take up arms against the Government of the United States, or aid or abet treason against the Government of the United States, and that the said individuals shall be forever disqualified from holding any office of honor, emolument, or trust, under this Government; the property thus confiscated to be used in restoring to the Union men of the rebel States any losses which may have resulted to them in consequence of the present rebellion.

In the House, on the 8th, Mr. Loomis, of Connecticut, offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

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Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be, and they are hereby, instructed to prepare and report to this House a bill for a public act to confiscate the property of all persons holding any office whatsoever, either civil or military, under the government of any State of the United States or the so-called Confederate States of America, who have taken up arms, or shall hereafter take up arms, against the Government of the United States.

On the next day Mr. Lovejoy, of Illinois, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That, in the judgment of this House, it is no part of the duty of the soldiers of the United States to capture and return fugitive slaves.

It was objected to as being out of order, and not a part of the business to which the extra session was confined. This was overruled by the Speaker, and the resolution adopted. Ayes, 93; noes, 55.

In the Senate, on the 10th, the following joint resolution was offered to approve and confirm the acts of the President previous to the commencement of the session:

Whereas, since the adjournment of Congress, on the 4th day of March last, a formidable insurrection in certain States of this Union has arrayed itself in armed hostility to the Government of the United States, constitutionally administered; and whereas the President of the United States did, under the extraordinary exigencies thus presented, exercise certain powers and adopt certain measures for the preservation of this Government—that is to say: First. He did, on the 15th day of April last, issue his proclamation calling upon the several States for seventy-five thousand men to suppress such insurrectionary combinations, and to cause the laws to be faithfully executed. Secondly. He did, on the 19th day of April last, issue a proclamation setting on foot a blockade of the ports within the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. Thirdly. He did, on the 27th day of April last, issue a proclamation establishing a blockade of the ports within the States of Virginia and North Carolina. Fourthly. He did, by order of the 27th day of April last, addressed to the commanding general of the army of the United States, authorize that officer to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* at any point on or in the vicinity of any military line between the city of Philadelphia and the city of Washington. Fifthly. He did, on the 3d day of May last, issue a proclamation calling into the service of the United States forty-two thousand and thirty-four volunteers, increasing the regular army by the addition of twenty-two thousand seven hundred and fourteen men, and the navy by an addition of eighteen thousand seamen. Sixthly. He did, on the 10th day of May last, issue a proclamation authorizing the commander of the forces of the United States on the coast of Florida to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*, if necessary. All of which proclamations and orders have been submitted to this Congress. Now, therefore,

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all of the extraordinary acts, proclamations, and orders, hereinbefore mentioned, be, and the same are hereby, approved and declared to be in all respects legal and valid, to the same intent, and with the same effect, as if they had been issued and done under the previous express authority and direction of the Congress of the United States.

Mr. King, of New York, offered the following amendment:

Provided, That within six months after the constitutional authority of the United States Government shall be re-established, and organized resistance to such authority shall no longer exist, the standing army shall be reduced in its organization to the footing in rank and numbers authorized by law on the 1st day of July, 1861.

Mr. Latham, of California, said: "So far as the exigencies of the country were concerned, making it necessary to order out the military, he believed that the volunteer force of the country would have been sufficient and ample for such exigencies. So far as the proclamation suspending the writ of *habeas corpus* between the city of Philadelphia and Washington city is concerned, he had as yet heard no reason for that extraordinary measure. He was not prepared to indorse blindfold every thing the Government might do."

Mr. Hale, from New Hampshire, hoped the amendment would be adopted. "There was no single feature of the great movement that had taken place in the loyal States that had given him greater and more unalloyed satisfaction than the generous rallying of the people, with blood and treasure, at a moment's call; demonstrating the great truth upon which every republican Government must rest now and forever, that there was no great necessity for standing armies here."

Mr. Kennedy, of Maryland, said: "While I am prepared to sustain the Administration in all just and constitutional measures for the maintenance of the Union and for the restoration of peace, I cannot go quite so far as to indorse all the propositions laid down in this joint resolution. I allude especially to the fourth proposition in regard to the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* in the State of Maryland. As one of the Representatives of that State, I desire to say in all sincerity to the Senate that, to-day, I am not informed of the reasons upon which this writ has been suspended in any particular case in the State of Maryland. In my judgment, there was no immediate necessity for it. The State of Maryland is to-day, and was before the military occupation of that State, entirely within the control of the civil authorities of the State. We are here to-day with a representation in Congress for the maintenance of the Union and the preservation of peace, elected by a larger majority than has ever been given heretofore in that State. Six Representatives in the other House have been elected by a vote very nearly approaching to twenty thousand majority out of seventy thousand votes cast. The Executive of that State, holding the power of the State entirely in his hands, was fully able at all times to suppress any insurrectionary movement without the aid of the military power of the Government; and yet all this was done without his ever being called upon. I now say to the Senate and the country, in entering my protest against the action of the Executive of the nation in that particular point, that I conceive it to have been without any necessity whatever, and without the warrant of law itself. If we are to maintain the Government intact; if we are to maintain the principles of the Govern-

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ment which has carried us so far on the highway of greatness and of national renown, we must take care not to violate the Constitution when we claim to maintain the Constitution and to enforce the laws. In enforcing the laws we must have a scrupulous regard to the maintenance of the Constitution in all its parts."

Mr. Wilson, of Massachusetts, continued the discussion by saying, "that everybody knows that these acts of the Administration were forced upon it by the condition of the country. The Administration felt that it must exercise all the powers within the Constitution to save the Union. The legislation of the country had not provided the necessary means, and the President took the responsibility, and in doing it he was then sustained by the voice of the loyal portion of the country; and he was sorry now, when those acts had saved the capital and the Government, that there should be any doubt or any hesitation in legalizing by their votes the action of the Government of the country, extorted from it in an emergency."

Mr. King, of New York, said: "My opinion has constantly been, that everywhere, as fast as insurrection assembled, it should be reached, and dispersed as rapidly as it could be; and that the idea of conciliation to men in arms against the country should be entertained with great care and deliberation. If there was on any side of a straight line a doubt in reference to what was wisest and best, I would concede and it is clearly my opinion that forbearance would be the side to err upon; for, bad as these men are behaving, they are our countrymen. I would therefore prefer to forbear more than I should to be severe; but my judgment is, that mercy to them, as well as to the whole country, will be best promoted by vigorous and efficient measures against them."

Mr. Lane, of Indiana, regarded the proclamation of the President of the United States for the organization of eleven additional regiments to the regular army as contemplating a permanent addition to the regular army. The amendment of the honorable Senator from New York, as he understood it, contemplated simply a temporary addition to the regular army during the war.

He said: "I believe that this increase of the regular army is necessary. I believe if we had had a standing army of forty thousand true men last January, the present disastrous condition which has overtaken the country never would have befallen it. I think, from the manner in which these new regiments are officered, and the increase to the regular army is proposed to be made, that hereafter we shall have no defection in the regular army, and may rely with confidence upon it.

"One remark fell from the honorable Senator from Maryland, to which I must at this moment enter my dissent; and that was, if I understood him correctly, that he believed that coercion was the means most calculated to bring about a destruction of the Union and the Government. I believe it is the only means by which the Union and the Government can be supported and maintained. I would use all the power of the regular army and the volunteer force until this rebellion was crushed out. I would contemplate no peace which involved the loss of one single acre of the national territories, or would change the map of the United States. I will sanction no peace which does not imply death to the armed traitors who are leading this rebellion, and not simply a death under the steel of the soldier, but the felon's death with the halter is the fate I would reserve for every single leader in this conspiracy; and I would march your troops freely wheresoever it is necessary to march them in putting down this rebellion."

Mr. Kennedy, in reply, said that he was more persuaded now than he had ever been before, that force applied by armies of hundreds of thousands upon either side was not the way to secure and to maintain the union of these States. "I am as persuaded now as I am of any thing on the face of the earth, that you may fight for twenty years and you cannot restore this country to the position in which it was before the rebellion, as you call it, broke out. I call it a revolution. Whether it is right or wrong, I do not now mean to discuss; but it is my solemn conviction that you will never reconstruct the Union by the sword. There was a time, I admit, when peace could have been restored to the country without a compromise of honor upon the part of the majority portion of this Senate. I think now that things have gone so far that little is left to the country to hope for from this course of coercion which is now being pursued. I should be glad, to-day, to accept any measure of conciliation. I am willing to make any concession to bring this country back to the point where we stood one year ago; but I do not believe we shall ever get back to it by the force of arms.

"May I ask the honorable Senator if he is apprised of any necessity for, or of any reasons that require or justify, the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* in the State of Maryland? If so, I should like to know them."

Mr. Wilson, of Massachusetts, in reply, said: "If the Senator wishes an answer, I will say that I think the existence of a band of conspirators in the city of Baltimore, men who organized murder and shot down in the streets of that city brave men who were rallying at the call of their country to defend the capital of the nation and uphold the cause of the Republic, is a full, complete justification of the President in authorizing General Scott to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* in and about that city."

Mr. Baker, of Oregon, approved as a personal and political friend of the President of every measure of his administration in relation to the troubles of the country. "I propose," he said, "to ratify whatever needs ratification. I propose to render my clear and distinct approval

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not only of the measure but of the motive which prompted it. I propose to lend the whole power of the country—arms, men, money, and place them in his hands, with authority almost unlimited, until the conclusion of this struggle. He has asked for $400,000,000. We propose to give him $500,000,000. He has asked for four hundred thousand men. We propose to give him half a million; and for my part, if, as I do not apprehend, the emergency should be still greater, I will cheerfully add a cipher to either of these figures.

"But, sir, while I do that, I desire, by my word and my vote, to have it clearly understood that I do that as a measure of war. As I had occasion to say, in a very early discussion of this question, I want sudden, bold, forward, determined war; I do not think anybody can conduct war of that kind as well as a dictator. But, as a Senator, I deem it my duty to look forward to returning peace. I do not believe it will be longer than next February

'Till danger's troubled night is o'er,
And the star of peace returns.'

"Whether that peace shall be conquered at Richmond, or Montgomery, or New Orleans, or in the wilds of Texas, I do not presume to say; but I do know, if I may use so bold a word, that the determined aggregated power of the whole people of this country—all its treasure, all its arms, all its blood, all its enthusiasm, kindled, concentrated, poured out in one mass of living valor upon any foe—will conquer.

"I believe with most gentlemen that the Union sentiment will yet prevail in the Southern States. Bayonets are sharp remedies, but they are very powerful. I am one of those who believe that there may be reverses. I am not quite confident that we shall overrun the Southern States, as we shall have to overrun them, without severe trials of our courage and our patience. I believe they are a brave, determined people, filled with their enthusiasm, false in its purposes, as I think, but still one which animates almost all classes of their population. But, however that may be, it may be that instead of finding, within a year, loyal States sending members to Congress, and replacing their Senators upon this floor, we may have to reduce them to the condition of territories, and send from Massachusetts or from Illinois Governors to control them. It may be; and, sir, if need come, I am one of those who would be willing to do it. I would do that. I would risk even the stigma of being despotic and oppressive, rather than risk the perpetuity of the Union of these States. I repeat, and with that repetition I close: Fight the war through; accomplish a peace; make it so perfect and so permanent that a boy may preserve it; and when you have done that, you have no more need for a standing army."

Mr. Fessenden, of Maine, proposed to modify the amendment by adding to the resolution simply the words "provided, that nothing herein contained shall be construed as authorizing a permanent increase of the army or navy."

This was approved, and the question came up on the passage of the resolution.

Mr. Polk, of Missouri, argued against the resolution, saying: "I am one of those who look upon the action of the President of the United States in this matter as of a character so grave, and, I will add, so perilous, that I cannot, by my vote on this resolution or on any bill or resolution that may be offered, consent to say that he has done right in suspending the writ of *habeas corpus*, or authorizing it to be suspended, or that that writ ought to be suspended, or can properly be suspended, under any state of circumstances that can exist in the country. As far as I know, Merryman is still incarcerated in Fort McHenry. If he has been released I have never known it. The Senator from Maryland (Mr. Kennedy) says he has not been released. If he has been I have never known it. The liberties of that man, as I believe, are trodden down in violation of the Constitution of the United States.

"This Constitution, Mr. President, was adopted without a bill of rights. It was supposed probably by the convention of wise and patriotic men and heroes who adopted it, that no such thing was necessary, because, by the Constitution there was no authority vested in the Government that it created, except that which was expressly delegated. But so jealous were the constituencies of those wise and patriotic men on this point that they were not willing that the Constitution should be adopted or become the permanent basis of Government without recommending amendments, which should constitute a bill of rights; and I call the attention of the Senate and the country to the fourth of these amendments:

'The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched and the persons or things to be seized.'

"'The right of the people to be secure in their persons.' I have called attention to the case of Merryman. We have only to look at that case, as it is stated by the Chief Justice in delivering his opinion, to see that this guarantee of the right of the security of the person of that man was trodden down without any authority of law. On the mere intimation of a military general, I believe up in Pennsylvania, he is seized, without any warrant, in the night time, and taken from his family, and put in prison in Fort McHenry; and that in the teeth of a constitutional provision which says that the right of the people to be secure in their persons shall not be violated. Sir, I undertake to say that in the history of England, in the times of the Tudors and the Plantagenets, a case more flagrant than this cannot be found; and this is not a single case. It has occurred here in Maryland repeatedly. It has occurred

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in other places. It has occurred in my own State of Missouri, and, if newspapers are to be believed, it has very recently occurred in the case of my former colleague, (Mr. Green.)

"So, also, Mr. President, this other guarantee for papers and effects has been disregarded. I think I am not wrong when I say—if I am wrong, I have been misled by the public prints on the subject—that, under orders from the President of the United States, telegraphic despatches have been seized in different parts of the country. No, those despatches were the private property either of the offices or the authors; and yet they have been seized, when the Constitution says that the people shall be safe in their papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures. The seizure has been made without any warrant of law whatever.

"The fifth amendment to this Constitution provides that no person shall be 'deprived of his life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.' This constitutional guarantee has also been trampled upon in the cases which I have referred to. In those cases both the fourth and fifth amendments of the Constitution have been violated. They are twofold violations of this sacred charter of the liberties of the citizen.

"Now, Mr. President, has the President any right to regulate commerce between the States or with foreign countries? Clearly not. And yet the commerce of the United States has been regulated since the 15th of April; and, in some instances, restricted, so that it has been well-nigh destroyed between the States of the Union. Claiming that the whole of the States are still in the Union, yet this power of regulating commerce has been exerted by the President for the purpose of crippling, restraining, and almost destroying commerce between the States that were unquestionably loyal and those that claim to have seceded. Now, sir, the claim that they have seceded does not mitigate the crime of the President; because he has done these acts, and at the same time has said that these States are still in the Union. If they have seceded legally, then they are foreign States, and by the same clause of the Constitution to which I have just now referred, the President has no right to regulate commerce between the United States and foreign Governments. If their secession be illegal, then the Constitution is still violated.

"I say, then, Mr. President, while the Constitution of the United States provides that 'the Congress shall have power' 'to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States,' and has given that power to Congress only, the President, notwithstanding this constitutional provision, has undertaken to regulate commerce between the States.

"The Constitution of the United States again says that Congress shall have power to declare war. The President of the United States has involved the country in a war, notwithstanding this provision of the Constitution. The Constitution says that Congress shall have the power 'to raise and support armies.' The President of the United States has raised armies. The Constitution says that Congress shall have the power 'to provide and maintain a navy.' The President of the United States has attempted to provide a navy. It also says that 'the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it,' and that not even by the Congress of the United States. Yet the President has suspended the writ of *habeas corpus*. It says that 'no preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another.' The President has by his own act, and without any regulation of Congress, blockaded ports, and not merely given a preference to some ports over others, but has actually suspended the commerce of certain ports entirely. The President of the United States has rendered 'the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects,' a nullity, by infringing those rights without the warrant of law; and citizens have been deprived of liberty and property without due process of law.

"These are instances of violation of the Constitution in which the President has assumed power to himself. The Constitution tended to limit the power of the President. It has put strict and stringent limitations upon that power, but these acts have had a tendency to increase that power.

"This joint resolution, Mr. President, proposes to approve and legalize these acts. I cannot, as an American Senator, give my consent to approve and legalize them. I cannot do it, especially under the circumstances in which these acts have been done. I am one of those who believe that there was no occasion for them."

Mr. Powell, of Kentucky, in opposition to the resolution, took occasion to charge upon the Republican side of the Senate the responsibility for the existing state of affairs, thus: "I verily believe that those who propose to maintain the Union of these States by arms are disunionists. They may not wish to destroy the Union; but the very means to which they resort for the purpose of saving it, will most assuredly accomplish its destruction. Hence I have been from the beginning opposed to war, and I am now opposed to it. I think that, in this age, as a Christian, enlightened people, we should settle these difficulties without a resort to arms. If Senators on the other side of the chamber last winter had cooperated with Senators on this side, and we could have had a corresponding action in the other House, I have no doubt all these difficulties could have been settled. It is well known that propositions to amend the Constitution were introduced here, and that everybody on this side of the chamber approved them, and

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was ready to go for them; and why were they not passed? It was because the whole Republican side of the Senate put their faces against them. With the exception, perhaps, of the distinguished Senator from Oregon, I do not believe they got a vote from that side of the Senate. My friend from Connecticut [Mr. Dixon] I know made a gallant and patriotic speech, but I do not remember that he voted for one of those resolutions, though I will do him the justice to say that I believe, if he thought they would have passed, he would have done so. We did every thing in our power, by proposing constitutional amendments, to avert the difficulty, and to restore harmony to a distracted country. Why was it not done?

"Senators, you on that side of the chamber are responsible for it; and when the passions of men shall have abated, and this wild fanaticism, this warlike spirit that now sweeps over the land, shall have subsided, the people of this country will calmly and dispassionately look into the history of these times, and if it shall be, as I fear it will be, that this Union is forever destroyed, that this mighty fabric of our fathers is torn, this great Government overthrown, history, impartial history, will hold you responsible for it; for you could have settled the controversy; you could have settled it peaceably; you could have settled it without impairing any rights of any man or any State in the North, by granting proper guarantees to the South which would have done you, your property, or your States, no harm. You declined to do it; the responsibility is with you."

Mr. Breckinridge on a subsequent day resumed the debate. He said that Congress, by a joint resolution, had no more right to make valid a violation of the Constitution and the laws by the President, than the President would have by an entry upon the executive journal to make valid a usurpation of the executive power by the legislative department. Congress had no more right to make valid an unconstitutional act of the President, than the President would have to make valid an act of the Supreme Court of the United States encroaching upon executive power; or than the Supreme Court would have the right to make valid an act of the Executive encroaching upon the judicial power.

To say that Congress, by joint resolution, might indemnify the President against a breach of the Constitution, is substantially to declare that Congress may alter the Constitution in a manner not provided by the instrument; may add to it or take from it. If a bare majority of the two Houses of Congress can, by resolution, make that constitutional and valid which was unconstitutional, by the same authority it may confer upon the President in the future powers not granted by the Constitution; so that, sir, in whatever aspect the subject may be viewed, it appears to me the principles involved in this joint resolution are utterly subversive of the Constitution, and contain the very essence of a government without limitation of powers. He had supposed that these general principles were too clear and too well recognized in this country to need statement or illustration.

He then proceeded: "What is the excuse; what is the justification; what is the plea? Necessity. Necessity? I answer, first, there was no necessity. Was it necessary to preserve the visible emblems of Federal authority here, that the Southern coast should have been blockaded? Did not the same necessity exist when Congress, at its last session, refused to pass the force bill, that existed at the time the President assumed these powers? As Congress refused to do it, and adjudged that there was no necessity at that time, what was the additional necessity afterwards? Was it necessary, until Congress should meet, to the existence of the union of these States, and of its Constitution, that powers not conferred by the instrument should be assumed? Was there any necessity for overrunning the State of Missouri? Was there a necessity for raising the largest armies ever assembled upon the American continent, and fitting out the largest fleets ever seen in an American harbor?

"But, Mr. President, I deny this doctrine of necessity. I deny that the President of the United States may violate the Constitution upon the ground of necessity. The doctrine is utterly subversive of the Constitution; it is utterly subversive of all written limitations of government; and it substitutes, especially where you make him the ultimate judge of that necessity, and his decision not to be appealed from, the will of one man for a written constitution. Mr. President, the Government of the United States, which draws its life from the Constitution, and which was made by that instrument, does not rest, as does the Constitution in many other countries, upon usage or upon implied consent. It rests upon express written consent. The Government of the United States may exercise such powers, and such only, as are given in this written form of government and bond which unites the States; none others. The people of the States conferred upon this agent of theirs just such powers as they deemed necessary, and no more; all others they retained. That Constitution was made for all contingencies; for peace and for war. They conferred all the powers they deemed necessary, and more cannot be assumed, to carry on the Government. They intended to provide for all contingencies that they thought ought to be provided for, and they retained to the States all the powers not granted by the instrument. If in any instance it may be supposed that the powers conferred are not sufficient, still none others were granted, and none others can be exercised. Will this be denied, sir? Or is the doctrine to be advanced that all constitutional questions are to be made entirely subordinate to the opinions and ideas that may prevail at the hour in reference to

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political unity and association? It has been held heretofore—I thought it was axiomatic, and received everywhere—that the terms of the Constitution of the United States were the measure of power on one side, and of obedience on the other."

Mr. Lane, of Indiana, replied by saying: "What is it that the President has done since the last meeting of Congress? First, he has declared a blockade of the Southern ports; and gentlemen tell us there is no constitutional authority for that. It is the first duty of the President to see that the laws are faithfully executed. We have a tariff law imposing duties upon foreign importations. That has been disregarded by the seceding States; they have assumed to pass a tariff act different from ours. That law of Congress cannot be enforced by the ordinary course of procedure under your collections of revenue at the proper ports established by law. There is no higher power in the Constitution of the United States delegated to the President than the power to 'take care that the laws be faithfully executed.' These high and extraordinary powers, although not perhaps technically granted in the Constitution, result as an incident to the war power, which is invoked, and constitutionally invoked, under that provision of the Constitution which authorizes the President to use force to suppress insurrection and to put down rebellion. I sanction, then, the proclamation establishing a blockade.

"The next objection is to the declaration of martial law, by which the writ of *habeas corpus* was suspended. I only regret that when the writ was suspended, the *corpus* of Baltimore treason was not 'suspended' too. It is necessary to the enforcement of the laws and to the preservation of the Union that this writ of *habeas corpus* should be suspended; and the Constitution of the United States says, in express terms, it may be suspended in case of rebellion and insurrection. Then the whole question comes to this: Who is to judge? Where is the discretion lodged? Clearly with the President of the United States; and it can be safely lodged nowhere else.

"One word, before I forget it, on the subject of this war, and the object of the war. There is no war levied against any State, or against any State institutions. The President has called out troops to suppress insurrection, and put down rebellion. These are the objects for which your troops have been called into the field. The abolition of slavery is no object contemplated for which this war is to be prosecuted. But let me tell gentlemen, that although the abolition of slavery is not an object of the war, they may, in their madness and folly and treason, make the abolition of slavery one of the results of this war. That is what I understand to be precisely the position of the Administration upon the subject of this war."

On a subsequent day Mr. Latham, of California, said that he held the line of demarkation in indorsing the conduct of the Executive to be this: whatever imperious necessity required him to do to support the Government, to enforce the laws, and secure obedience to the constituted authorities, it was right and proper he should do, even though in the doing he may have committed a technical infraction of the authority delegated to him. Wherever there was not that imperious necessity, he did not justify him. So far as the violation of the writ of *habeas corpus* in the State of Maryland was concerned, he refused to give him his sanction for that act. He refused it because that State had shown, by the return of her delegates to the other House, her allegiance to the Government of the United States; and though there might be many citizens in her midst who sympathized with the disloyal spirit of the Southern States; though there may have been disgraceful mobs and riots in the city of Baltimore; unless there was clear evidence that the judiciary of that State were tainted with that disloyalty, and were unwilling to do their duty, under the Constitution, in acting upon these writs of *habeas corpus*, he would not justify any officer in the suspension of that sacred privilege. No Senator for one moment doubted the loyalty of the Chief Justice of the United States, who issued the writ; or, if he did, he had never made it known upon this floor. His character is pure, spotless, and untainted; his life has been one of devotion to his country and the enforcement of its laws; and now, in his honored old age, he could scarcely stigmatize a long list of years of service by refusing to obey those laws and those principles of justice which he has sworn to carry out. Hence he regarded the act of the President of the United States in suspending the writ of *habeas corpus*, as this joint resolution says, "between the city of Philadelphia and the city of Washington," as an unnecessary violation of the powers possessed by him under the Constitution; and, as a conscientious guardian of the liberties of the people, he refused him his indorsement for that act.

So, too, as to the increase of the regular standing army of the country. The purposes for which he was striving could have been as easily accomplished by the volunteer force of the country; and therefore the exercise of power in increasing the regular standing army was not warranted by the exigencies. He declined, therefore, his indorsement for this act also. But, sir, as to the other acts of the Government—ordering the blockade; calling out the volunteers of the country; suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* in Florida, it being in open rebellion to your Government; and all the other acts enumerated in this joint resolution—he had his hearty approval; and "I now say, as the representative of a sovereign State and a loyal people, that if he had not exercised those powers, I would have voted to impeach him as unworthy the place he occupies, and most derelict in his duties to the Government."

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On the 2d of August, the debate on the resolution was resumed in the Senate. The motion was made by Mr. Wilson of Massachusetts to postpone the unfinished business and take up this joint resolution.

Mr. Trumbull, of Illinois, objected, saying: "I hope not. I hope we shall go on with the unfinished business of yesterday. That is germane to this same question. Let us get through with the bill which is the unfinished business, and then we shall be prepared to vote on that joint resolution. I would like to have the bill finished, and get rid of it. I hope the Senator from Massachusetts will not insist on taking up the joint resolution. The debate will go on upon that, and we shall gain nothing by it."

The question was put, and it appeared there was no quorum voting. A quorum soon appearing, the yeas and nays were ordered on the question of taking up the resolution.

Mr. Trumbull, of Illinois, then took the floor in order to state briefly his objection. The resolution was germane to the bill which was the unfinished business. It proposed to declare legal the acts which have been done by the President in the recess of Congress. Would our declaration make them legal if they were not legal? Would it make them so if they were unconstitutional and void? Now there was a bill pending, proposing to confer certain powers upon the executive authority, which related to this subject. He was disposed to give the necessary power to the Administration to suppress this rebellion; but he was not disposed to say that the Administration had unlimited power and could do what it pleases, after Congress meets. He was willing to excuse it for all it had done, and to sustain it in all it had done; but if you propose to pass a resolution approving the exercise of powers for which you may be unable to find in strict law the warrant, and then refuse to grant by law the authority to do what is necessary to be done, it seemed to him it would be a very strange proceeding. He thought they had better let this resolution lie until they disposed of the bill, and then he should be prepared to sanction what the Administration had done and provide for the future, so that the necessary power might be in the President's hands.

Mr. Morrill, of Maine, said: "I am inclined to concur with the gentleman from Illinois, and believe that we had better go on with the unfinished business. It is agreed on all hands that the bill which was under consideration yesterday is an important bill; that it is important to give efficiency to the measures of the Administration, and for that reason, I think we ought to attend to it now; and I am in favor of it, as against the resolution proposed to be taken up by the motion of the Senator from Massachusetts, upon the ground that I do not consider that resolution important. I do not agree with the Senator in attaching very much importance to the resolution that was offered in the early part of the session, to render legal and valid the doings of the President. I believe they are valid. I believe what he has done is constitutional, and can be demonstrated to be so. It does not need to be ratified. It does not need to be rendered valid by a resolution of Congress. I know it has been said from the first day of the session until now, iterated and reiterated, that the President has trampled upon the Constitution of his country; that we had conceded as much, in that we had offered a resolution here to render his acts legal and valid."

Mr. Polk of Missouri rose to ask the Senator if, at an early day of the session, he did not vote against the motion made by the Senator from Kentucky to postpone the consideration of this resolution for one day, which motion was made for his convenience?

Mr. Morrill replied that he had no distinct recollection upon the subject. Very likely he did; and if it were up now, he should vote in favor of instant action upon it. He did not perceive any inconsistency between his argument now and his vote then.

Mr. Polk in answer said: "It seems to me a marvellous change has come over the opinions of some Senators in regard to this resolution. It was about the first business that was called up in order before the Senate at the present session; the question was on its passage; and it was upon the very point of being put upon its passage, when I rose, stating that I had some views that I desired to express, and that I wished indulgence for one day. If my recollection does not fail me, the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Powell] then made a motion to postpone the resolution for one day; but his motion was voted down almost unanimously by the Senate. I believe almost every gentleman on the other side voted against the postponement, as I supposed, acting contrary to what had always been the courtesies of the Senate under all similar circumstances.

"Now, when the Senator from Massachusetts moves to take up this resolution for the purpose of having action upon it, it is to be postponed again. The Senator from Maine thinks it does not deserve, does not need, does not require, any action at all. At the beginning, it was so important to be acted on at once, that it could not be postponed for a single day to enable a Senator to address the Senate properly upon the subject; but he was forced into the debate precipitately."

On a division the resolution was ordered to be taken up. Ayes, 28; noes, 11.

The question then being on its passage, Mr. Doolittle, of Wisconsin, moved to refer it to the Committee on the Judiciary, as it was too late to move a reconsideration for the purpose of amendment.

Mr. Wilson, of Massachusetts, opposed the motion, saying: "I do not like to resist this motion, but I must confess my surprise at it. Day after day this question has been laid aside to accommodate Senators. It is a plain and simple prop-

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osition; there is no ambiguity about it; it is as clear as sunlight, as simple as any thing can be, to the comprehension of the Senator from Wisconsin, or any other Senator. I shall vote against the reference; but if the Senate chooses to recommit it, very well; they can take the responsibility."

Mr. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, said: "The only gratification that I derive from the motion of the Senator from Wisconsin is, the confirmation it affords to what I had the honor to remark a short time ago, that the Senate does not intend to pass the resolution. I am glad it does not; but it does not seem disposed to vote directly, but will consign it to the dungeons of a committee-room."

The question of reference was then taken and lost. Ayes, 17; noes, 23.

Mr. Sherman, of Ohio, thus expressed his views of the acts of the President: "The first three acts enumerated in the preamble of this resolution, I would vote heartily to approve. I believe they were right and proper—strictly legal, and strictly constitutional. I believe that the President had the right, and that it was his duty, to issue the proclamation of April last. I believe he had a right—it was a part of the power of suppressing an insurrection—to blockade the ports of the United States, or any of them. I do not believe the President of the United States has the power to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*, because that power is expressly given to Congress, and to Congress alone. I do not believe the President of the United States has the power to increase the regular army, because that power is expressly given by the Constitution to Congress alone; and therefore I cannot vote for either of the last three propositions—the fourth, the fifth, or the sixth. Still I approve of the action of the President. I believe the President did right. He did precisely what I would have done if I had been in his place—no more, no less; but I cannot here, in my place, as a Senator, under oath, declare that what he did do was legal. I may say it was proper, and was justified by the necessity of the case; but I cannot here in my place, under oath, declare that it was strictly legal, and in consonance with the provisions of the Constitution. I shall therefore be compelled to vote against the resolution."

The bill was further debated, and finally, on the 6th of August, taken up for consideration and laid aside for Executive business. The object of the resolution was secured by making it a clause in one of the other bills passed at this session.

On the 11th of July Mr. Clark, of New Hampshire, offered the following resolution:

Whereas a conspiracy has been formed against the peace, union, and liberties of the people and Government of the United States; and in furtherance of such conspiracy a portion of the people of the States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Texas, have attempted to withdraw those States from the Union, and are now in arms against the Government; and whereas James M. Mason and Robert M. T. Hunter, Senators from Virginia; Thomas L. Clingman and Thomas Bragg, Senators from North Carolina; James Chesnut, jr., a Senator from South Carolina; A. O. P. Nicholson, a Senator from Tennessee; William K. Sebastian and Charles B. Mitchell, Senators from Arkansas; and John Hemphill and Louis T. Wigfall, Senators from Texas, have failed to appear in their seats in the Senate and to aid the Government in this important crisis; and it is apparent to the Senate that said Senators are engaged in said conspiracy for the destruction of the Union and Government, or, with full knowledge of such conspiracy, have failed to advise the Government of its progress or aid in its suppression: Therefore,

Resolved, That the said Mason, Hunter, Clingman, Bragg, Chesnut, Nicholson, Sebastian, Mitchel, Hempbill, and Wigfall be, and they hereby are, each and all of them, expelled from the Senate of the United States.

Mr. Bayard, of Delaware, opposed the resolution, saying: "I can see no reason why we should depart from the determination of the Senate at the last session, in declaring the seats vacant, and adopt now the rule of expulsion. I know of no conspiracy on the part of the Senators named in the resolution. I cannot say that it has not existed, but I know the general fact, that, claiming the right of secession for their States (though I differed from them in that) as a right under the Constitution, they have acted openly with their States. Their States have chosen to leave this Union. Whether they have the authority or not, is questioned. They consider it a legitimate exercise of reserved rights under the Constitution. I consider the act as revolutionary. There is the difference. Shall I exercise the power of expulsion against a Senator on the ground of conspiracy, because he may be erroneous in point of law as to the effect of the action of his State? Am I to condemn him individually for the action of his State?"

Mr. Clark, of New Hampshire, in reply declared: "I dare say the Senator would be glad that these seats should be declared vacant, and that the question should be left in abeyance whether they have the right to go out; but I want to deny here, on the floor of the Senate, the right of any State to secede; and when a Senator accedes to that action of his State, or the people of the State, I want to declare that he puts himself in a hostile attitude to this Government, and deserves expulsion from the councils of the nation. I hope that no such tame measure as declaring these seats vacant will be adopted by the Senate. I want the Senate to proclaim to the nation that we will not have these men in our councils, and that they shall go out. We let certain Senators withdraw at the last session—no, sir, we did not let them withdraw; they withdrew themselves, and left their seats vacant, and we declared them vacant by that act of virtual resignation. But now, sir, this revolution has gone on; it has made rapid progress; they have taken up arms against the Government; they have not only seized your arms, but they have assaulted your fortifications; their guns are now within sound of your capital; and shall we sit here in the

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Senate and deliberate and doubt whether we shall turn out of this Senate the very men who are ready to explode those guns against your capital? No, Mr. President; let the judgment of the Senate be as summary, as decisive, and as signal, as their revolution has been rapid; and let them be ejected from the councils of the nation."

Mr. Latham, of California, continued the debate by saying: "I shall not vote for this resolution as it stands. I will vote to strike the names of these gentlemen from the roll, and to declare their seats vacant. I will not vote to expel them, because I think, as to some Senators named, that that would be unjust and improper. Expulsion implies turpitude. It is a reflection upon the personal character of the individual; it is a stain. Now I know myself that some Senators—two in particular—named in that resolution, did not indorse the right of secession. They disapproved of it; they never sanctioned it; and they did not think they could occupy a seat on this floor after their State had seceded."

Mr. MacDougal, of California, on the contrary, wished to say that he did not vote for the expulsion of these members upon the ground that their States have declared themselves out of the Union. The expulsion is for personal cause. It is, that they have espoused the controversy made against the Republic, evidenced by one circumstance—perhaps sufficient, independent of what history has already reported of them—that they are not here. Now, there may be no turpitude in this act of theirs, or in their espousing the adversary cause. Treason was always a gentlemanly crime, and in ancient times a man who committed it was entitled to the axe instead of the halter.

The resolution was agreed to. Ayes, 32; noes, 10.

"On the 13th of July Mr. Johnson, of Tennessee, presented the credentials of W. T. Willey and J. S. Carlisle, elected Senators by the Legislature of Western Virginia, acting as the Legislature of the entire State.

Mr. Bayard, of Delaware, protested against administering the oath to them, saying: "I think these credentials ought to be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. They involve very grave questions. You are undertaking to recognize a government of the State of Virginia, which is not the regular State government, even though that State government may be in what you call a state of rebellion. You are bound to take notice of the fact that Mr. Letcher is Governor of Virginia, and that his term of office, under the constitution and laws of Virginia, has not yet expired. If you say he is in rebellion, that does not authorize a portion of the people of Virginia to form a Legislature for the purpose of electing Senators to take seats in this body. You have no authority to create a new State out of a part of an existing State. I think the questions are very grave."

Mr. Johnson replied: "I hope the motion of the Senator from Delaware will not prevail. These certificates from the Commonwealth of Virginia afford *prima facie* evidence that the election has taken place regularly, and that these gentlemen have been regularly certified here as the Senators from that Commonwealth. Is there any proof before this body, presented in any way, that the election has not taken place regularly, according to the Constitution of the United States and of the State of Virginia? The certificates themselves furnish *prima facie* evidence that these gentlemen are the Senators elect from the Commonwealth of Virginia. The other great fact is equally clear, without regard to what the Senate did yesterday, that these vacancies did exist on the 9th of the month, when this election took place. That fact is known to this body; it is known to the country. The late Senators from Virginia were not here. The vacancies did in fact exist when this election took place.

"These are facts within the cognizance of this body. They are known to every member here. Here are the certificates of election of these gentlemen, and there is not a single scintilla of proof from any quarter that they are not the Senators, and have not been properly and regularly elected. There is no one else claiming the seats, no one making a contest for them. There is not a particle of evidence from any quarter that these gentlemen are not the Senators elect according to the forms of law and the Constitution."

Mr. Bayard replied: "In my judgment, it is an utter abandonment of the whole form of your Government; it is, by the action of the Senate, recognizing insurrection in a State, for the purpose of overthrowing the government of the State, by a very small minority of its people."

Mr. Hale, of New Hampshire, replied to Mr. Bayard by saying: "He says that the recognition of these gentlemen under the commission that they bear, will be recognizing insurrection in a State. I deny it, sir; I deny it utterly. I say that a greater perversion of terms never could be used. It is because we will not recognize insurrection in a State, that we admit these gentlemen. The part of the State to which the Senator alludes are themselves in a state of insurrection, and it becomes this Government to recognize the loyal and the true men that still cling to the Union and support the Constitution, and call upon this Government to maintain its constitutional obligations and put down insurrection. Talk about precedents, sir! Why, the whole thing is new. These States have parted so far as they could, or the men under whose control they are, have parted from their constitutional obligations. There is no precedent, because the world never saw such a state of things.

"I hope that the Senate will not hesitate. Sir, this is no question of form, no question of ceremony; it is a question of life or death with this Republic, and with this Government. The

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men that are in arms against you are in arms against your very existence. The idea of your national life a day after you yield to their position, is absurd and inconsistent. Sir, this Government had borne and forborne until your forbearance was construed into pusillanimity; and during the last session of Congress the most insulting language that ever fell from human lips was uttered in reference to this very General Government."

Mr. Powell, of Kentucky, spoke in answer, expressing his views thus: "My friend from New Hampshire tells us that this is a contest between despotism and constitutional liberty. Sir, so far as I have witnessed the action of the Executive, and, I regret to say, some of the acts of this body, it does not seem to me that the Constitution is much regarded. This proceeding is, in my judgment, an overthrow of the Constitution and the forms of our Government. As I said the other day, we have but little left save the Constitution, and I invoke Senators to preserve that."

The debate was continued for some time, when a division was taken on the motion to refer, and it was lost. Ayes, 5; noes, 35.

In the Senate the Army bill being under consideration on the 18th of July, Mr. Powell, of Kentucky, moved to amend it by adding the following section:

And be it further enacted, That no part of the army or navy of the United States shall be employed or used in subjecting or holding as a conquered province any sovereign State now or lately one of the United States, or in abolishing or interfering with African slavery in any of the States.

Mr. Sherman, of Ohio, immediately took the floor saying: "I shall vote against the amendment, as a matter of course, because it is out of place, and ought not to be offered here, in my judgment; but I wish it distinctly understood that in voting against it, I do not assent to the proposition, or the imputation, that this is a war for the purpose of subjugating any State or freeing any slave. If I understand the purpose of this war, it is to maintain the national honor, to defend the national property, to uphold the national flag everywhere wherever by right it floats, whether it be in South Carolina, or Florida, or Louisiana; but I say here, as I have said elsewhere, that there is no purpose in conducting this war to subjugate a State, to free a slave, or to interfere with the social or domestic institutions of any State or of any people. The purpose of the war, as I understand it, is to preserve this Union; to maintain the Constitution as it is in all its clauses, in all its guarantees, without change or limitation."

Mr. Powell, of Kentucky, replied: "I am pleased to hear the conservative sentiments uttered by the Senator from Ohio; but the Senator, I think, was unnecessarily surprised in his astonishment at the idea of any Senator supposing the result of this war would be probably the emancipation of the slaves, or the overthrow of State sovereignty. Does not the Senator from Ohio know that more than one of those who have been heretofore considered the most conservative Senators on the other side of this Chamber have declared that if the necessity existed, they were for emancipating the slaves in the southern States? It was so announced by the Senator from Connecticut, (Mr. Dixon.) It was affirmed by the Senator from Michigan, (Mr. Bingham.) The Senator from Kansas (Mr. Pomeroy) introduced a bill into the Senate, which is now before the Judiciary Committee, and has been printed, for the purpose of abolishing slavery in all the seceded States. When we witness all this, should the Senator from Ohio be surprised that the representatives of the slaveholding States fear that it may be and is the purpose of those in power to use the Army for the purpose of abolishing the institution of slavery and overthrowing the States? Did not the Senator from Oregon (Mr. Baker) the other day declare that if it were necessary, he would vote to reduce the seceded States to provinces, and send Governors there from other States to govern them as Territories? When we hear all these declarations, I think the Senator should not be surprised at the fear which I have expressed."

Mr. Dixon, of Connecticut, next rose, saying: "What I said was this: that if the war should be persisted in, and be long protracted on the part of the South, and in the course of its progress it should turn out that either this Government or slavery must be destroyed, then the people of the North—the conservative people of the North—would say, rather than let the Government perish, let slavery perish. That is what I said, and say it now, and shall continue at all times to say the same; not by any means as a threat, but as a warning and an admonition."

Mr. Lane, of Kansas, followed, saying: "We would have stood by the compromises of the Constitution, and permitted slavery to exist in the States where it was planted; would not, by word or act, have disturbed it; but they have forced upon us this struggle, and I, for one, am willing that it shall be followed to its logical conclusion.

"I do believe, Mr. President, that the institution of slavery will not survive, in any State of this Union, the march of the Union armies, and I thank God that it is so. It is an institution that has been the curse of the country ever since my recollection; these Halls have been accursed with it; the people of the States where it exists have been accursed with it, and the people of the free Sates have been accursed with it."

Mr. Carlile, from Western Virginia, did not intend to vote for the resolution. But this was no war of subjugation. There was no power in this Government to carry on such a war; no constitutional, no physical power, to carry it on. This was a war for the maintenance of the existence of the Constitution, and the Union under it; and it was a war in which the hearts

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of the loyal people of the so-called seceded States are as much enlisted as are the hearts of the constituency which the honorable Senator from Connecticut represented. He did not understand him to say that he desired that this war should be prosecuted to the extermination of the institution of slavery. He merely understood him to say that those who have inaugurated this rebellion, who seem determined to push it to its extremities, may by their act, and by their act alone, effect the destruction which the Abolitionists never could have accomplished. "I believe this a war constitutionally waged for the perpetuity of the Government, in which are bound up all our hopes, the hopes of posterity, and the hopes of the civilized world."

Mr. Browning, of Illinois, explicitly said: "Mr. President, I am not prepared to admit, as some gentlemen take pains to explain, that this is not a war of subjugation. If it is not a war of subjugation, what is it? What was it set on foot for, if it is not for the sole identical purpose of subjugating the atrocious rebellion that now exists in the country?"

Mr. Sherman: "My friend misunderstood my language. I said distinctly that it was not the purpose of this war to subjugate a State, a political community; but I will go as far as he or any other living man to uphold the Government against all rebellious citizens, whether there be one or many of them in a State. If nine-tenths of the people of any State rebel against the authority of this Government, the physical power of this Government should be brought to reduce those citizens to subjection; the State survives."

Mr. Browning: "I will not stop to deal with technicalities; I care not whether you call it the subjugation of the people or the subjugation of the State. Where all the authorities of a State, where all the officers, who are the embodiment of the power of the State, who speak for the State, who represent the government of the State, where they are all disloyal and banded in treasonable confederation against this Government, I, for one, am for subjugating them, and you may call it the subjugation of the State or of the people, just as you please. I am for subjugation, and you may apply the term subjugation to the State or the people. I want this rebellion put down, this wicked and causeless treason punished, and an example given to the world that will teach them that there is a power in the freemen of this continent to maintain a constitutional Government."

Relative to the abolition or destruction of slavery, he expressed these views: "But, sir, let us understand another thing. As I have already said, the power to terminate this war now is not with us. The power is with us, but not to terminate it instantly. We will terminate it, if it is not terminated, as it should be, by those who began it. But, sir, I say for one —I speak for myself and myself only, but I believe in so speaking I utter the sentiments which will burst from every free heart in all the northern States of the Confederacy—that if our brethren of the South do force upon us the distinct issue, shall this Government be overthrown, and it and all the hopes of civil liberty, all the hopes for the oppressed and down-trodden of all the despotisms of the earth go down in one dark, dreary night of hopelessness and despair—if they force upon us the issue, whether the Government shall go down to maintain the institutions of slavery, or whether slavery shall be obliterated to sustain the Constitution and the Government for which our fathers fought and bled, and the principles that were concentrated in their blood—I say, sir, when the issue comes, if they force it upon us, that one or the other is to be overthrown, then I am for the Government and against slavery, and my voice and my vote shall be for sweeping the last vestige of barbarism from the face of the continent. I trust that necessity may not be forced on us; but when it is forced upon us, let us meet it like men, and not shrink from the high, and holy, and sacred duties that are laid upon us, as the conservators not only of Government, but as the conservators of the eternal principles of justice and freedom for the whole human family."

Mr. Carlile replied: "I desired to be understood as saying that the institution of slavery did not, of necessity, produce this rebellion; and, therefore, gentlemen had no right, in justice, to level all their artillery against the rights of the people of one section of the Union, to the property which is tolerated and acknowledged by their laws. Because a conspiracy has been inaugurated to overthrow and destroy the Government, are you to overthrow and destroy the rights of property in one-half of the States of this Union? Did gentlemen attempt to destroy commerce in 1832, because the tariff was made the pretext for the rebellion that was attempted to be inaugurated then? Does it follow that commerce is an evil, because resistance to tariffs, growing out of commerce, was made the pretext by South Carolina, in 1832, for an attempt to throw off her allegiance to this Government and to disconnect her people from it? As well should you have made a war upon commerce then, as to attempt now to make war upon an institution existing in one-half of the States of this Union; and in the very breath that you speak when you advocate such a war, you say that you are waging it—for what? For the maintenance of the Constitution! And do you not violate the Constitution in any effort that you may make to destroy an institution known to the laws of the States of the Union? What right have you, sir, as a Senator upon this floor, to go into my State and to thrust yourself between me and my property, and to say that I shall not own it and dispose of it in accordance with the laws of my State? What would the Government be, that would be preserved after conduct like that?"

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Mr. Lane, of Kansas: "I desire to ask the Senator a question. Should the armies of the Union march into the slave States, and the slaves themselves should get up an insurrection, as I believe will be the case, and flee to the armies of the Union, or march out by the roads that the Union armies march in, will the Senator, under such circumstances, expect the people of the North, or the armies of the North, to become the servants of the traitors, and return those slaves to their traitorous masters?"

Mr. Carlile: "The gentleman is putting a question to me entirely foreign to the subject; but I will answer him in the language of the proclamation of the gallant general, issued to the people of Virginia when his army entered upon our soil: 'We come not among you, Virginians, to interfere with your rights of property; and should an insurrection be gotten up in your midst, the iron heel of this army will be yours to suppress it.' Sir, that is the language of a man who loves his country, and who is disposed to obey its laws and be at the head of the army of deliverance—as I trust in God the armies of the Government of the Union will be everywhere—to deliver the people of the States that have been silenced and intimidated; many of them driven from their homes; and those who are left behind terrified by the conduct of disloyal men in their midst. That should be the name—'the army of deliverance'—that should be given to the forces of the United States everywhere, to protect us in our rights in the Union of every and any description."

Mr. Lane, of Kansas: "While I think that policy might be a correct one, so far as returning slaves to the Union men is concerned, I should think it highly impolitic, and in a military sense highly improper, so far as the traitors are concerned."

Mr. Powell, of Kentucky, asked: "What would be thought if you were to march an army against New York or against any of the northern States, and to despoil their people of their houses, their goods, their chattels, and their lands? Would not the whole world look upon it, and justly, too, as an overthrow of the constitutional liberties of those people? And yet you propose to do that in the name of the Constitution! Professedly executing the laws and maintaining the Constitution, you will destroy the Constitution, you will set the laws at defiance, and you will commit acts revolting to men and to God."

The question being taken on this amendment, it was rejected and the bill passed.

On the bill to authorize the President to accept the services of volunteers, to the number of five hundred thousand, being under consideration, Mr. Saulsbury, of Delaware, moved to amend by striking out "five" and inserting "two." He said: "As I remarked early in the last session of Congress, my State having been the first to adopt the Constitution and to enter the Union, she would and will be the last to abandon it, so I repeat now, however trite it may be. We have not a handful of secessionists or disunionists in the State of Delaware. But, sir, we have a people, and, as I believe, a majority of our people are honestly in favor of a peaceful settlement of this question, and they do believe that if opportunity is allowed to the people of this country, that there is love of country enough, that there is patriotism enough, that there is intelligence enough in the people of this country, both North and South, to settle this question without the bloody scenes which have been portrayed here to-day by the Senator from Oregon (Mr. Baker) and others. Sir, if we are invited to enter upon such scenes, if there is to be a war of subjugation, if fire and sword are to sweep over this land, if there are to be hundreds and thousands and millions of fatherless children, and of widows, then I say that the sentiment of my State is against such a policy.

"Mr. President, I do not profess to know as much in reference to the state of the country as many other gentlemen; but I do say, that I as firmly believe, as I believe that the sun shines in heaven, that if this Congress would adopt those propositions, maintain the integrity of the Union as it now exists, and turn the Richmond Government, or the Montgomery Government, over to its own people, in less than four years that old glorious flag which has been so eloquently alluded to here to-day would float in peace over every acre of American soil."

The amendment was then rejected and the bill passed. Ayes, 34; noes, 4.

On the 11th of July, the bill making additional appropriations for the support of the army was taken up, and an animated debate ensued, which brought out the views of the House on the conduct of the war.

Mr. Stevens, of Pennsylvania, regarded the increase of the army at this time as very necessary. It was not known how long the war might continue. The importance of having old disciplined troops as a nucleus for all new troops to rally around was so obvious that it hardly required any other argument. If this army be found too large after this rebellion is suppressed, it is very easy for Congress to repeal that law and reduce the army to a peace standard. This is the war standard of the army. This is the standard which in the present time, having a vast country to subdue, it is necessary to have. "When peace is upon us, I shall, if I happen to be here, go as far as any others to reduce the expenses by reducing the army to the peace standard. But I do not think fifty thousand men too large a standing army as a war standard. Hence I hope this bill will pass as it has been reported."

Mr. McClernand, of Illinois, said: "All who are in favor of a vigorous and successful prosecution of this war until rebellion and treason shall be crushed out; all who are in favor of this—and I am one of them; all such persons—

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and they are overwhelmingly in the majority —are in favor of an increase of the military force, in such form and proportions as will insure this most important and desirable result.

"But, sir, what of this clamor about the increase of the regular army, and a standing army? Has it been too large? Will the proposed addition make it too large? I assert, sir, that it has been too small for ten or fifteen years—ever since the close of the Mexican war; and I think that must be the judgment of all intelligent men who have carefully reflected upon the subject. Had our standing army, after the close of that war, been raised to the standard required by the new order of things, many Indian forays might have been averted, and much human blood saved from being shed upon the borders of Texas, and our dependent Territories, by the savage tomahawk and butcher knife.

"Again, sir, what was the state of the case at the time this unholy rebellion broke out? The regular army had been dispersed all over the country in small bodies. If the purpose had been to place them out of the way, so as to enable premeditated rebellion to make head against the Government, it could not have been more effectually accomplished. And even had they been concentrated, so limited as their numbers were, could they have arrested the progress and development of a conspiracy which included the rulers of several States?

"Circumsances have changed. We are no longer an infant and small nation. We have come to be a great empire—a Republic of thirty-four States, and some thirty or more million people; and an Army of fourteen or fifteen thousand men is not a sufficient military police to preserve order everywhere within our extended dominions, and to restrain Indian hostilities along our extended and exposed borders. It appears to me that every gentleman must see this."

Mr. Burnett, of Kentucky replied, that he had thought, not like the honorable gentleman from Illinois, that this was not a great empire, but a confederacy of sovereign and co-equal States. He had thought that this was a government resting for its support upon the affections and the consent of the governed; that it did not require a standing army to keep the people in order; that it did not require even fourteen or fifteen thousand men as a police to keep the people of this country in order.

Mr. McClernand desired to ask the member from Kentucky one question: "Will he vote for a volunteer force to put down this rebellion?"

Mr. Burnett in reply said: "Not for one man. I am not willing to vote for them for I do not believe you can hold this Government together at the point of the bayonet, or at the cannon's mouth, any more than you can hold the lightnings of heaven, or gather the winds in the hollow of your hands.

"No, sir; I say to the gentleman now, and I say it in the fulness of my heart, that five hundred thousand men and $500,000,000, if raised by this House for the subjugation of a portion of this country, will not accomplish that purpose. They may desolate the country; they may lay waste cities and towns; but when they meet here again on the first Monday in December next, they will find their $500,000,000 gone; they will find their five hundred thousand soldiers still in the field; but no nearer a peace than now.

"This much, sir, I desire to say, and these are the reasons why I will not vote for men or money. I have, from the commencement, been for a peaceful solution of this struggle, and I am for it now. I have been published to the country as a secessionist; but, sir, in the last speech which I had the honor to make upon this floor, I announced my opinion that there was no warrant in the Constitution for the doctrine of secession.

"Sir, I do not believe in it, as a constitutional doctrine; I believe it is the theory of our Government that it rests for its support upon the affections and the consent of the governed. I do regard, as one of the citizens of this country, and one of the representatives of the people, that the resort to armies and navies and the horrors of war will sound the death-knell of the Republic; and for that reason I enter my solemn protest against this whole measure."

Mr. McClernand, in answer, continued: "It is important that I should notice what has fallen from the gentleman from Kentucky. He very candidly informs the House, and, through the House, the country, that not one dollar will he vote to put down, either by regular or volunteer force, this rebellion against the country. Sir, when he took his seat upon this floor, he took upon himself a solemn obligation, sanctioned by an oath in the sight of the country and before God, that he would support the Constitution. Can he do so by folding his arms while the batteries of rebellion are levelled at the capital? Is that the way he proposes to discharge his obligation? I leave it for all impartial men to decide whether it is the proper way.

"The gentleman assumes—he must assume as the basis of his assertion—that all of the seceded States are disloyal. I respectfully deny the correctness of the assumption. On the contrary, I assert, and with entire confidence, that just as the Federal flag advances towards the heart of this rebellion, thousands and tens of thousands of loyal men in the seceded States will be found rallying around it, ready to uphold it. I also deny, sir, that this is a war of conquest. Far from it. It is a war to put down rebels and rebellion, and to guarantee security of person and property to the Union men of those States; it is a war waged in behalf of the Constitution and laws. This is its purpose and mission; and it will fulfil it, with the blessing of God. Nor is there one of those States in which there are not ample numbers of Union men to maintain a State government after the rebellion shall have been put down."

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Mr. Hickman, of Pennsylvania, followed:—"If it be asserted with any degree of authority by the gentleman from Kentucky, that five hundred thousand men will not be able to subdue the rebellion in the southern disloyal States, then I am for employing twice five hundred thousand men, and the eighteen States of the North are in favor of doing the same thing. We intend that the Constitution and the Union shall be maintained; and we intend that rebellion, come in what shape it may, and backed by what numbers it may be, shall not be enabled to destroy either the one or the other. I trust in God that the gentleman from Kentucky does not speak even the sentiment of his own section, much less the sentiment of his State; but, whether he does or does not, permit me to say to him here, very frankly, that it matters not to those who are engaged in this work of preservation whether he does or not; for, no matter what their opinion may be, this Government will be preserved, and the gallows will eventually perform its office."

Mr. Burnett, in answer, said: "I tell gentlemen now, carry out the picture painted in full; carry on this war; drench this country in blood; have your armed five hundred thousand men in the field; desolate the fair fields of both sections of the country; let the streams run with blood; let all that the gentleman from Pennsylvania can desire be accomplished; and then tell me, will you, what your country is worth when the *finale* comes? Tell me, will you, what will your Government be worth when you have accomplished all that you ask shall be done? Sir, when the pen of the historian shall come to write the history of the times in which we live, I tell gentlemen upon this floor now, there will be a fearful accountability for some of us to render. Sir, when the gentleman tells me that this war must be prosecuted, I say, go on; you have the power; I prefer peace to war, but I am powerless here. Let me remind him that when my venerable colleague (Mr. Crittenden) and other southern men in this House, and at the other end of the Capitol, were begging you, at the last session of Congress, on bended knees, and with tears in our eyes, to give us something to restore peace and fraternity to our common country, and to stay this revolution, all those appeals and entreaties were not only resisted, but treated with silent contempt and indignant scorn; and all propositions looking to that end were voted down; and now, by the act of the President of the United States, without authority of law, and in violation of the Constitution, war has been inaugurated; and here, as one of the people's representatives, I boldly enter my solemn protest against it."

Mr. Lovejoy, of Illinois, said it was not a question whether this war, or this suppression of rebellion, shall be carried on till the Stars and Stripes float in every place where they have a right to float.

"The question is, who is to do it? The question is, shall it be done by the increase of the regular army, or whether you will take these patriotic volunteers, who have flocked here in thousands and thousands, and let the citizen soldier accomplish this, his appropriate work? That is the question, and I will not allow the issue to be changed. Take your men, in God's name. You can have half a million or a million of them; you can have four or five hundred million dollars. The people are pressing the bit like a restive horse to put down this rebellion. I am willing to carry on this war until, if it is necessary, some future historian shall write of us as Tacitus wrote of the Romans: *Solitudinem faciant et pacem appellant.* Aye, sir, if there is no other way to quell this rebellion, we will make a solitude, and call it peace. And I tell the gentleman from Kentucky that he need not make any appeals to us about peace; he need not talk to us about the shedding of blood and the burning of houses, and villages, and cities. 'There is no peace to the wicked, saith my God;' there is no peace to these rebels and traitors, who have raised their hands against the Government. We will carry on this war; the people will carry it on; the citizen soldier will fight this battle. He is impatient to do it now; but we do not want—certainly not now—to increase the regular army."

Mr. Pendleton, of Ohio, desired to vote for all measures asked for to enable the Government to maintain its honor and dignity, which might be sanctioned by the Constitution, and by any reasonable view of the necessity of the case. He would heartily, zealously, gladly support any honest effort to maintain the Union, and reinvigorate the ties which bind these States together. But he was not willing to vote for more men or more money than the Administration asks; more than it can fairly use; more than General Scott, who advised and controlled the Administration, tells us he thinks necessary.

Mr. Blair, of Missouri, was of the opinion that if more men should be needed after Congress had adjourned, it was proper to put it in the power of the President to call for them.

Mr. Diven, of New York, would give the President a million if half a million of men were not sufficient to put down this rebellion.

Mr. Hickman again alluded to the question of subjugation of the South, and said: "I entertain the opinion now, and I have long entertained it, that one hundred thousand men will be entirely sufficient to accomplish the restoration of the Constitution in the seceded States; but the smaller the number of men employed, the greater will be the length of time necessary to accomplish the object in view. I do not see, myself, that increasing the number of men will necessarily increase the hazard of subjugating the South. I do not myself know whether it is contemplated to subjugate the South. I do know, however, that it is fully contemplated to force the South into submission. There can be no loyalty without submission; and these men

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are to be taught by a strong hand that they are to pay the same regard to the Constitution and laws as commoner people are forced to render to them. These men believe that they have a right to declare themselves out of the pale of legitimate Government whenever it shall suit their interests to do so, or whenever it shall be in accordance with the lead of their passions to do so. We, the people of the North, of the loyal States, and all who act with the North, intend to educate these men in a different doctrine; and if we shall eventually be forced to bring them into subjection—abject subjection to the Constitution of the United States—it will be their fault, and not ours.

"Now, sir, an army will be needed upon the southern coast. Every foot of the southern coast will have to be threatened; and perhaps every foot of the southern coast will eventually have to be invaded. An army will have to be started upon the nearest southern frontier here, and it will have to be marched until it shall meet the army threatening the coast; and perhaps it will be necessary—it is well for gentlemen from the southern States to consider whether it may not be necessary—to leave the track of the chariot wheels of war so deep on the southern soil that a century may not obliterate it. I am not willing to stint the Government either in men or money. I am determined, so far as my influence, and my voice, and my vote, will go, to make this war an effectual one—a terror to evil-doers for all time to come; so that, when the Constitution and Union shall be reëstablished, they shall have a permanence which shall satisfy all true lovers of liberty."

Mr. Burnett, of Kentucky, said that the member from Pennsylvania did not conceal his purpose; he tells the country that it is the purpose of the eighteen northern States to reduce the southern States to abject submission.

Mr. Hickman replied: "I believe my remark was—at least I intended that it should be—this: that our intentions are to bring the disloyal to submission or acquiescence. I understand that to mean submission to the binding obligation of the laws. That is what I mean. Whether it shall be necessary to go further than that, is for the gentlemen who occupy the position of rebellion to determine."

Mr. Vallandigham, of Ohio, offered the following proviso:

Provided, further. That before the President shall have the right to call out any more volunteers than are already in the service, he shall appoint seven commissioners, whose mission shall be to accompany the army on its march, to receive and consider such propositions, if any, as may at any time be submitted from the Executive of the so-called Confederate States, or of any one of them, looking to a suspension of hostilities and the return of said States, or any one of them, to the Union, and to obedience to the Federal Constitution and authority.

On a division, there were only twenty-one votes in its favor:

In the Senate, on the 26th of July, Mr. Johnson, of Tennessee, offered the following resolution:—

Resolved, That the present deplorable civil war has been forced upon the country by the disunionists of the Southern States now in revolt against the constitutional Government and in arms around the capital; that in this national emergency Congress, banishing all feeling of mere passion or resentment, will recollect only its duty to the whole country; that this war is not prosecuted upon our part in any spirit of oppression, nor for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, nor for the purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of those States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution and all laws made in pursuance thereof, and to preserve the Union, with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the several States unimpaired; that as soon as these objects are accomplished the war ought to cease.

Mr. Polk, of Missouri, proposed to amend it so as to read:

That the present deplorable civil war has been forced upon the country by the disunionists of the Southern and the Northern States; that in this national emergency, &c., &c.

This was voted down by ayes, 4; noes, 33.

Mr. Trumbull, of Illinois, thus expressed his views of the object of the war: "I trust this war is prosecuted for the purpose of subjugating all rebels and traitors who are in arms against the Government. What do you mean by 'subjugation?' I know that persons in the southern States have sought to make this a controversy between States and the Federal Government, and have talked about coercing States and subjugating States; but, sir, it has never been proposed, so far as I know, on the part of the Union people of the United States, to subjugate States or coerce States. It is proposed, however, to subjugate citizens who are standing out in defiance of the laws of the Union, and to coerce them into obedience to the laws of the Union. I dislike that word in this connection. In its broadest sense I am opposed to it. If it means the war is not for the purpose of the subjugation of traitors and rebels into obedience to the laws, then I am opposed to it. I trust the war is prosecuted for that very purpose."

Mr. Johnson, of Tennessee, explained the resolution in these words: "The resolution simply states that we are not waging a war for the subjugation of States. If the Constitution is maintained and the laws carried out, the States take their places and all rebel citizens must submit. That is the whole of it."

Mr. Collamer, of Vermont, declared that he was for subjugation, in the sense in which that word was ordinarily received. He did not mean its classic meaning. He knew its literal, classic meaning was to pass under the yoke, *sub juga.* He proposed to pass nobody under the yoke; but in the ordinary and popular acceptation of that term he used it, that is, that all the people of the United States shall submit to the laws and Constitution of the United States everywhere.

Mr. Fessenden, of Maine, said: "I do not

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want to carry on this war for the purpose of subjugating the people of any State, in any shape or form; and it is a false idea gotten up by bad men for bad purposes that it ever has been the purpose of any portion of the people of this country. I am willing, therefore, to meet them face to face, and say I never had that purpose, and have it not now. But we say, notwithstanding we have not that purpose, and distinctly avow it; we have a purpose, and that is to defend the Constitution and the laws of the country, and to put down this revolt at whatever hazard; and it is for them to say whether it is necessary for us in the course of accomplishing a legitimate and proper object to subjugate them in order to do it. I hope not; and if it is necessary and we could do it, I should want to keep them subjugated no longer than was necessary to secure that purpose. That far it must go, and no further. To that it must go at all events and hazards. As to the word, sir, I would as soon take that as any other. It expresses the idea clearly, and I am satisfied with it."

Mr. Doolittle, of Wisconsin, regarded the resolution as an act not altogether legislative in its character, but as a declaration of the purpose of the Government. It was a deed in that sense, which is to have its effect upon the American people, and he desired that it should be passed in the language in which it had been presented.

Mr. Willey, of Western Virginia, stated the views of the people of the Old Dominion on the war. He said: "There is a fear among many, there is a prejudice wide extended in the public sentiment of Virginia, that the design of this war is subjugation; that the design of this war is to reduce the Old Dominion into a province; that the design of this war, literally, in the language of the honorable Senator from Vermont, is to pass our people under the yoke.

"Sir, I do not understand such to be the purpose of this war. The Legislature of the State which I represent does not understand such to be the purpose of this war. My constituency are for the preservation of the Union, the vindication of the Constitution, and the execution of the laws. We believe that in the success of this war, in carrying out these legitimate purposes, is involved the great question of constitutional liberty itself now and forever among our people, and among all people; and I here, from the Old Dominion, as an humble member on this floor, am instructed by my Legislature, and am prepared to vote for every necessary measure, and for every necessary man, without stint, let, or hinderance, to carry on the war until all resistance to lawful authority is put down; until the Constitution is vindicated, and restored to all its legitimate supremacy; and until the Union is reestablished on a basis never to be overthrown.

"But, sir, candor constrains me to say, that if any different purpose shall be avowed, if it shall ever be intimated or declared that this is to be a war upon the domestic institutions of the South, and upon the rights of private property, every loyal arm on the soil of the Old Dominion will be instantly paralyzed. Sir, pass this resolution in the language in which it is printed, and you give muscle and vigor to every loyal arm in the Old Dominion, and you will multiply the friends of the Union by thousands whenever our people are disimbued of the prejudices that exist in their minds."

Mr. Hale, of New Hampshire, stated that he had repeatedly, as long as he had been in Congress, and before that, avowed his sentiment to be that the Government had no more right, no more legal or constitutional authority to interfere with slavery in the States than they had to interfere with the condition of the serfs in Russia, or with the rights and wrongs of the laboring classes in England. "I said that when I acted—I was going to say with the party out of power; but when I acted out of power, without a party—when I acted as the soldier did, fighting on his own hook. That has always been my sentiment. I have always proclaimed it, whenever I had occasion to speak upon it; and, acting with the party that is in power to-day, I am willing to stand by the profession that I made when I was out of power. I believe that the General Government have no power upon this subject at all, and that they cannot have under the Constitution."

Mr. Kennedy, of Maryland, thus expressed his views: "I indicated by my vote a few minutes ago that my opinion is that this deplorable civil war has been forced on the country by the disunionists of the Southern and Northern States. I wanted to go no further, but merely to express that idea. I am not prepared to admit that it was brought on exclusively by the Southern States, because it will be very well recollected by gentlemen here that there were propositions of peace offered at the last session of Congress, in the very closing days of that session, which, if they had been accepted at that time by the majority party in the Senate, would have avoided the war which is upon us to-day.

"It was the refusal in part of the majority party to accept of measures of conciliation and peace before Congress adjourned last spring. It is also perfectly true that if the members of the Southern States who vacated these seats long before Congress adjourned, had remained here, there would not have been war. I believe that if the majority party had pursued a different course before Congress adjourned than the one that they elected in rejecting every overture and every proposition for peace, we should have been to-day without the sad calamity that has befallen us."

Mr. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, could not vote for the resolution, because he did not agree with the statement of facts contained in it. He said: "I do not intend to go into the antecedents of this unhappy difficulty. My own opinion is, that there have been errors upon

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both sides; my own opinion is, that these sectional Federal difficulties might have been settled last winter; my opinion is, that the present condition of affairs is due, principally, to the absolute refusal of the majority in this Chamber to agree to any proposition of adjustment, as I have taken occasion to state, and tried to show heretofore; and I think to that persistent and obstinate refusal, more than to any other cause, is due the present condition of public affairs.

"I think, sir, that this war is prosecuted, according to the purposes of a majority of those who are managing the legislation that leads to its prosecution, for objects of subjugation. I believe that, unless those States which have seceded from the Federal Union, lay down their arms and surrender at discretion, the majority in Congress will hear to no terms of settlement, and that those who may attempt to mediate will speak to the winds. I believe, therefore, that the war, in the sense and spirit entertained by these gentlemen, is a war of subjugation. The eminent Senator from Ohio, (Mr. Sherman,) not less conservative than a majority of the organization with which he is connected, went so far, in the warmth of his feelings, the other day, as to declare that, unless the people of certain States in the South yielded willing obedience, he would depopulate them and people them over again. That I call not only a war of subjugation, but a war of extermination.

"On the day before yesterday, I think, sir, an amendment offered by the Senator from Illinois (Mr. Trumbull) to one of the general bills before the Senate, received the vote of an overwhelming majority of this body, which declares that any person held to service or labor, who should be employed to aid the rebellion in any form, should be discharged from service and labor. These were the general vague terms of that proposition. I think I have the very words.

"I consider that amendment passed by a vote of the Senate, so far as the vote of this Senate can go, a general act of emancipation. I should like to know if those held to service or labor, who are employed as agricultural laborers in the South in raising cotton, in raising corn and other products which are used by the mass of the population, cannot readily be considered by a rampant and fanatic spirit as being employed in aiding the rebellion. Certainly as readily as every means of subsistence can be cut off from that whole country by the act of the Executive, approved by the legislative department of the Government."

Mr. Sherman, of Ohio, followed, saying:—"The Senator from Kentucky and the disunionists of the Southern States have no right to come to me and say, 'you have involved your country in civil war because you would not do as we wanted you to do.' Because we would not change the Constitution, because we would not ingraft new provisions in it that were unknown to it; especially because we will not disregard the popular voice at the last election, we are charged with involving our country in civil war. It is idle to answer this kind of argument.

"Mr. President, the disunionists of the Southern States are traitors to their country; they must, and I repeat they will, be subdued. This war is prosecuted for the purpose of subduing those men, and compelling them to obey the laws, just as you, sir, and I, are bound to do; to make them just as loyal subjects as you and I now are. Because this purpose is announced and declared by the resolution introduced by the honorable Senator from Tennessee, we are to have clamor about subjugation. I am a subject; you are a subject; there is not a Senator within the sound of my voice who is not a subject. The Lieutenant-General is a subject, the President of the United States is a subject, just precisely in the same sense that we intend to make all these people in the Southern States subjects to the Constitution. All this clap-trap about subjugation, it seems to me, ought to be dismissed from the Senate. These men must be subjugated to obedience to the Constitution; and when that is accomplished, then this resolution declares our purpose to be to give them all the rights conferred upon them by the Constitution, and that the very moment the object is accomplished the war shall cease.

"In regard to the proposition offered by the Senator from Illinois, (Mr. Trumbull,) I have but this to say: if a slave is used by his master in the actual prosecution of this war, that slave ought to be freed; the master ought to forfeit all right to him. Does the Senator deny this? If a slave is used by his master to accomplish the work of treason—I mean actively, according to the language of that bill—ought that master still to own the labor of that slave? Certainly not; and yet it seems to me, in declaring this principle, we do not interfere at all in the slightest degree with the relations of master and slave, except where the master uses that slave as an instrument to erect barricades—to accomplish treason. As a matter of course, then, he ought to lose his right to the slave—all claim, ownership, or control over him. There is no objection to this doctrine."

The debate was continued by Mr. Breckinridge, to whom Mr. Doolittle, of Wisconsin, replied: "The Senator charges upon the majority, or those representing the majority upon this floor, the responsibility of involving the country in civil war. He charges that last winter, if the majority had yielded to the demands of the minority, the country would now be at peace. Sir, what were those demands made by the minority? Not to support the Constitution; not to stand by the Constitution as it is; but to make a new Constitution, and a new Constitution by the provisions of which the institution of slavery should be carried into all the territories we now have south of 36° 30′, and all the territories we can ever acquire,

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even to Cape Horn. Sir, not only did they make the demand of a new Constitution, but they demanded it with arms in their hands. Do you suppose, when a demand like this was made, with arms in the hands of a minority, threatening to overturn the Government, that such a demand would be acquiesced in by the representatives of a majority of the American people?

"Does that honorable Senator, when defeated in the election, suppose that the majority, under the Constitution, would yield to the minority, who were already in arms to prevent the inauguration of their candidate? That because the majority refused to submit to this humiliating demand of a minority, as a condition precedent, the majority are responsible for this war? Behold those gentle advocates of peace seizing our forts, firing upon our flag, at the mouths of their cannon demanding a new Constitution, or that the old one should be overthrown! Worse than all, Mr. President, when the question was put to the representatives of this minority in the peace congress, 'If we yield to your demand, if we now agree that the Constitution shall be changed so that the institution of slavery, by virtue of the Constitution, shall be carried into all the territories we now have south of 36° 30', and all we may ever acquire in Mexico, Central and Southern America, will you then give up your doctrine of secession and stand by the Union?' the answer was, 'Not at all.' Sir, we could have no Union worth having on any terms whatever."

On a division, the resolution was adopted. Ayes, 30; noes, 5.

On the 15th of July, Mr. Wood, of New York, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That this Congress recommend the Governors of the several States to convene their Legislatures for the purpose of calling an election to select two delegates from each congressional district, to meet in general convention at Louisville, in Kentucky, on the first Monday in September next; the purpose of the said convention to be to devise measures for the restoration of peace to our country.

This was laid on the table. Ayes, 92; noes, 51.

On the same day, Mr. Allen, of Ohio, offered the following resolutions:

Resolved, That whenever the States now in rebellion against the General Government shall cease their rebellion and become loyal to the Union, it is the duty of the Government to suspend the further prosecution of the present war.

Resolved, That it is no part of the object of the present war against the rebellious States to interfere with the institution of slavery therein.

These were ruled out of order, as in conflict with the resolution prescribing the business of the extra session.

On the same day, Mr. McClernand offered the following preamble and resolution:

Whereas, a portion of the people of the United States, in violation of their constitutional obligations, have taken up arms against the national Government, and are now striving, by aggressive and iniquitous war, to overthrow it, and break up the Union of these States: Therefore,

Resolved, That this House hereby pledges itself to vote for any amount of money and any number of men which may be necessary to insure a speedy and effectual suppression of such rebellion, and the permanent restoration of the Federal authority everywhere within the limits and jurisdiction of the United States.

This was adopted. Ayes, 121; noes, 5.

On the 22d of July, Mr. Crittenden, of Kentucky, offered in the House the following resolution:

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, That the present deplorable civil war has been forced upon the country by the disunionists of the Southern States, now in arms against the constitutional Government, and in arms around the capital; that in this national emergency, Congress, banishing all feelings of mere passion or resentment, will recollect only its duty to the whole country; that this war is not waged on their part in any spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of those States, but to defend and maintain the *supremacy* of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the several States unimpaired; and that as soon as these objects are accomplished the war ought to cease.

The resolution was decided to be divisible, and the first part of it, to wit:

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, That the present deplorable civil war has been forced upon the country by the disunionists of the Southern States now in revolt against the constitutional Government, and in arms around the capital—

was adopted. Yeas, 121; nays, 2.

The remainder of the resolution was then adopted. Yeas, 117; nays, 2.

In the House, on the 24th of July, a bill was reported to appropriate $100,000 in payment of the police force organized by the United States in the city of Baltimore.

Mr. Burnett, of Kentucky, in opposing the bill, said: "I tell you, gentlemen, that you may carry on these acts, for there is no one here with power enough to prevent them; but you will be held responsible for all that has been done here. You are writing, by indorsing and ratifying the illegal acts of this Administration, one of the saddest, blackest pages in the history of this country."

Mr. Richardson, of Illinois, in reply, took occasion to make some statements, which, although not applicable to the subject under debate, yet belong to the facts of history. He said: "I have desired, during this entire session of Congress, to say a word or two to my friend from Kentucky, [Mr. Burnett.*] More than any other man in this house he is responsible this day for the condition in which the country now finds itself. When he aided, by his counsel, advice, and coöperation, the division of the Democratic party at Charleston

* Mr. Burnett returned to Kentucky at the close of this session of Congress, and subsequently became, during the year, a member of the Confederate Congress from Kentucky, and took a seat in that body at Richmond.

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and Baltimore, he brought the existing sad calamity upon the Union. Sir, I have no regard for your position. You have stood with the Republicans, and have aided them in elevating Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency, by dividing the Democratic party; and now, sir, you make that the pretext for breaking up this Government. I stand here and declare that fact in the face of the nation. It is true, sir. I understand it as well as any man in this house or in this country."

Mr. Burnett: "Will the gentleman permit me to ask him a question?"

Mr. Richardson: "Certainly, sir."

Mr. Burnett: "Then, when the gentleman states that at Charleston—and I do not mean to go into a discussion of the matter—I was engaged in plotting to break up the Democratic party, he states that of which he knows nothing, for, sir, I had no agency or hand in it; and, if he will permit me to say one more word, I will tell him that, when State delegations went out of the Charleston convention, I was the only man, I believe, from any of the slave States, who went into the hall and made a speech appealing to them to come back."

Mr. Richardson: "I am not mistaken, Mr. Speaker, in the position I assume. I found the gentleman there in association and coöperation with those who created distraction in that convention, and who did all that was done to destroy it. I stand here and say that; and for what I say I am responsible.

"Mr. Speaker, I have spoken of this conspiracy to break up the Democratic party and the country, and I have said that the gentleman from Kentucky was in it. I know the fact, and I will not permit him to shrink from it."

Mr. Burnett: "Let me tell the gentleman from Illinois, once for all—"

Mr. Richardson: "I know you were in it, and that is enough."

The Speaker: "Does the gentleman yield to the gentleman from Kentucky?"

Mr. Richardson: "I do not yield. I have one more word to say, and I want to say it to the other side of this House. This organization of the Breckinridge party was for the purpose of destroying the Government. That was its purpose and its object. What do we see? Without the aid and coöperation of the men of the North, that party was powerless. The men from the Northern States, who aided and encouraged this organization which is in rebellion, are at the head to-day of our army. Butler of Massachusetts, Dix of New York, and Patterson of Pennsylvania, and Cadwalader—all of them in this movement to break down and disorganize the Democratic party and the country. Why is it? This Douglas party furnished you one-half of your entire army. Where is your general—where is your man in command to-day who belongs to that party? Why is this? Have you Republicans sympathized with this Breckinridge party? Are you sympathizing with them, and lending your aid to the men who lead our armies into misfortune and disgrace? I ask you to look.

"I stand here to-day for the purpose of saying one word more. I have spoken with some feeling. I have spoken with feeling because I feel, and feel deeply. You have at the head of your army a man who carried your nag through the war of 1812, and through the war with Mexico, with a strategy unequalled. You have sought to disgrace him, and you have sought to impair the public confidence in him. He fought this battle over here,* which was disastrous to our army, against his judgment. Who caused it? You have forced it upon him. I tell you that, unless you rally aroond him, this great fighting army at the North, which is Democratic, will not support you. I have no sympathy with General Scott's political opinions—not a particle. When he was a candidate for the Presidency, I fought against and resisted his election with all my power. I would vote against him for the Presidency to-morrow; but I tell you that, when you look over the list of all the military men of the earth, he is the greatest of them all. He fought the battle of Sunday last against his plan. The strategy of General Scott was the finest ever seen. If he had not been forced to precipitate our army, he would have won a victory without fighting a battle. Again I say, you have forced this battle upon General Scott, and it has been lost because you have forced it upon him; and I declare before God to-day, as my solemn conviction, that if this thing is to be permitted to continue, you destroy this Government forever. I stand here in my place and make the declaration that, if General Scott cannot conduct this war, we have nobody that can. If he cannot, by strategy, skill, and courage, save this Government, it is impossible to save it. On this matter I have said all I desire to say."

Mr. Blair, of Missouri, followed: "The gentleman alleges that General Scott was driven into this battle the other day by some of the persons upon this side of the House, as I understood him. Now, there has been nothing said of General Scott here so derogatory to him as that which the gentleman himself has uttered. Is he fit to command the army of the United States if he can be forced into a battle when he is not prepared for it, and against his own best judgment, by the outcries of outsiders, as the gentleman has characterized them? No one here has attempted to traduce or say aught against General Scott, except the gentleman himself, and he has levelled at him a charge which is derogatory to him in the very highest degree."

Mr. Richardson: "Well, I take it back if I have."

Mr. Blair: "If he takes it back, I have nothing further to say upon the matter."

Mr. Richardson: "I believe the gentleman from Missouri has taken issue with me upon the

* Bull Run.

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fact that General Scott was forced to fight this battle. I will tell the gentleman what occurred yesterday morning in the presence of my friends McClernand, Logan, and Washburne, of Illinois, and also in the presence of the President of the United States and the Secretary of War. I will try and repeat what was said. General Scott said: 'Sir, I am the greatest coward in America.' I rose from my seat immediately. 'Stop, sir,' said he, 'I will prove it; I have fought this battle, sir, against my judgment; I think the President of the United States ought to remove me to-day for doing it. As God is my judge, after my superiors had determined to fight it, I did all in my power to make the army efficient. I deserve removal because I did not stand up, when my army was not in condition for fighting, and resist it to the last.' If the gentleman controverts what I say, I furnish the evidence, the proof. Here are the gentlemen present who heard this conversation. There is your Secretary of War and your President. He said that he ought to be removed because he had fought the battle against his judgment. I stand here to vindicate him.

"I am indebted to the gentleman from Missouri for the compliment which he has passed upon me. I desire to say for myself that I stand here the remains of three generations that have fallen in battle. The bones of my father and grandfather bleach upon the battlefields where they fell beneath the flag of my country. I have stood beneath its folds at home and abroad in the storm of battle, and, with God's blessing, I will stand beneath it to the end, and defend it with my life against foreign or domestic foe."

Mr. Washburne: "As my colleague has referred to that conversation, I hope he will state to the House what the President said to General Scott."

Mr. Richardson: "I will state it. The President said: 'Your conversation seems to imply that I forced you to fight this battle.' General Scott then said: 'I have never served a President who has been kinder to me than you have been.' But, sir, he did not relieve the Cabinet from the imputation of having forced him to fight this battle. He paid a compliment to President Lincoln personally; and, Mr. Speaker, standing here in my place, I desire to say of Abraham Lincoln—and I have known him from boyhood's hour till now—if you let him alone, he is an honest man; but I am afraid he has not the will to stand up against the wily politicians who surround him and knead him to their purposes."

On a subsequent day this subject came up again in the House, when Mr. Richardson said in explanation, he did not intend to charge that General Scott, even by implication, declared that President Lincoln had contributed to force him into the battle of Bull Run.

Mr. Blair, of Missouri, replied: "I allude to this matter for a double purpose. I find that the gentleman is reported as stating that General Scott intended to pay a personal compliment to Mr. Lincoln; but that he did not exonerate the Cabinet.

"I say that all that has been said on that occasion goes to show that General Scott did intend to exonerate the President from the allegation that he had forced him into a fight. I undertake to say that such is the fact, and I want it to go upon the record."

Mr. Richardson: "Let us have no misunderstanding about this matter. My colleagues understood that I gave the language as near as I could. Whether I have been correctly reported or not, I do not know. If I did not then make the correct statement, let me do it now.

"I did not understand General Scott, nor did I mean so to be understood, as implying that the President had forced him to fight that battle."

Mr. Blair: "That is the very essence of this matter. But I go further, in reference to what occurred prior to that battle, and say that the President, after he had information that General Johnston had escaped through the hands of General Patterson, and had joined General Beauregard on Friday evening, went to General Scott and suggested the propriety of waiting until Patterson's corps could come up and reinforce the army that was then before Manassas; but so firmly fixed was General Scott's determination to attack the enemy then and there, that the President's suggestion was disregarded. The Secretary of War also returned from the field before the battle, and endeavored to induce General Scott to send forward reinforcements; he urged it again and again; and finally succeeded in having five regiments sent, two of which reached Centreville before the retreat commenced. I make these statements, and I make them for the purpose of preventing General Scott from being exhibited to the country, as has been attempted to be done by his friends, as assailing the President and his Administration. This conversation, as reported in the speech of the gentleman from Illinois—and that speech has other marks indicating a design to attack the Administration—holds out General Scott as assailing the President and the Cabinet.

"But I have another purpose far more important; and that is, that the President shall retain the confidence of the people of this country—of all who are in favor of preserving the Union; but as long as he is held out as interposing and forcing the Commanding General to fight a battle against his will, he cannot command that confidence. When the country knows the truth, as they will know, that the President did not take the responsibility to order a battle before our troops were prepared for it, he will retain, as he deserves, the confidence of the people of this country in the war."

The Senate bill "to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes" was reported back by the Judiciary Committee with an amendment in the nature of a substitute. It

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provided that whenever hereafter, during the existence of the present insurrection against the Government of the United States, any person held to labor or service under the laws of any State shall be required or permitted, by the person to whom such labor or service is due, or his legal agent, to take up arms against the United States, or to work or be employed in or about any fort, navy-yard, armory, dock-yard, ship, or in any military or naval service, against the Government of the United States, or as the servant of any person engaged in active hostilities against the United States, then the person to whom such labor is due shall forfeit all claim to such service or labor, any law of any State, or of the United States, to the contrary notwithstanding; and, in case of a claim for such labor, such facts shall be a full and sufficient answer.

Mr. Wickliffe, of Kentucky, said: "I desire to ask the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary whether it is the design of this bill to confiscate the property of citizens in persons described there where they may be found at labor of any description which can be connected with war, except the carrying of arms? Suppose my negroes—I being a national man and a Union man—are taken without my leave and against my consent, to drive teams and carry provender to the rebel army: are my negroes to be confiscated?"

Mr. Bingham, of Ohio, answered: "I will state in reply to the inquiry of the gentleman from Kentucky, that this bill is drafted—the original bill as well as the substitute—in such a manner as expressly to preclude such a construction; because both the original bill and the substitute limit the penalties prescribed to such persons as are engaged in this rebellion by their own act."

Mr. Burnett, of Kentucky, said: "Now, let me ask the gentleman from Ohio whether the Senate bill does not apply to all slaves who may be owned by persons now in this rebellion, and to their services in any wise used in aiding this rebellion, without limitation?"

Mr. Bingham: "I state, unhesitatingly, that the Senate bill does no such thing, for it has limitation—that such services must be by the direct act of the owner himself; by the direct act of the owner, or by the act of his agent or employee."

The substitute was rejected by the House, and the question recurred on the Senate bill. To this Mr. Bingham offered an amendment, "limiting the operation of the bill to the present insurrection."

The fourth section of the Senate bill was then read as called for. It was as follows:

Whenever any person claiming to be entitled to the service or labor of any other person, under the laws of any State, shall employ such person in aiding or promoting any insurrection, or in resisting the laws of the United States, or shall permit him to be so employed, he shall forfeit all right to such service or labor, and the person whose labor or service is thus claimed shall be thenceforth discharged therefrom, any law to the contrary notwithstanding.

Mr. Burnett: "The use of a slave, by authority of the owner, in any mode which will tend to aid or promote this insurrection, will entitle that slave to his freedom."

Mr. Bingham: "Certainly it will."

Mr. Burnett: "Now we understand each other. I ask the gentleman whether this bill is not to be construed by the executive authorities of the Government?"

Mr. Bingham: "No, sir; I undertake to say that this provision is like many others now standing upon our statute-books subject to judicial decision. It is simply an act which may become the subject of adjudication in the courts as between the owner of a person so employed and the person so claimed."

Mr. Burnett: "That is what the gentleman says, but does it not mislead the House? On a certain state of facts to be assumed, and they are to a certain extent set out in the bill, then the contingency occurs upon which the slave is entitled to his freedom. Whenever that question is settled by judicial procedure hereafter, the slave sets up the fact that he was used in any way——"

Mr. Bingham: "By his master."

Mr. Burnett: "Or with his consent, or the consent of his agent, in any mode whatever, then that negro is entitled to his freedom."

Mr. Bingham: "Yes, sir."

Mr. Burnett: "Then, that amounts to a wholesale emancipation of the slaves in the seceding or rebellious States."

Mr. Bingham replied: "I undertake to say that no just court in America will ever construe this fourth section, if it becomes a law, to the effect that, because it happens that citizens of the United States residing in a seceding State hold slaves, this law amounts to an emancipation of their slaves. I deny that that was the intention of the law, or that it will bear any such construction by a court of justice. I assert, further, that the very words of the statute eschew any such construction. By the express words of the act it is limited in its effect to those persons who themselves, by their own direct acts, for the purpose of overturning the powers of the Government, employ, or consent that others shall employ, the services of their slaves to that end. Does the gentleman complain that the Congress of the United States shall provide by law that any person owning slaves within his own State of Kentucky, who shall feloniously employ them in insurrection within his own State against the combined authority of the United States and of the State of Kentucky, for the destruction of his own life, or the lives of his kindred and friends, shall be so tenderly cared for, that he shall not forfeit his control over his slaves? I aver that a traitor should not only forfeit his slave, but he should forfeit his life as well. A traitor justly forfeits both life and property."

Mr. Burnett followed: "The gentleman propounds to me the question whether I am willing that the slaves shall be used against the

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authority of the United States? This is what I object to: that when you pass a law in reference to property, you should take one species of property and put it upon a different footing from another. This Congress has no power, and the power exists nowhere in this Government, to set at liberty the slaves now held in bondage in the slave States; and when Congress undertakes to confiscate slave property, that species of property should be put upon the very same basis as all other property confiscated by the General Government. Let me state a case to the gentleman, and ask him a question.

"I am a citizen of the State of Tennessee, which is now one of the rebellious States; I own slaves; I use those slaves upon my farm in the culture of tobacco, wheat, and the usual products of that State; they make corn and wheat and hay; and I take those things, the products of slave labor, and sell them to that rebel army. Now, the gentleman is a lawyer, and will he say that, by the provisions of this bill, my slaves are not entitled to their freedom?"

Mr. Bingham: "I think, when the gentleman sells his produce to the rebels, he ought to forfeit all he has."

Mr. Burnett: "Exactly; and that is this bill."

Mr. Crittenden: "Mr. Speaker, it has been conceded in all time, I believe, that the Federal Government, the Congress of the United States, has no power to legislate upon the subject of slavery within the States. It has been conceded that that was a subject for State legislation only. Does war change the powers of Congress in this respect? It is the absence of all power upon the subject which has prevented your legislation. Absence of all power of legislation in time of peace must be the absence of the same power at all times. The constitutional power of this House does not come and go with a change of circumstances. That is a fixed rule of Congress, permanent, immutable, and made to govern Congress. Now, sir, if you can legislate in regard to slavery in this instance, and if you can, upon certain conditions in time of war, destroy the right of the master to his slave, why cannot you, upon conditions, in time of peace do the same thing? You do it here because the slave is employed to aid the master in the commission of a great crime, that is, the uniting in a civil war. Could you not apply the principle to times of peace, and make the conditions then? If a master uses his slave to aid in the commission of a trespass, or it may be a murder, can you declare that to be sufficient cause for the liberation of the slave? Why can you not? Because you have no power by your Constitution to touch slavery at all."

Mr. Kellogg, of Illinois: "I wish to make this suggestion: while we concede that there is no power to interfere with the right to hold slaves in Kentucky, I suggest to him whether it is not competent to forfeit the claim that a man has to his slaves for treason in the master, in the same way that he would forfeit his claim to his horse, and yet not at all in conflict with, or abrogate the law that authorizes the holding of slaves? I deny any disposition on my own part to interfere with the laws of the States in reference to holding slaves, but I insist upon our power to make a forfeiture of the right to service or labor of a person or the title to a horse, when the master of one, or the owner of the other, has become a traitor to his country, and uses that property or right for the destruction of the Government. I wish the gentleman to make a distinction between the right a master has, and the idea of abrogating the State law of Kentucky, for instance, allowing him to hold slaves; and that is the point to which I wish to call his attention."

Mr. Crittenden: "I answer the gentleman in the same general terms in which he argues his case. If you have no power, there the question ends. Well, have you a power to legislate concerning a slave in Kentucky, as to his rights present or future? Have you a right to impose any terms or conditions on the master, in time of peace, on which the slave shall be entitled to his liberty?"

Mr. Kellogg, of Illinois: "My idea on that point is simply this: that the citizen of Kentucky, like the citizen of any State, by an infraction of law—of the highest law of the country—is liable to penalties and forfeitures. It operates on the person to forfeit his right by his own crime, and does not at all attack or invalidate the right to hold slaves or abolish slavery in Kentucky. It operates as a forfeiture on the person for his crime in precisely the same way as it operates as a forfeiture on other kinds of property."

Mr. Crittenden: "I say, if you have no power directly, no matter what the advantages of the exercise of that power would be, no matter how just, no matter how necessary to the preservation of the Union, you cannot legislate about it for want of power. That is my point. You cannot make a general law that shall regulate slavery, that shall regulate the rights of the master or the rights of the servant, in a State of this Union, in time of peace. That will be admitted, I think. You cannot punish any crime in the State; that is for the State. It is a part of its interior police. It is the law, and you were willing to put it in the Constitution as a thing never denied. Now, I ask my friend if this bill is not getting around that, making use of a state of war, of a state of things that highly excites us all?"

Mr. Kellogg, of Illinois: "I repeat that we have no more power to legislate on the subject of slavery in time of war than we have in time of peace. If a citizen of the United States commits high treason, or any other great crime known to the law, it is competent for the United States Legislature, if the crime be within its cognizance, (and treason is,) to provide for the forfeiture and confiscation of the offender's property. And it is because he is a criminal before the law that I propose that his horses,

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his houses, his lands, his mules, his cannon, yea, his right to service in another, shall be confiscated; not annulling the law by which he holds it: for that is a matter which neither in war nor in peace can we reach. But because of the crime, we may either in war or peace impose the penalty of the confiscation of the offender's right to hold property, or of the right to the service and labor of another. This bill is put on the ground of confiscation, on the ground of forfeiture."

Mr. Crittenden: "Mr. Speaker, it is the crime against which we are legislating that irritates and provokes us to extremity in our legislation on this subject. We have a power in all cases within our jurisdiction to try persons in our courts for the crime alleged against them; and all the consequences which the law annexes under the Constitution follow the judgment.

"Now, in reference to treason, which is the crime here. The Constitution defines what it is, and provides for its punishment. It declares that treason against the United States shall consist in levying war against them; and that no person shall be convicted of treason except on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on his confession in open court. It declares that Congress shall have the power to declare the punishment of treason; but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the offender.

"Now, sir, the crime declared by this bill, and for which this forfeiture is to take place, is treason—treason by its very definition. It is so considered in this bill. It is so considered by my friend from Illinois. This law undertakes to deprive the owner of slaves of his entire property, and to give complete freedom to the slave. The Constitution says that even on conviction of treason, there shall be no forfeiture of property, of any description, beyond the lifetime of the offender.

"Now, I ask my friends everywhere if it is not a plain breach of the Constitution that a man shall forfeit his slaves? Whatsoever of property he employs, or permits to be employed in a certain way in aid of treasonable purposes, he shall forfeit it absolutely, says this bill; and especially shall he forfeit his slaves forever. That is the language of the bill. The language of the Constitution is, that no title of his property shall be forfeited for longer than his life. In this, however else we may differ, there is an apparent unconstitutionality in this bill.

"Gentlemen, for the sake of our country, I ask you not to enter upon such an experiment. Your laws already declare what is treason; they define what shall be the penalties of that crime. They are sufficient, and I hope there will be no further action, such as this bill contemplates.

"Let us act our part like men; let us look above these little means of penal laws which, give me leave to say, will furnish those in arms against the Government a pretext for misrepresenting the purposes and objects of this war. We have declared that this war is not for the subjugation of the South, not for the overthrow of slavery, nor for the overthrow of their social institutions, but simply for the noble purpose of restoring our country and preserving the Union. That is our object. Let the means with which we pursue that object be as noble and elevated as the object itself. Let us raise ourselves to that high level. But what will be the effect of these penal laws? Does any man suppose they will assist you in gaining a single battle? When we have before us the noble purpose of uniting our countrymen under a common Government, and of restoring the supremacy of the Constitution, is it necessary to rake in the dust for these small, petty means of annoyance, the effect of which will only be to render those now in arms against the Government more bitter against us?"

Mr. Diven, of New York, asked: "Is there any man who thinks that the passage of a law authorizing the confiscation of property can promote the success of our army? Why, then, do not other nations think so? When we were prosecuting our war against Mexico we respected the property of the enemy. When Garibaldi was prosecuting the war of independence in Italy, he respected the property of the Italians, without regard to what army they were giving their sympathies to. Have not the stern rigors of ancient law been relaxed in favor of justice? Why have we protested against indiscriminate piracy on the seas? Why has the custom been abandoned of giving up cities that had been besieged to the sack of the soldiery, as was once the universal usage of war? Did the sacking of cities promote the success of the besiegers? On the contrary, it stimulated the besieged to a more obstinate and determined resistance. If any man doubts it, let him read the wars of the Peninsula, where women, rather than undergo the rigors of such a code, fought and perished, till the streets reeked with their putrid bodies. No, sir. The attaching of such rigors and penalties to warfare only stimulates the resistance of the enemy. Let it be understood that all these Southern States, which may be regarded as in rebellion against the Government, are to have their property all confiscated if we are successful in the war, and do you not see that they will fight the battle to the bitter end? Do you not see that there is no hope for them, no home, no hearthstone; and that they may as well conclude to die on the field of battle as to surrender?"

Mr. Stevens, of Pennsylvania, replied: "Mr. Speaker, I thought the time had come when the laws of war were to govern our action; when constitutions, if they stood in the way of the laws of war in dealing with the enemy, had no right to intervene. Who pleads the Constitution against our proposed action? Who says the Constitution must come in, in bar of our action? It is the advocates of rebels, of rebels who have sought to overthrow the Constitution and trample it in the dust—who repudiate the

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Constitution. Sir, these rebels, who have disregarded and set at defiance that instrument, are, by every rule of municipal and international law, estopped from pleading it against our action. Who, then, is it that comes to us and says, 'you cannot do this thing, because your Constitution does not permit it?' The Constitution! Our Constitution, which you repudiate and trample under foot, forbids it? Sir, it is an absurdity. There must be a party in court to plead it, and that party, to be entitled to plead it in court, must first acknowledge its supremacy, or he has no business to be in court at all. I repeat, then, that those who bring in this plea here, in bar of our action, are the advocates of rebels. They are nothing else, whatever they intend. I mean it, of course, in a legal sense. I mean they are acting in the capacity of counsellors-at-law for the rebels; they are speaking for them, and not for us, who are the plaintiffs in this transaction. I deny that they have any right to plead at all. I deny that they have any standing in court. I deny that they have any right to invoke this Constitution, which they deny has any authority over them, which they set at defiance and trample under foot. I deny that they can be permitted to come here and tell us we must be loyal to the Constitution."

The bill was re-committed to the Judiciary Committee, and on a subsequent day reported back with a recommendation to strike out the fourth section, and insert the following:

That whenever hereafter, during the present insurrection against the Government of the United States, any person claimed to be held to labor or service, under the laws of any State, shall be required or permitted by the person to whom such labor or service is claimed to be due, or by the lawful agent of such person, to take up arms against the United States, or shall be required or permitted by the person to whom such service or labor is claimed to be due, or his lawful agent, to work or to be employed in or upon any fort, navy-yard, dock, armory, ship, or intrenchment, or in any military or naval service whatever, against the Government and lawful authority of the United States, then, and in every such case, the person to whom such service is claimed to be due, shall forfeit his claim to such labor, any law of the State, or of the United States, to the contrary notwithstanding; and whenever thereafter the person claiming such labor or service shall seek to enforce his claim, it shall be a full and sufficient answer to such claim that the person whose service or labor is claimed had been employed in hostile service against the Government of the United States, contrary to the provisions of this act.

This was adopted, and the bill passed. Ayes, 60; noes, 48.

This extra session of Congress was closed August 6th. Called at the time when the President's proclamation was issued summoning an armed force to the aid of the Government, its business was primarily to provide ways and means for efficiently carrying on the military operations thus commenced. This object was met in a most liberal manner. Duties on certain imports were increased; a loan of two hundred and fifty millions was authorized; the issue of fifty millions of Treasury notes, reissuable as often as they might return to the Treasury, was also granted; taxes collectable at a future day were also laid, with a guarantee that they would be collected if needed.

The repeal of the specie clause of the Subtreasury act, this departure from the established policy of the Government in time of peace, made the paper currency of the country at once available for the uses of the Government, and relieved the banks from the restraint which had been held upon over-issues of their circulation. The army was increased to almost any extent the President might require. One bill alone authorized the enlistment of five hundred thousand volunteers. In short, every thing in the power of Congress was done to give strength to the arm of the Government. The spirit and opinions of the people expressed through their representatives in Congress, as shown in the preceding sketches, were of the most patriotic and harmonious character, creating sanguine anticipations of a bright, and prosperous, and united future to the whole country.

The position taken by the members from the Southern States, that their constituents regarded the election of Mr. Lincoln as a proof that the people of the North had become so abolitionized as to intend the destruction of their domestic institutions, remained to be proved. At the extra session, when the entire control of Congress was placed in the hands of the North, no decisive expression of Northern sentiment on this point was manifested.

CONNECTICUT. One of the Southern New England States, bounded north by Massachusetts, east by Rhode Island, south by Long Island Sound, and west by New York; area, 4,674 square miles; pop. in 1860, 460,147; watered by the Connecticut, Housatonic, Thames, and their tributaries, and numerous smaller rivers; the State is divided into 8 counties, viz., Hartford, Tolland, Windham, New London, Middlesex, New Haven, Fairfield, and Litchfield; and into 4 congressional districts, each comprising two counties, in the order above stated. Its Legislature meets annually, and consists of a Senate of 21 members, and a House of Representatives of about 260. This State held its annual election for State officers, and its biennial one for members of Congress, on the 1st of April, 1861. It resulted in the election of William A. Buckingham, the Republican candidate for Governor, by a majority of 2,086, and the entire Republican State ticket; a large Union and Republican majority in both branches of the State Legislature, and the election of Messrs. Dwight Loomis, and Alfred A. Burnham, Republican members of Congress in the 1st and 3d districts, and of Messrs. James E. English and Geo. C. Woodruff, Democratic members of Congress in the 2d and 4th districts.

On the 15th of April Governor Buckingham received the President's Message, calling for 75,000 soldiers and immediately issued a proc-

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lamation calling upon the patriotic citizens of the State to volunteer their services in aid of the General Government. The proportion of the 75,000 men required from the State was one regiment of 780 men; and the banks of the State promptly proffered the money necessary for raising, equipping, and maintaining the troops.

The State Legislature met on the 1st of May, and Gov. Buckingham, in his Message, announced that 41 volunteer companies had already been accepted, and that a fifth regiment would be full in a few days. The regiments would not leave the State till they were fully equipped with camp and baggage trains, and prepared to take care of themselves on all occasions. He recommended also the organization of an efficient State militia. The Legislature promptly responded to the Governor's suggestions. On the 3d of May, an act to provide for the organization and equipment of a volunteer militia and for the public defence, passed both Houses.

This bill authorized and empowered the Governor to cause to be enlisted, enrolled, and mustered into the service of the State of Connecticut, for such time as he might deem expedient, volunteers, in his discretion as to numbers, not to exceed ten thousand men, to be officered, organized, armed, and equipped, in such manner as the Governor should order and direct, said force hereby authorized being in addition to the present military organization, and a part of the militia thereof. The officers and men to receive the same pay and rations while under the provisions of this act, until mustered into the service of the United States, as officers and men of the same rank and arm of service in the army of the United States. They were to be liable at all times to be turned over by the Governor to the service of the nation. They were to be paid by the State only for the time actually spent in organization, drilling, and instruction. All expenditures for arms, supplies, equipments, and transportation to be paid for by the Governor out of the State Treasury. Each volunteer was to receive ten dollars a month in addition to the regular pay of the United States, which is eleven dollars a month. Two millions of dollars were appropriated to pay the expenditures under the act.

The first regiment, of 834 men, commanded by Col. Alfred H. Terry, left the State on the 10th of May; the second regiment, of 800 men, commanded by Col. Daniel Tyler, on the 13th or 14th of the same month; the third, of over 800 men, under Col. J. Arnold, on the 22d; and the fourth, of over 1,000 men, commanded by Col. Levi Woodhouse, on the 10th of June.

While the great body of the people of the State were earnestly in favor of the war, there were a number who believed that the Union never could be restored by hostile measures, and who boldly avowed this opinion. These persons called what they termed "Peace Meetings," and attempted to raise "peace flags" in various parts of the State. These proceedings roused the indignation of the citizens, who generally advocated a vigorous prosecution of the war, and led in several instances to serious collisions and acts of violence. Gov. Buckingham, on the 15th August, issued a call for four regiments of infantry to volunteer for three years or the war; and immediately on the publication of this summons, a "peace" meeting was called at Saybrook, Conn., on the 16th August, and an announcement was made that a peace flag would be raised. Those of opposite views rallied in much larger numbers than the "peace" party, and raised the Stars and Stripes, and the "peace" party attacked the Union party, but were beaten off, some of them being seriously wounded. Union speeches were then made and a guard placed on the ground to prevent the raising of a "peace" flag.

On the 26th August, a "peace" flag was raised at New Fairfield, Conn., and an attempt to pull it down led to a vigorous fight, in which two of the "peace" men were seriously, and it was thought fatally, wounded. A similar meeting was attempted the same day at Stepney, but the peace flag was torn down, the Stars and Stripes raised, and several Union speeches made. Among those present at Stepney was a considerable party of Union men from Bridgeport, and on their return, as they passed the office of the Bridgeport "Farmer," which had been the leading organ of the "peace" party, they were, or conceived that they were, hissed and insulted; whereupon the volunteers, who formed a considerable portion of the company, attacked and sacked the office of the "Farmer."

The recurrence of these disturbances in several parts of the State led Gov. Buckingham to issue the following proclamation:

A PROCLAMATION.

Eleven States of the Union are now armed and in open rebellion against Federal authority; they have paralyzed the business of the nation, have involved us in civil war, and are now exerting their combined energies to rob us of the blessings of a free government. The greatness of their crime has no parallel in the history of human governments. At this critical juncture, our liberties are still further imperilled by the utterance of seditious language; by a traitorous press, which excuses or justifies the rebellion; by secret organizations, which propose to resist the execution of the laws of this State by force; by the public exhibition of "peace flags," falsely so called; and by an effort to redress grievances regardless of the forms and officers of the law.

The very existence of our Government, the future prosperity of this entire nation, and the hopes of universal freedom demand that these outrages be suppressed.

The Constitution guarantees liberty of speech and of the press, but holds the person and the press responsible for the evils which result from this liberty. It guarantees the protection of property, but it regards no property as sacred which is used to subvert governmental authority. It guarantees the person from unreasonable seizure, but it protects no individual from arrest and punishment who gives aid and comfort to the enemies of our country. It provides by law for the punishment of offences, but allows no grievance to be redressed by violence.

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I, therefore, call upon the citizens of this State to support and uphold the authority and dignity of the Government, and to abstain from every act which can tend to encourage and strengthen this conspiracy; and I call upon the officers of the law to be active, diligent, and fearless in arresting and in instituting legal proceedings for the punishment of those who disturb the public peace, of those who are guilty of sedition and treason, and of those who are embraced in combinations to obstruct the execution of the laws; so that peace may again be restored to our distracted country, and the liberties of the people be preserved.

Given under my hand and the seal of this State, at Hartford, this thirty-first day of August, A. D. 1861.

WM. A. BUCKINGHAM.

By His Excellency's command,

J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL,
Secretary of State.

On the 9th of October the Legislature met in extra session on the call of the Governor, to provide for more soldiers and do it liberally; to rectify some errors in the militia laws passed the previous session, and to decide whether the State would assume its share of the direct national tax or leave the Government to collect it. In his Message, Gov. Buckingham stated to the Legislature that the expense incurred to the 1st of October, on account of volunteers, had been $943,939, which had been met by the money in the Treasury, and the sale of $800,000 of the bonds authorized by the Legislature, which had commanded a premium, the State having no previous debt. He then proceeded to say:

"The calls made upon volunteers, for the national defence, have met with a hearty response, and but for a hesitancy on the part of the General Government to accept more troops, we might have had twelve or fifteen thousand men in the field to-day. We have, however, organized, equipped, sent into the field, and have now ready nine regiments of infantry. Their camp equipage was complete, and their appointments were highly respectable. About five thousand Sharp's and Enfield rifles have been purchased, and contracts made for an equal number of the latter arms, which have not yet been delivered. Arrangements have also been made to arm, uniform, and furnish complete equipments for two other regiments now rendezvousing, and for one not yet organized."

The Legislature held a session of one week, and before adjourning conferred on the Governor unlimited power to raise volunteers; authorized another loan of two million dollars, and the assuming of the collection of the national tax, by which 15 per cent. would be saved to the people of the State.

Before the 1st of January, the State had thirteen fully and well equipped regiments in the field; and before the 1st of March, 1862, the number had been increased to fifteen regiments, besides a large number of her citizens who had joined regiments in other States or arms of the service, not represented in the volunteer corps of the State.

CONWAY, WILLIAM. An aged seaman, who was a quartermaster in the navy, on duty in the navy-yard at Warrington, Florida, when it was surrendered on the 12th of January. When ordered by Lieutenant Commanding Francis B. Renshaw to haul down the national flag, he promptly and indignantly refused to obey the order. A naval general court-martial held for the trial of the commandant of the yard submitted to the Secretary of the Navy, "the propriety, justice, and good policy of bestowing some appropriate mark of approbation of the loyalty, spirit, and good conduct of Conway." The Department ordered this testimonial of the court to be publicly read by the commanders of all naval stations, and all vessels in commission.

COTTON. The consumption of cotton in the year 1861 was greatly curtailed by the unfortunate events in the United States, which cut off the largest source of supply to the manufacturing world. Comparatively, the quantities consumed were as follows:

	1826.	1860.	1861.
Great Britain, bales.....	560,000	2,633,000	2,253,000
United States, "	98,110	972,658	848,740
France, "	281,100	625,501	518,200
Europe generally,"	129,600	970,200	991,000
Total bales.....	1,068,810	5,200,754	4,666,940

The increase of consumption as expressed in bales does not represent the whole increase, for the reason that the process of packing has gradually improved, and the bales, without occupying more room, contain more cotton. In 1850 the average weight of bales was 392 lbs.; in 1861, 425 lbs. The weight of United States cotton in 1850 was 423 lbs., and in 1861 500 lbs. Hence the actual increase of consumption has been fivefold since 1826, and nearly the whole of the increase has been supplied from the United States. The actual production and consumption in the United States, with the average annual export price, down to the close of the fiscal year 1861, are given in the following table. (See p. 253.)

The consumption of cotton in the United States has increased very rapidly without diminishing the surplus spared for exportation. On the other hand, the quantity exported has annually and largely increased. The United States surplus has in fact long been the sole dependence for supplying cotton goods to Great Britain and Europe. This fact has been a source of anxiety to the English Government as well as to the spinners, who have foreseen the great calamity of a "cotton famine" which sooner or later would overtake them, and they have long sought other sources of supply. For more than fifty years India has been the scene of extensive enterprises, and the results may be expressed in the language of the report of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, January, 1861: "The East India Company's experiments for the purpose of introducing American cotton are now brought to a close. They commenced in 1788, and have hitherto resulted, notwithstanding an expenditure of $1,750,000, in signal failure." That India, as well as many

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EXPORT FROM AND CONSUMPTION OF COTTON IN THE UNITED STATES.

U. S. CONSUMPTION.		EXPORTS.		
	lbs.	lbs.	value.	price.
1821....	21,298,101	124,893,405	$20,157,484	16.2
1822....	23,498,104	144,675,095	24,083,058	16.6
1823....	25,972,201	173,723,270	20,445,520	11.8
1824....	27,298,101	142,369,668	21,947,401	15.4
1825....	31,547,362	176,449,907	36,846,649	20.9
1826....	38,724,681	204,535,415	25,025,214	12.2
1827....	44,854,800	294,310,115	29,359,545	10
1828....	36,177,900	210,500,463	22,487,229	10.7
1829....	35,655,900	264,837,186	26,575,311	10
1830....	37,936,600	298,459,103	29,674,883	9.9
1831....	54,642,600	276,979,784	25,289,492	9.1
1832....	60,210,000	322,215,122	31,724,652	9.8
1833....	68,054,200	324,698,664	36,191,105	11.1
1834....	68,745,500	384,717,967	49,448,402	12.8
1835....	76,710,800	387,358,992	64,961,602	16.8
1836....	82,856,500	423,631,967	71,284,925	16.8
1837....	77,879,000	444,211,557	63,340,102	14.3
1838....	86,121,000	505,952,207	61,556,811	10.3
1839....	96,605,900	418,624,212	61,298,982	14.8
1840....	118,077,200	743,941,061	63,870,307	8.5
1841....	119,715,200	530,294,100	54,930,341	10.2
1842....	107,240,000	684,715,017	47,588,464	8.1
1843....	130,056,600	792,297,166	49,119,866	6.2
1844....	138,697,400	663,633,475	54,063,501	8.1
1845....	155,602,400	872,905,926	51,789,643	5.92
1846....	169,138,800	547,558,055	42,767,341	7.81
1847....	171,186,800	727,219,958	59,413,848	10.34
1848....	212,703,800	814,274,431	61,998,294	7.61
1849....	207,215,600	1,026,602,269	66,696,967	6.4
1850....	267,311,800	635,381,604	71,984,616	11.3
1851....	199,543,471	927,237,089	112,315,317	12.11
1852....	256,287,300	1,093,230,639	87,965,792	8.05
1853....	285,178,800	1,111,570,370	109,456,404	9.85
1854....	259,492,600	987,868,106	93,596,220	9.47
1855....	292,278,200	1,008,424,601	88,143,844	8.74
1856....	293,728,000	1,351,431,701	128,882,251	9.49
1857....	368,962,100	1,048,282,475	131,575,859	12.55
1858....	166,536,100	1,118,624,012	131,886,661	11.72
1859....	440,534,300	1,386,468,856	161,434,923	12.72
1860....	461,720,200	1,767,686,388	191,806,555	10.85
1861....	400,776,500	307,516,099	34,051,483	11.07

other places on the globe's surface, does produce cotton there is no doubt; but the cotton is nowhere equal to the American.

The cotton mostly manufactured is of several sorts: A fine long-stapled cotton called "Sea Island," grown only on the coast of Georgia. It has a small black seed, and is easily cleaned. The quantity is very small, not over 20,000,000 lbs. per annum being made. It is used mostly for muslin thread and the finest numbers of yarns—100 and upwards. It will command generally 50 cents per lb.; but as it is used in those descriptions of goods of which the greatest cost is the labor, the price is not so material.

A similar description of poorer quality is grown in Australia to a small extent. There is also a long, strong, fine yellowish cotton grown in Egypt. From Brazil comes a coarse, harsh, bright-colored cotton, but strong and long-stapled, and a very small quantity of similar cotton from the West Indies. These long-stapled cottons are required to spin into yarns higher than No. 50's, and make the "warp," that is, the longitudinal threads of cloth. The short cottons will not answer for these yarns.

The great American crop is a soft, white, silky medium staple, and is used for the lower or coarse numbers of warp and mostly for the weft. Every piece of cotton cloth requires two to five times as much weft as warp, and the whole manufacture requires nine pounds of this American cotton for one of any other. Its price ranges from 6 to 12 cents. It is now 25 cents, as a war price.

The Indian or Surat cotton is a dry, fuzzy, harsh, and very short-stapled article. It is used exclusively for weft, mixed with American. If it is used alone the cloth has a rough, woolly feel, and after washing or bleaching has a thin, meagre look. It has, however, a good color, and is cheap. Its market price is generally two-thirds that of the United States cotton. If the United States article were sufficiently abundant, and as cheap, the Surat cotton would not be used at all. The greatest efforts have been made to naturalize the American cotton in India; but where it lives at all, it in three years degenerates into the Surat sort.

Thus the difficulty in supply is not so much quantity as quality, but the quantity is also a serious matter. The present United States growth has been developed under the most favorable circumstances of new land and labor in the space of sixty-six years, and in the last ten the consumption has so outrun production that the price has constantly risen without drawing from other sources much if any increase of supply.

The supply of cotton from sources other than the United States exceeded that of the latter by 44 per cent. up to 1820. From that time up to 1845 the United States supply gained rapidly. After that date the spread of manufacture in the United States trenched upon the quantities that otherwise could have been exported, while on the part of other producing countries the machine-made goods of England gradually supplanted the local hand manufactures. The result was a larger quantity of raw cotton to be sent to England, but also a larger demand for goods thence, until all the cotton-producing countries, except the United States, buy more cotton of England than they send thither. The proof is in the following table, showing from the official sources the weight of cotton imported, and the weight of cotton goods returned to each country in 1861:

	Cotton Imported. lbs.	Goods and Yarn Exp'd. lbs.
East Indies.....	377,616,500	273,258,110
Brazils.....	18,170,100	20,181,000
Egypt.....	35,890,601	16,151,000
West Indies.....	1,980,110	10,271,100
Total lbs.....	443,657,311	319,859,210

There were recexported from England 166,000,000 lbs. of the products of other countries to mix with the American cotton used in Europe. Hence it will be observed that the American supply is alone that on which the trade depends. In those years in which the American crop falls short the price rises in Liverpool, and, as a consequence, more is drawn from the other countries, as in the year 1861.

The following table shows the quantities imported into Great Britain from each chief source since 1820, with the average price of leading descriptions in Liverpool for each year.

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IMPORTATION OF COTTON INTO GREAT BRITAIN, SHOWING THE SOURCES OF SUPPLY AND THE ANNUAL AVERAGE PRICES IN LIVERPOOL.

	U. States.	Brazils.	Mediterra'n.	East Indies.	West Indies.	Otherplaces.	Total.	Prices.		
	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	Up.	Bas.	Sa.
1821....	89,929,174	29,198,155	472,684	23,125,825	6,836,816	2,040,001	151,672,655	11d	12d	8d
1821....	91,470,745	19,593,786	1,131,567	8,827,107	7,188,980	2,432,435	132,556,620	9d	12d	9d
1822....	101,011,766	24,705,206	518,804	4,554,225	10,295,114	1,732,513	142,837,628	8d	11d	6d
1823....	142,532,112	53,514,641	1,492,413	14,839,117	7,084,793	1,989,427	191,402,503	8d	12	6d
1824....	92,187,662	24,849,552	8,699,924	16,420,005	6,269,306	956,678	149,884,125	8d	11d	6d
1825....	139,904,699	33,180,491	22,608,875	20,005,572	8,193,948	4,018,206	228,403,291	11d	12d	6d
1826....	131,858,203	9,871,092	10,308,617	20,985,135	4,751,070	889,284	177,607,401	6d	10d	4d
1827....	216,924,812	29,716,162	5,372,562	20,990,542	7,165,881	1,388,950	272,448,909	6d	9d	5d
1828....	151,752,289	29,143,279	7,039,574	32,187,901	5,893,800	1,743,199	227,760,042	6d	8d	4d
1829....	157,187,396	28,878,386	6,049,597	24,857,800	4,640,414	1,158,818	222,767,411	5d	7d	4
1830....	210,883,358	33,092,072	3,428,798	12,481,761	3,429,247	644,216	263,961,452	6d	8d	5
1831....	219,383,628	31,695,761	8,460,559	25,805,153	2,401,685	978,067	288,674,853	6	7d	4d
1832....	219,756,753	29,103,560	9,163,692	35,178,625	2,040,428	583,467	296,832,525	6d	9	5
1833....	287,506,758	28,463,821	1,920,268	32,755,164	2,084,862	1,825,964	303,656,837	8d	10d	6d
1834....	269,203,075	19,291,895	1,681,625	32,920,865	2,298,794	1,484,670	326,875,425	8d	11d	6d
1835....	254,455,812	24,987,409	8,453,630	41,425,011	1,815,270	2,564,831	333,702,963	10d	14d	7d
1836....	289,615,692	27,501,372	8,223,029	75,949,845	1,714,837	3,951,882	406,959,657	9d	12d	6d
1837....	320,651,716	20,940,145	9,325,979	51,582,072	1,595,702	3,240,169	407,286,783	7	9d	4d
1838....	411,437,883	24,484,535	6,409,463	40,217,784	1,529,356	3,791,628	507,880,577	7	9d	5
1839....	311,597,798	16,971,979	6,429,671	47,172,939	1,248,164	5,976,008	389,396,559	7d	10	5d
1840....	457,856,304	14,779,171	8,324,937	77,011,839	866,157	3,649,402	562,488,010	6	9d	4d
1841....	358,240,964	16,671,348	9,997,189	97,388,153	1,588,197	5,061,513	487,992,355	6d	8d	4d
1842....	414,639,779	15,222,828	4,489,017	92,972,609	598,603	4,441,250	531,750,086	5d	7d	4
1843....	574,738,530	18,675,123	9,674,076	65,709,729	1,260,444	8,185,224	673,193,116	4d	6d	3d
1844....	517,218,622	21,084,741	12,406,327	88,639,776	1,707,194	3,054,641	646,111,304	4d	6d	3d
1845....	634,659,412	29,157,631	14,614,659	58,437,426	1,894,447	723,836	721,979,953	4d	6d	3
1846....	401,949,393	14,743,321	14,278,447	34,540,143	1,201,857	1,140,113	467,856,274	4d	7d	3d
1847....	364,599,291	19,945,922	4,814,364	83,934,614	793,963	598,587	474,707,615	6d	7d	4d
1848....	609,247,488	19,971,378	7,231,861	84,101,961	640,437	827,036	713,020,161	4d	6	3d
1849....	615,715,951	13,738,131	17,339,431	70,838,515	914,807	1,074,164	753,469,012	5d	7d	3d
1850....	491,151,112	39,239,982	18,931,414	118,472,741	228,913	2,600,648	668,576,861	7d	8d	5d
1851....	593,618,962	19,339,104	16,955,525	122,624,976	446,529	1,377,658	757,379,749	5d	7d	4
1852....	765,630,544	26,593,144	48,038,640	84,922,432	763,696	3,960,992	929,782,448	5d	7	3d
1853....	658,451,796	24,199,628	28,353,575	181,848,160	350,428	2,084,162	895,278,749	5d	7	3d
1854....	722,151,816	19,701,610	23,533,033	119,836,003	409,110	1,730,081	887,338,149	5d	7	3d
1855....	681,629,424	24,577,952	32,904,153	145,179,216	468,452	6,992,755	891,751,952	5d	7	3d
1856....	783,040,016	21,831,704	34,616,848	180,499,624	462,784	6,439,328	1,023,886,304	6	7d	4d
1857....	614,758,048	29,910,432	24,882,144	256,338,141	1,443,568	7,986,160	969,318,896	7d	8d	5d
1858....	833,217,776	18,617,872	38,248,112	182,722,576	867,808	11,148,032	1,084,842,176	6d	8d	4d
1859....	961,707,264	22,477,960	38,106,096	192,930,880	592,256	10,773,616	1,225,989,072	6d	8d	4d
1860....	1,115,891,608	17,243,824	44,036,608	204,141,168	1,059,784	8,582,720	1,290,955,752	7d	9	5d
1861....	821,909,040	17,367,525	41,072,650	370,687,950	2,180,110	7,127,061	1,260,954,297	18d	18d	8d

These have been the sources of supply, and it is to be observed that high as the prices have risen in the markets of the world under the effective demand of increased consumption among the growing numbers and improved condition of the people of most civilized countries, there has been no marked increase of production among the old sources of supply, nor have any new ones made their appearance, notwithstanding the long-continued efforts of the Cotton Supply Association. These efforts have been numerous and well directed through the agency of the British consuls and commercial agents in all parts of the world. Seeds and machines have been placed at the command of cultivators, and great numbers have entered into the culture without, as yet, much result. In the past year the efforts of the Association have been directed to the following places:

Turkey in Europe has begun the culture under great difficulties, arising from the nature of the government.

Greece has had seeds distributed throughout its departments.

Cyprus has 80,000 acres under cotton, with English capital.

Asia Minor. Under Sir Macdonald Stephenson seeds have been distributed in the valley of the Meander.

Egypt. There are efforts being made to increase the production from 100,000 bales to 1,000,000, by English agency.

Tunis. The English influence with the Bey of Tunis has impressed him with the importance of rivalling Egypt in cotton.

Madeira. Cotton has been introduced with success.

Sierra Leone. An English trader has commenced the culture, and native merchants are purchasing cotton-gins in England.

Sherbo. The supply of native cotton is fair, and with a steady demand will increase, it is supposed.

Liberia. Great efforts are made to introduce cotton as the staple culture.

Gold Coast. The English governor is very active in promoting the cotton culture. Two societies have the matter in charge, and taxes are payable in cotton, which sells at one cent per lb. in the seed. When cleaned it brings fifteen in Liverpool. There are many millions of Africans who may be engaged in the cotton trade.

Lagos supplies the present African cotton, and the quantity is about 3,500 bales. The New York Civilization Society have made arrangements with the chiefs of the neighborhood for an allotment of five hundred acres land to be cultivated with cotton by a colony of free blacks from the United States. A similar company is organized in London.

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River Niger. Great progress has been made in extending the culture.

Angola, under the Portuguese government, gives supplies for the Lisbon market.

Natal. The culture is extending by the introduction of seed, and making the tax payable in cotton. The advantages are represented as great.

Cape Colony. Cotton is supplanting the grain culture, which does not do well.

East Coast. Native cotton is said to do well.

Cuba. There is an Anglo-Spanish Cotton Company, capital $4,000,000, having for its object the extension of the cotton culture.

Jamaica. The British Cotton Company is having good success, both in relation to quality and quantity.

Tobago, *Barbadoes.* In both islands cotton has been planted.

Peru. There are four cotton companies, and a large number of small farmers are operating upon a large scale with some success.

Venezuela, *N. Granada*, have both been supplied with seed, and the culture progresses.

British Guiana is also the scene of missionary efforts to promote the cotton culture.

Batavia. One proprietor has raised 272,000 lbs. from N. Orleans seed, and 1,000,000 lbs. from other seed.

Java. An estate has been devoted to the culture.

Feejee Islands. The native cotton is good, and grows with little care.

Australia. The capabilities are very great, and efforts are being made to devote many large tracts to the culture.

Ceylon. The Kandy Agricultural Society have applied for permission to the people to pay taxes in cotton, in order to encourage the growth.

Pegu, it is said, may prove a most extensive cotton-growing region.

These places will not all succeed in raising cotton, but many of them may. If they do, the most that can be expected from them is, that they will assist in meeting the increased demand. Thus in 1840, the United States exported, as compared with 1860, as follows:

	lbs.		Price.
1840.....	743,941,061	$63,870,207	8.5 cts.
1860.....	1,767,656,888	191,806,555	10.85 "

In the next twenty years the demand may be two thousand millions lbs. greater. The United States cannot supply it, and new sources must be opened to prevent a continued rise in price.

The seceding States of the Union entertained the opinion that in case of hostilities with the Federal Government, a blockade of their ports could not be maintained, because the demand for cotton in Great Britain and France would be so urgent and powerful as to compel those powers to interfere and break up the blockade. This was a chief reliance with them for success in such a contest. (*See* CONGRESS, U. S.) Two important considerations were, however, overlooked by them in the formation of this opinion: Great Britain and France were so committed to the doctrine of the rights of neutrals, that any interference by them in an effective blockade would be condemned by all mankind, and the existence of hostilities in the United States would so diminish the market for cotton manufactures as to render a reduced supply of the raw material ample for a length of time.

CURRENCY. (*See* BANKS.)

CZARTORYSKI, PRINCE ADAM GEORGE, Duke of Klewan and Zukow, a Polish statesman, born at Warsaw, Jan. 14, 1770, died in Paris, July 15, 1861. He commenced his studies in the house of his father, Prince Adam Casimir Czartoryski, and continued them at the University of Edinburgh, and afterwards at London. In 1792 he fought in the ranks of the Polish army against the Russians. After the partition of Poland he was sent with his brother Constantine as a hostage to the court of Catharine II., where, being attached to the person of the Grand-Duke Alexander, (afterward Alexander I.,) he became his intimate friend. In 1797, the Czar, Paul I., sent him as ambassador to Turin. After the accession of Alexander to the throne, he returned to Russia, and the Czar made him Minister of Foreign Affairs. He signed in this capacity the treaty with England in April, 1805. He soon after resigned his portfolio to accompany the Czar in the Austrian campaign, and was present in most of the great battles between Austerlitz and the Treaty of Tilsit, and, unlike most of his countrymen, having no confidence in the disposition or ability of Napoleon to restore Poland to her ancient condition, he adhered faithfully to Alexander, whom he accompanied in 1814 to Paris and Vienna.

In 1815, being made senator palatine of the new kingdom of Poland, by Alexander, he manifested his sympathies for a constitutional monarchy, which, however, Alexander would not grant. As curator of the University of Wilna, he often had occasion to protect the students against the Russian police, and in 1821, finding himself powerless to prevent their persecution, he resigned, and retired to his estate of Pulawy, where he remained in retirement till the revolution of 1830, when he was called to preside over the provisional government. He convoked the diet of Dec. 18, 1830, which proclaimed the independence of Poland, Jan. 25, 1831, and was elected President of the National Government, to accept which he sacrificed his immense wealth. On the 15th of August, 1831, after the scenes of terror which transpired, he resigned the presidency, and served as a private soldier in the ranks of the army under Romarino. On the defeat of that general, and the capture of Warsaw, in Sept. 1831, he escaped to Paris. His ancestral estates in Russian Poland were all confiscated, and when, in 1846, he declared in favor of the revolutionary movement which drove the Austrians out of Cracow, those in Austria were also sequestrated, but were restored in 1848. In March, 1848, in an eloquent

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address, he called upon the representatives of Germany and France to aid in the restoration of Poland. In April of the same year, he abolished serfdom on his estates of Sieniawa, and gave the lands in fee simple to the serfs. During the Crimean war, he attempted to unite the cause of Poland with that of Turkey in the councils of the Western powers, but without success. His hotel at Paris was always a place of refuge for his suffering countrymen, who regarded him as in some sort the constitutional King of Poland.

D

DELAWARE, the smallest State of the Federal Union, except Rhode Island, is bounded north by Pennsylvania, east by the Delaware River and Bay (which separate it from New Jersey) and the Atlantic Ocean, south and west by Maryland. It is about ninety-six miles in length, and thirty-seven in its greatest breadth; and includes an area of 2,120 square miles. The population of the State in 1860 was, whites, 90,697; free colored, 19,723; slaves, 1,798. The Governor is chosen for four years. The Senate consists of nine members, elected for four years, and the House of twenty-one members, elected for one year. The Governor in 1861 was William Barton, whose term expires in 1863. This State has been classed with the Southern or slaveholding States, in distinction from the Northern and free labor States.

On the 2d of January the Legislature assembled at Dover, the capital; and on the next day, the commissioner from Mississippi, Henry Dickinson, appeared before the House, and made an address. In the name of the State of Mississippi, he invited Delaware to join the Southern Confederacy which was about to be formed. He claimed the right of a State to secede from the Federal Union, and said, if it was not admitted, war would be inevitable. After his speech, the House resolved unanimously, and the Senate concurred by a majority, that, "having extended to the Hon. H. Dickinson, the commissioner of Mississippi, the courtesy due him, as the representative of a sovereign State of the Confederacy, as well as to the State he represents, we deem it proper and due to ourselves and the people of Delaware to express our unqualified disapproval of the remedy for existing difficulties suggested by the resolutions of the Legislature of Mississippi."

In compliance with the requisition of the Secretary of War, Governor Burton issued a proclamation on the 23d of April, calling for the enlistment of volunteers. It was as follows:

Whereas a requisition has been made upon the undersigned, as Executive of the said State of Delaware, by the Secretary of War, for one regiment, consisting of seven hundred and eighty men, to be immediately detached from the militia of this State, "to serve as infantry or riflemen for the period of three months, unless sooner discharged;" and, whereas, the laws of this State do not confer upon the Executive any authority enabling him to comply with such requisition, there being no organized militia nor any law requiring such organization; and whereas, it is the duty of all good and law-abiding citizens to preserve the peace and sustain the laws and Government under which we live, and by which our citizens are protected:

Therefore I, William Burton, Governor of the said State of Delaware, recommend the formation of volunteer companies for the protection of the lives and property of the people of this State against violence of any sort to which they may be exposed. For these purposes such companies, when formed, will be under the control of the State authorities, though not subject to be ordered by the Executive into the United States service—the law not vesting in him such authority. They will, however, have the option of offering their services to the General Government for the defence of its capital and the support of the Constitution and laws of the country. WILLIAM BURTON.

The State had no militia for the Governor to call out, therefore his object was to encourage the formation of volunteer companies. This was the utmost extent to which he could officially act, and it was in compliance with the wishes of a large majority of the people of the State, who were resolved to sustain the Government and defend the Union, without regard to the person who might be the President of the United States. On the 1st of May, the Governor, finding that volunteers were freely offered, issued the following orders:

DOVER, DELAWARE, *May* 1, 1861.

The undersigned, the constitutional commander of the forces of the State of Delaware, directs that those volunteer companies of the State that desire to be mustered into the service of the United States, under the call of the President, will rendezvous to the City of Washington with the least possible delay, where they will be mustered into the service of the United States by Major Ruff, who has been detailed by the War Department for that purpose, and who has reported himself to me and received my instructions. The regiment will consist of ten companies, to serve for the period of three months. WILLIAM BURTON,
Governor, and Commander-in-Chief.

A regiment was promptly formed and mustered into the service of the United States. It consisted of three-months men, and numbered about 775 men. Subsequently, two regiments, containing about 2,000 men, were enlisted for the war, and equipped by the State, and mustered in the United States army.

Still a portion of the people of the State were not disposed to sustain, by active efforts, the hostilities in which the Federal Government had now become involved. They thought that the power of the North would be insufficient to bring the Southern States back into the Union; and if they ever again became a part of it, they must come back voluntarily. Assuming this position, the views entertained under it were exceedingly various, and some possessed so great latitude as to embrace those who favored the cause of the Confederate States. To those even who honestly entertained these views, war held out no prospect but that of mutual destruction. A separation and an acknowl-

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edgment of the Confederacy were regarded as the course of wisdom. Some believed that by peace and conciliation, the seceding States might finally be induced to return. The peace men in Delaware, Connecticut, and all the Northern States, were thus actuated, although some carried their views to an extreme. As a general fact, they were men who loved the Union, and earnestly desired its restoration. They had no antipathy to the institutions of the Southern States, and were in a manner devoid of every feeling of interest or anxiety on the point concerning which those who elected the Federal Administration and those who plotted and organized the Confederate States had for years been at issue. War, with them, as with Senator Douglas of Illinois, "was final, inevitable dissolution."

In Delaware, there were not only many citizens opposed to the war, but there were a few who heartily desired the success of the Confederate States. The Secretary of War, in his report, at the session of Congress which commenced in December, 1861, says: "At the date of my last report in July, the States of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, were threatened with rebellion. In Delaware, the good sense and patriotism of the people have triumphed over the unholy schemes of traitors."

On the 27th of June, a "peace" Convention assembled at Dover, the capital of the State, and was held in the open air. A large number of persons—nearly two thousand—were present. The first speaker began by observing that eleven States had gone out of the Union, which he deplored, but they were determined to go out, and had gone, acting upon the glorious principle, that all government derived its power from the consent of the governed. "They, eight millions of freemen, had resented continued aggression and intermeddling, until the election of a Republican placed the last feather upon the back of the people, and they had calmly, quietly, determinedly retired. In God's name let them go unmolested. Would Delaware give money or men to hold States as conquered provinces? or allow the seceded States to be governed by free people, in whatever manner they chose to be governed? Could the South be subjugated? Never. All the wealth of mines and kingdoms would not restore the country to its unembarrassed condition. All expenditures were needless, as there were not men enough in the North to conquer a free people fighting for their rights, even against any odds. Who would not, therefore, favor peace now, if ages would still produce the same results? Let the tax-payers of Delaware come forth for peace, which would accomplish all that war could do."

Of the resolutions adopted, the first repudiated war in any case, and preferred a peaceable recognition of the Confederate States to the shedding of blood. The second stated that the appellation "traitor," as applied to citizens of Delaware, using the right of free speech, could neither intimidate nor convince them. The other resolutions related to local affairs. The effect of all these movements was not only to call in question the uprightness of the contest, but to withhold and embarrass, so far as their small influence extended, the energy of the Government. The popular favor, however, was so strong in support of the Government, and of a vigorous prosecution of the war, that, in consequence of the indignation manifested by the people, and the arrest by the Government of persons of disloyal sentiments, all these "peace" movements soon subsided.

On the 25th of December, the Legislature of the State assembled at Dover. The Governor, in his Message to this body, said: "Our citizens have acted in a manner highly creditable to them, and well deserve the quiet they have enjoyed. Those, if there be any, and doubtless there are some everywhere, whose sympathies incline to the South, are quiescent, laying no impediments in the way of the Government, nor affording its enemies any sort of aid. Some of the innumerable rumors afloat throughout the country may, perhaps, represent a different state of things; but were the test of truth properly applied to these reports, most of them would be found wholly unreliable.

Some movement was made at this session to pass a bill, providing for the ultimate abolition of slavery within the State. The scheme was based upon the payment by the United States of a certain sum to establish a fund towards securing full and fair compensation to the owners. It was not successful.

DERBY, GEORGE H., was born in Norfolk County, Massachusetts, and died in New York, on the 15th of July, 1861, aged thirty-seven years. He was descended from E. H. Derby, of Salem, who fitted out many armed ships during the war of the Revolution, and afterwards became the pioneer in opening from Salem the trade to India, China, and the Baltic.

George H. Derby graduated at West Point in the class of 1846, in which he attained a prominent position. He was at once promoted to the rank of Second Lieutenant in the ordnance, and for his excellence as a topographer, was transferred in 1847 to the Corps of Topographical Engineers.

Severely wounded in the battle of Cerro Gordo, in 1847, he was brevetted to the post of First Lieutenant "for his gallant and meritorious conduct" on this occasion. He subsequently rose to the rank of Captain, and for two years was employed by Government to erect several lighthouses on the coast of Florida and Alabama. In the discharge of his duty, he exposed himself to a sun-stroke, which affected his sight and resulted in a softening of the brain, terminating his life in the prime of manhood. He was alike distinguished as an officer and a writer. His Phœnixiania has circulated from California to Maine, while his brilliant talents, genial humor, and sparkling wit endeared him both to the army and a wide circle of acquaintance.

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DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IN 1861. The diplomatic correspondence of the United States Government for the year 1861 properly commences at the Inauguration of the President on the 4th of March. A new President, a new party, a new Cabinet, composed of public men who had never before held such positions, came into power on that day. New and unusual scenes could be discerned rapidly rising to view in the future which would raise new questions and new aspects of old ones. Commencing about this date, the Secretary of State of the retiring Administration, Mr. Black, appears on the 28th of February addressing a circular "to all the ministers of the United States," in which he states that "the election of last November resulted in the choice of Mr. Abraham Lincoln; that he was the candidate of the republican or anti-slavery party; that the preceding discussion had been confined almost entirely to topics connected, directly or indirectly, with the subject of negro slavery; that every Northern State cast its whole electoral vote (except three in New Jersey) for Mr. Lincoln, while in the whole South the popular sentiment against him was almost absolutely universal. Some of the Southern States, immediately after the election, took measures for separating themselves from the Union, and others soon followed their example." The result of this was the assembling of a congress of Representatives from South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, and the adoption of a provisional Constitution for what was styled the "Confederate States of America." He then proceeded to say:

It is not improbable that persons claiming to represent the States which have thus attempted to throw off their Federal obligations will seek a recognition of their independence by the European powers. In the event of such an effort being made, you are expected by the President to use such means as may in your judgment be proper and necessary to prevent its success.

The reasons set forth in the President's Message at the opening of the present session of Congress, in support of his opinion that the States have no constitutional power to secede from the Union, are still unanswered, and are believed to be unanswerable. The grounds upon which they have attempted to justify the revolutionary act of severing the bonds which connect them with their sister States, are regarded as wholly insufficient. This Government has not relinquished its constitutional jurisdiction within the territory of those States, and does not desire to do so.

On the 9th of March, Mr. Seward, the newly-appointed Secretary of State, addressed a circular to "all the Ministers of the United States," in which he alluded to the instructions of his predecessor, and stated that the President, having assumed the administration of the Government, in pursuance of an unquestioned election, and of the directions of the Constitution, renewed the injunction above mentioned, and relied upon the exercise of the greatest possible diligence and fidelity on their part to counteract and prevent the designs of those who would invoke foreign intervention to embarrass or overthrow the Republic. They were instructed to urge upon the Governments to which they were commissioned, the consideration that "the present disturbances had their origin only in popular passions excited under novel circumstances of a very transient character, and that while not one person of well-balanced mind has attempted to show that dismemberment of the Union would be permanently conducive to the safety and welfare of even his own State or section, much less of all the States and sections of our country, the people themselves still retain and cherish a profound confidence in our happy Constitution, together with a veneration and affection for it such as no other form of government ever received at the hands of those for whom it was established."

Another circular was issued by the Secretary to the Ministers of the United States in Great Britain, France, Russia, Prussia, Austria, Belgium, Italy, and Denmark, on the 24th of April, relative to the rights of neutrals in maritime war. It presents the whole case as it stood at that date. It states the position of the United States, our proposition to the Paris congress in 1856, the action of that congress, and the ground the Administration was ready to assume on the subject. The entire letter is too important to be abridged, as it contains propositions which were the subject of negotiation in all the courts above named for ensuing months:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, *April* 24, 1861.

SIR: The advocates of benevolence and the believers in human progress, encouraged by the slow though marked meliorations of the barbarities of war which have obtained in modern times, have been, as you are well aware, recently engaged with much assiduity in endeavoring to effect some modifications of the law of nations in regard to the rights of neutrals in maritime war. In the spirit of these movements the President of the United States, in the year 1854, submitted to the several maritime nations two propositions, to which he solicited their assent as permanent principles of international law, which were as follows:

1. Free ships make free goods; that is to say, that the effects or goods belonging to subjects or citizens of a power or State at war are free from capture or confiscation when found on board of neutral vessels, with the exception of articles contraband of war.

2. That the property of neutrals on board an enemy's vessel is not subject to confiscation unless the same be contraband of war.

Several of the Governments to which these propositions were submitted expressed their willingness to accept them, while some others, which were in a state of war, intimated a desire to defer acting thereon until the return of peace should present what they thought would be a more auspicious season for such interesting negotiations.

On the 16th of April, 1856, a congress was in session at Paris. It consisted of several maritime powers, represented by their plenipotentiaries, namely, Great Britain, Austria, France, Russia, Prussia, Sardinia, and Turkey. That congress having taken up the general subject to which allusion has already been made in this letter, on the day before mentioned, came to an agreement, which they adopted in the form of a declaration, to the effect following, namely:

1. Privateering is and remains abolished.

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2. The neutral flag covers enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war.

3. Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under enemy's flag.

4. Blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective; that is to say, maintained by forces sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy.

The agreement pledged the parties constituting the congress to bring the declaration thus made to the knowledge of the States which had not been represented in that body, and to invite them to accede to it. The congress, however, at the same time insisted, in the first place, that the declaration should be binding only on the powers who were or should become parties to it as one whole and indivisible compact; and, secondly, that the parties who had agreed, and those who should afterwards accede to it, should, after the adoption of the same, enter into no arrangement on the application of maritime law in time of war without stipulating for a strict observance of the four points resolved by the declaration.

The declaration, which I have thus substantially recited, of course prevented all the powers which became parties to it from accepting the two propositions which had been before submitted to the maritime nations by the President of the United States.

The declaration was, in due time, submitted by the Governments represented in the congress at Paris to the Government of the United States.

The President, about the 14th of July, 1856, made known to the States concerned his unwillingness to accede to the declaration. In making that announcement on behalf of this Government, my predecessor, Mr. Marcy, called the attention of those States to the following points, namely:

1st. That the second and third propositions, contained in the Paris declaration, are substantially the same with the two propositions which had before been submitted to the maritime States by the President.

2d. That the Paris declaration, with the conditions annexed, was inadmissible by the United States in three respects, namely: 1st. That the Government of the United States could not give its assent to the first proposition contained in the declaration, namely, that "Privateering is and remains abolished," although it was willing to accept it with an amendment which should exempt the private property of individuals, though belonging to belligerent States, from seizure or confiscation by national vessels in maritime war. 2d. That for this reason the stipulation annexed to the declaration, viz.: that the propositions must be taken altogether or rejected altogether, without modification, could not be allowed. 3d. That the fourth condition annexed to the declaration, which provided that the parties acceding to it should enter into no negotiation for any modifications of the law of maritime war with nations which should not contain the four points contained in the Paris declaration, seemed inconsistent with a proper regard to the national sovereignty of the United States.

On the 29th of July, 1856, Mr. Mason, then minister of the United States at Paris, was instructed by the President to propose to the Government of France to enter into an arrangement for its adherence, with the United States, to the four principles of the declaration of the Congress of Paris, provided the first of them should be amended as specified in Mr. Marcy's note to the Count de Sartiges on the 28th of July, 1856. Mr. Mason accordingly brought the subject to the notice of the imperial Government of France, which was disposed to entertain the matter favorably, but which failed to communicate its decision on the subject to him. Similar instructions regarding the matter were addressed by this department to Mr. Dallas, our minister at London, on the 31st day of January, 1857; but the proposition above referred to had not been directly presented to the British Government by him when the administration of this Government by Franklin Pierce, during whose term these proceedings occurred, came to an end on the 3d of March, 1857, and was succeeded by that of James Buchanan, who directed the negotiations to be arrested for the purpose of enabling him to examine the questions involved, and they have ever since remained in that state of suspension.

The President of the United States has now taken the subject into consideration, and he is prepared to communicate his views upon it, with a disposition to bring the negotiation to a speedy and satisfactory conclusion.

For that purpose you are hereby instructed to seek an early opportunity to call the attention of her Majesty's Government to the subject, and to ascertain whether it is disposed to enter into negotiations for the accession of the Government of the United States to the declaration of the Paris congress, with the conditions annexed by that body to the same; and if you shall find that Government so disposed, you will then enter into a convention to that effect, substantially in the form of a project for that purpose herewith transmitted to you; the convention to take effect from the time when the due ratifications of the same shall have been exchanged. It is presumed that you will need no special explanation of the sentiments of the President on this subject for the purpose of conducting the necessary conferences with the Government to which you are accredited. Its assent is expected on the ground that the proposition is accepted at its suggestion, and in the form it has preferred. For your own information it will be sufficient to say that the President adheres to the opinion expressed by my predecessor, Mr. Marcy, that it would be eminently desirable for the good of all nations that the property and effects of private individuals, not contraband, should be exempt from seizure and confiscation by national vessels in maritime war. If the time and circumstances were propitious to a prosecution of the negotiation with that object in view, he would direct that it should be assiduously pursued. But the right season seems to have passed, at least for the present. Europe seems once more on the verge of quite general wars. On the other hand, a portion of the American people have raised the standard of insurrection, and proclaimed a provisional government, and, through their organs, have taken the bad resolution to invite privateers to prey upon the peaceful commerce of the United States.

Prudence and humanity combine in persuading the President, under the circumstances, that it is wise to secure the lesser good offered by the Paris congress, without waiting indefinitely in hope to obtain the greater one offered to the maritime nations by the President of the United States.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Esq., &c., &c.

Convention upon the subject of the rights of belligerents and neutrals in time of war, between the United States of America and her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland.

The United States of America and her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, being equally animated by a desire to define with more precision the rights of belligerents and neutrals in time of war, have, for that purpose, conferred full powers, the President of the United States upon Charles F. Adams, accredited as their envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to her said Majesty, and her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, upon

And the said plenipotentiaries, after having exchanged their full powers, have concluded the following articles:

ARTICLE I. 1. Privateering is and remains abolished. 2. The neutral flag covers enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war. 3. Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under enemy's flag. 4. Blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective; that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy.

ARTICLE II. The present convention shall be ratified

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by the President of the United States of America, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and by her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington, within the space of six months from the signature, or sooner if possible. In faith whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the present convention in duplicate, and have thereto affixed their seals.

Done at London, the day of , in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one (1861.)

Prussia.—These circulars are followed by extracts from the correspondence with each of the ministers of this country to foreign courts, in copious detail. Commencing with Prussia, the letter of instructions to Mr. Judd, the newly-appointed minister, is under the date of March. Mr. Seward writes:

SIR: Contrary to what usually happens in giving instructions to a minister going abroad, I am directed by the President to ask you to fix your attention in the first instance, and to keep it constantly fixed, on the actual condition of affairs at home. I allude, of course, to the unlawful and unconstitutional attempt which is being made to detach several of the States from the Federal Union, and to organize them as an independent republic under the name of the "Confederate States of America."

You are well aware of what you will find Europeans unable to understand, namely, that owing to the very peculiar structure of our Federal Government, and the equally singular character and habits of the American people, this Government not only wisely but necessarily hesitates to resort to coercion and compulsion to secure a return of the disaffected portion of the people to their customary allegiance. The Union was formed upon popular consent, and must always practically stand on the same basis. The temporary causes of alienation must pass away; there must needs be disasters and disappointments resulting from the exercise of unlawful authority by the revolutionists, while happily it is certain that there is a general and profound sentiment of loyalty pervading the public mind throughout the United States. While it is the intention of the President to maintain the sovereignty and rightful authority of the Union everywhere with firmness as well as discretion, he at the same time relies with great confidence on the salutary working of the agencies I have mentioned, to restore the harmony and Union of the States. But to this end it is of the greatest importance that the disaffected States shall not succeed in obtaining favor or recognition from foreign nations.

It is understood that the so-called Confederate States of America have sent, or are about to send, agents to solicit such recognition in Europe, although there is no special reason for supposing Prussia to be one of the nations to which application will be made. An almost electric political connection, however, exists between the several capitals of western Europe, and therefore your most efficient and unfailing efforts must be put forth directly, and even indirectly, to prevent the success of that ill-starred design.

Mr. Seward then calls the attention of Mr. Judd to his general circular to all our ministers, dated March 9th, and says:

It may be well to call your attention to the fact that in that communication, as in this, I have forborne altogether from discussing the groundless complaints and pretexts which have been put forth by the organs of disunion to justify the rash and perilous revolution which they are attempting to inaugurate. I have practised this reticence not because the point is unimportant, but because the dispute is purely a domestic one, and the President would not willingly have the archives of our legations bear testimony to so unAmerican a proceeding as an acknowledgment, even by indirection, that this Government ever consented to join issue upon a purely family matter of this kind with a portion of our own citizens before a foreign tribunal. Nevertheless, should you find that any weight is given to those complaints and pretexts in the court to which you are accredited, your perfect knowledge of all the transactions involved, will, I am sure, enable you to meet them conclusively and satisfactorily without precise instructions on that point.

Mr. Wright, who continued to represent the United States at the Court of Prussia until the arrival of Mr. Judd, writes to Mr. Seward under date of Berlin, May 8th: "Baron Schleinitz, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, gave me the most positive assurance that this Government, from the principle of unrelenting opposition to all revolutionary movements, would be one of the last to recognize any *de facto* government of the disaffected States of the American Union."

Again, under date of May 15th, he writes: "Baron Schleinitz informed me that, in his opinion, no apprehension need be entertained as to Prussian subjects engaging under the authority of the so-called Confederate States in fitting out privateers, or in any manner interfering with our commerce."

Again, under date of May 26th, he writes to Mr. Seward: "Prussia will take efficient steps to sustain the Government of the United States in the protection of property and commerce, and will do all she can, consistently with her obligations to other Governments, to sustain the vigorous action of our Government in maintaining law and order."

On the 13th of June, Baron Schleinitz addressed a note to Baron Gerolt, the Prussian Minister at Washington, referring to doubts prevailing in Europe about the treatment to which neutral shipping might be subjected during the continuance of the disturbances in the United States, and requests him to obtain an explanation of the views of the Federal Government thereupon.

Mr. Seward, in reply, on the 16th of June, further adds:

Baron Schleinitz, in this communication, has remarked that it would certainly be most desirable for Prussia that this Government should embrace this occasion to announce its adhesion to the celebrated declaration of Paris. But that if this could not be attained, then, for the present, the Government of Prussia would urge that an exposition might be made, to be obligatory during the present intestine disturbances in the United States, in regard to the application generally of the second and third principles of the Paris declaration to neutral shipping.

The second principle of the Paris declaration is, that the neutral flag covers the enemy's goods, not contraband of war.

The third principle is, that the goods, not contraband of war, of a neutral found on board an enemy's vessel are exempt from confiscation.

The undersigned has the pleasure of informing Baron Gerolt, by authority of the President of the United States, that the Government cheerfully declares its assent to these principles in the present case, and to continue until the insurrection which now unhappily exists in the United States shall have come to an end, and they will be fully observed by this Government in its relations with Prussia.

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At the same time he states that the newly-appointed Minister, Mr. Judd, was authorized to enter into a treaty with the kingdom of Prussia for the adhesion of the United States Government to the declaration of the Congress at Paris.

Similar instructions and powers were given to all the Ministers appointed to conduct diplomatic intercourse with all existing maritime powers. This Government, in these instructions, declared its continued desire and preference for the amendment of the Paris declaration proposed by this Government in 1856, to the effect that private or individual property of non-combatants, whether belonging to belligerent States or not, should be exempted from confiscation in maritime war. But recurring to the previous failure to secure the adoption of that amendment, this Government instructed its ministers, if they should find it necessary, to waive it for the present, and to negotiate our adhesion to the declaration pure and simple.

The right of the United States to close any of the national ports "which have already fallen, or which may fall into the hands of the insurgents, either directly or in the lenient and equitable form of the blockade," is understood as not qualified or modified.

The conclusion reached was an indirect intimation that a separate treaty with Prussia was not considered necessary by that court, but the simple adhesion of the Government of the United States to the articles of the Paris treaty would be sufficient.

Belgium.—On the 25th of March, Mr. Seward addressed instructions to Mr. Sanford, the United States Minister to Belgium. The policy of the Administration toward the seceded States at that date is thus stated:

Formidable as the conspiracy seemed at the beginning, it is now confidently believed that the policy of the present Administration in regard to it will be supported by the people—a policy of conciliation, forbearance, and firmness—and that the conspiracy will thus fall for want of ultimate adoption by the States themselves which are expected to constitute the new Confederacy.

The most important duty of the diplomatic representatives of the United States in Europe, says the Secretary, will be to counteract, by all proper means, the efforts of the agents of that projected Confederacy at their respective courts. They are expected not to engage in any discussion which the agents of the disunionists may attempt to initiate on the merits of their proposed revolution. The President will not consent, directly or indirectly, to the interpellation of any foreign power in a controversy which is merely a domestic one. He then proceeds:

There is some reason to suppose that the agents of the disunionists will attempt to win favor for their scheme of recognition by affecting to sympathize with the manufacturing interests of the European nations in their discontent with the tariff laws of the United States, and by promising to receive the fabrics of such nations on more favorable terms. You will be able to reply to such seductions as these that the new tariff laws thus complained of are revenue laws deemed by the legislature of the United States necessary under new and peculiar circumstances; that all experience shows that such laws are not, and cannot be, permanent; that if, as is now pretended, they shall prove to be onerous to foreign commerce, they will, of course, prove also to be unfruitful of revenue, and that, in that case, they will necessarily be promptly modified. The inconvenience, if any shall result from them, will therefore be temporary and practically harmless. Nor will any statesman of a foreign country need to be informed that the consumption of the fabrics which it is proposed shall be favored by the so-called seceding States chiefly takes place, not within those States, but in a very large degree in the States which remain undisturbed by this unhappy attempt at revolution.

Under date of May 10th, Mr. Sanford wrote that he had been received by the King on the 8th, who spoke but generally of the insurrection in the Southern States, said he hoped some peaceful issue would be found, and that the spirit of conciliation would prevail, and then referred to the growing markets they had for manufactures in the United States.

Again, on the 26th of May, he writes to Mr. Seward that he had a conversation with M. de Vrière on the subject of the efforts of the commissioners of the Confederate States to obtain a recognition of the European powers. M. de Vrière replied that no application had been made to him in this view, "nor would it now be entertained if made. The revolution would receive no sanction by any act of Belgium." He also spoke of the new tariff with a great deal of feeling, and said it was highly prejudicial to their interests, instancing in point that forty furnaces for the manufacture of window-glass had been stopped in consequence.

On the 6th of May, Mr. Seward writes to Mr. Sanford that the negotiation of a convention with the Government of Belgium, on the rights of belligerents and neutrals in time of war, was desirable; and he was instructed to endeavor to effect that object. Again, on the 21st of June, Mr. Seward writes:

You are aware that the declaration of Paris enjoins each of the parties that have signed it not to negotiate any other changes of the law of nations concerning the rights of neutrals in maritime war. We have supposed that this would operate to prevent Great Britain, and probably France, from receiving our accession to the declaration, if we should insist on the amendment proposed by Mr. Marcy, namely, the exemption of private property of non-belligerents from confiscation. But we should now, as the instructions heretofore given you have already informed you, vastly prefer to have that amendment accepted. Nevertheless, if this cannot be done, let the convention be made for adherence to the declaration pure and simple.

No answer was received from the Belgian Government on this proposition, as they preferred to await the action of France and England; and on the 5th of August Mr. Seward again wrote to Mr. Sanford that "there is no especial urgency on our part for the consideration, by the Belgian Government, of our proposition to accede to the declaration of the Congress of Paris, before the similar propositions, submitted to the British and French Governments, shall have been acted upon by them; although we hold ourselves ready to carry overtures into effect when the Belgian Government shall desire."

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Mexico.—The instructions to Mr. Corwin, the American Minister to Mexico, are dated April 6th. Mr. Seward writes:

The President does not expect that you will allude to the origin or causes of our domestic difficulties in your intercourse with the Government of Mexico, although that Government will rightfully, as well as reasonably, ask what are his expectations of their course and their end. On the contrary, the President will not suffer the representatives of the United States to engage in any discussion of the merits of those difficulties in the presence of foreign powers, much less to invoke even their censure against those of our fellow-citizens who have arrayed themselves in opposition to its authority.

But you are instructed to assure the Government of Mexico that these difficulties having arisen out of no deep and permanent popular discontent, either in regard to our system of government itself, or to the exercise of its authority, and being attended by social evils which are as ruinous as they are unnecessary, while no organic change that is contemplated could possibly bring to any portion of the American people any advantages of security, peace, prosperity, or happiness, equal to those which the Federal Union so effectually guarantees, the President confidently believes and expects that the people of the United States, in the exercise of the wisdom that hitherto has never failed them, will speedily and in a constitutional way adopt all necessary remedies for the restoration of the public peace and the preservation of the Federal Union.

The success of this Government, in conducting affairs to that consummation, may depend in some small degree on the action of the Government and people of Mexico in this new emergency. The President could not fail to see that Mexico, instead of being benefited by the prostration or the obstruction of Federal authority in this country, would be exposed by it to new and fearful dangers. On the other hand, a condition of anarchy in Mexico must necessarily operate as a seduction to those who are conspiring against the integrity of the Union to seek strength and aggrandizement for themselves by conquests in Mexico and other parts of Spanish America. Thus, even the dullest observer is at last able to see what was long ago distinctly seen by those who are endowed with any considerable perspicacity, that peace, order, and constitutional authority in each and all of the several republics of this continent are not exclusively an interest of any one or more of them, but a common and indispensable interest of them all.

Again, Mr. Seward says:

You may possibly meet agents of this projected Confederacy busy in preparing some further revolution in Mexico. You will not fail to assure the Government of Mexico that the President never has, nor can ever have, any sympathy with such designs, in whatever quarter they may arise, or whatever character they may take on.

Mr. Corwin, on the 29th of May, writes in reply: "The present Government of Mexico is well affected towards us in our present difficulties, but, for obvious reasons, will be unwilling to enter into any engagement which might produce war with the South, unless protected by promise of aid from the United States."

On the 29th of June, Mr. Corwin again writes: "I am quite sure that whilst this Government will endeavor to preserve peaceful relations with all the European powers on fair terms, it regards the United States as its true and only reliable friend in any struggle which may involve the national existence."

Great Britain.—In a letter of instructions to Mr. Adams, dated April 10th, Mr. Seward first presents a dispassionate view of the disunion movement, and then proceeds to consider the manner in which that movement and its agents should be treated by Mr. Adams at the court of Great Britain. He says:

Before considering the arguments you are to use, it is important to indicate those which you are not to employ in executing that mission:

First. The President has noticed, as the whole American people have, with much emotion, the expressions of good-will and friendship toward the United States, and of concern for their present embarrassments, which have been made on apt occasions by her Majesty and her ministers. You will make due acknowledgment for these manifestations, but at the same time you will not rely on any mere sympathies or national kindness. You will make no admissions of weakness in our Constitution, or of apprehension on the part of the Government. You will rather prove, as you easily can, by comparing the history of our country with that of other States, that its Constitution and government are really the strongest and surest which have ever been erected for the safety of any people. You will in no case listen to any suggestions of compromise by this Government, under foreign auspices, with its discontented citizens. If, as the President does not at all apprehend, you shall unhappily find her Majesty's Government tolerating the application of the so-called seceding States, or wavering about it, you will not leave them to suppose for a moment that they can grant that application and remain the friends of the United States. You may even assure them promptly, in that case, that if they determine to recognize, they may at the same time prepare to enter into alliance with the enemies of this republic. You alone will represent your country at London, and you will represent the whole of it there. When you are asked to divide that duty with others, diplomatic relations between the Government of Great Britain and this Government will be suspended, and will remain so until it shall be seen which of the two is most strongly intrenched in the confidence of their respective nations and of mankind.

You will not be allowed, however, even if you were disposed, as the President is sure you will not be, to rest your opposition to the application of the Confederate States on the ground of any favor this Administration, or the party which chiefly called it into existence, proposes to show to Great Britain, or claims that Great Britain ought to show them. You will not consent to draw into debate before the British Government any opposing moral principles which may be supposed to lie at the foundation of the controversy between those States and the Federal Union.

You will indulge in no expressions of harshness or disrespect, or even impatience, concerning the seceding States, their agents, or their people. But you will, on the contrary, all the while remember that those States are now, as they always heretofore have been, and, notwithstanding their temporary self-delusion, they must always continue to be, equal and honored members of this Federal Union, and that their citizens throughout all political misunderstandings and alienations still are and always must be our kindred and countrymen. In short, all your arguments must belong to one of three classes, namely: First. Arguments drawn from the principles of public law and natural justice, which regulate the intercourse of equal States. Secondly. Arguments which concern equally the honor, welfare, and happiness of the discontented States, and the honor, welfare, and happiness of the whole Union. Thirdly. Arguments which are equally conservative of the rights and interests, and even sentiments of the United States, and just in their bearing upon the rights, interests, and sentiments of Great Britain and all other nations.

On the 9th of April, Mr. Dallas writes to Mr.

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Seward that he had submitted to Lord John Russell the representations of his general circular, with the inaugural address of the President. He says:

His lordship assured me with great earnestness that there was not the slightest disposition in the British Government to grasp at any advantage which might be supposed to arise from the unpleasant domestic differences in the United States; but, on the contrary, that they would be highly gratified if those differences were adjusted, and the Union restored to its former unbroken position.

I pressed upon him, in concluding, if that were the case—and I was quite convinced that it was—how important it must be that this country and France should abstain, at least for a considerable time, from doing what, by encouraging groundless hopes, would widen a breach still thought capable of being closed.

He seemed to think the matter not ripe for decision one way or the other, and remarked that what he had said was all that at present it was in his power to say.

Mr. Seward, writing to Mr. Adams under date of April 27th, in reference to this communication of Mr. Dallas, says: "You will hardly need to be told that these last remarks of his lordship are by no means satisfactory to this Government."

On the 2d of May, Mr. Dallas writes to Mr. Seward that, at an interview with Lord John Russell, the latter stated that the three representatives of the Southern Confederacy were in London; that he had not seen them, but was not unwilling to do so unofficially; that there existed an understanding between his Government and that of France, which would lead both to take the same course as to recognition, whatever that course might be. He then referred to the rumor of a meditated blockade of Southern ports, and their discontinuance as ports of entry.

On the 21st of May, Mr. Seward writes to Mr. Adams that "this Government considers that our relations in Europe have reached a crisis in which it is necessary for it to take a decided stand, on which not only its immediate measures, but its ultimate and permanent policy, can be determined and defined." He then informs Mr. Adams that the contents of this letter are not to be read or shown to the British Secretary of State, nor any of its positions prematurely, unnecessarily, or indiscreetly made known; but its spirit will be his guide.

A paper thus containing the private instructions of the Government, at such a time, to its representative at the principal court of Europe, is of more than ordinary interest to the American people. Mr. Seward then proceeds:

The President regrets that Mr. Dallas did not protest against the proposed unofficial intercourse between the British Government and the missionaries of the insurgents. It is due, however, to Mr. Dallas to say that our instructions had been given only to you and not to him, and that his loyalty and fidelity, too rare in these times, are appreciated.

Intercourse of any kind with the so-called commissioners is liable to be construed as a recognition of the authority which appointed them. Such intercourse would be none the less hurtful to us for being called unofficial, and it might be even more injurious, because we should have no means of knowing what points might be resolved by it. Moreover, unofficial intercourse is useless and meaningless if it is not expected to ripen into official intercourse and direct recognition. If is left doubtful here whether the proposed unofficial intercourse has yet actually begun. Your own antecedent instructions are deemed explicit enough, and it is hoped that you have not misunderstood them. You will, in any event, desist from all intercourse whatever, unofficial as well as official, with the British Government, so long as it shall continue intercourse of any kind with the domestic enemies of this country. When intercourse shall have been arrested for this cause, you will communicate with this department and receive further directions.

Lord John Russell has informed us of an understanding between the British and French Governments that they will act together in regard to our affairs. This communication, however, loses something of its value from the circumstance that the communication was withheld until after knowledge of the fact had been acquired by us from other sources. We know also another fact that has not yet been officially communicated to us, namely: That other European States are apprised by France and England of their agreement, and are expected to concur with or follow them in whatever measures they adopt on the subject of recognition. The United States have been impartial and just in all their conduct towards the several nations of Europe. They will not complain, however, of the combination now announced by the two leading powers, although they think they had a right to expect a more independent, if not a more friendly course, from each of them. You will take no notice of that or any other alliance. Whenever the European Governments shall see fit to communicate directly with us, we shall be, as heretofore, frank and explicit in our reply.

As to the blockade, you will say that by our own laws and the laws of nature, and the laws of nations, this Government has a clear right to suppress insurrection. An exclusion of commerce from national ports which have been seized by insurgents, in the equitable form of blockade, is a proper means to that end. You will not insist that our blockade is to be respected, if it be not maintained by a competent force; but passing by that question as not now a practical or at least an urgent one, you will add that the blockade is now, and it will continue to be, so maintained, and therefore we expect it to be respected by Great Britain. You will add that we have already revoked the exequatur of a Russian consul who had enlisted in the military service of the insurgents, and we shall dismiss or demand the recall of every foreign agent, consular or diplomatic, who shall either disobey the Federal laws or disown the Federal authority.

As to the recognition of the so-called Southern Confederacy, it is not to be made a subject of technical definition. It is, of course, direct recognition to publish an acknowledgment of the sovereignty and independence of a new power. It is direct recognition to receive its ambassadors, ministers, agents, or commissioners, officially. A concession of belligerent rights is liable to be construed as a recognition of them. No one of these proceedings will pass unquestioned by the United States in this case.

Hitherto, recognition has been moved only on the assumption that the so-called Confederate States are *de facto* a self-sustaining power. Now, after long forbearance, designed to soothe discontent and avert the need of civil war, the land and naval forces of the United States have been put in motion to repress insurrection. The true character of the pretended new State is at once revealed. It is seen to be a power existing in pronunciamento only. It has never won a field. It has obtained no forts that were not virtually betrayed into its hands, or seized in breach of trust. It commands not a single port on the coast, nor any highway out from its pretended capital by land. Under these circumstances, Great Britain is called upon to intervene and give it body and independence by resisting our measures of suppression. British recognition

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would be British intervention, to create within our territory a hostile state by overthrowing this republic itself.

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As to the treatment of privateers in the insurgent service, you will say that this is a question exclusively our own. We treat them as pirates. They are our own citizens, or persons employed by our citizens, preying on the commerce of our country. If Great Britain shall choose to recognize them as lawful belligerents, and give them shelter from our pursuit and punishment, the laws of nations afford an adequate and proper remedy.

Happily, however, her Britannic Majesty's Government can avoid all these difficulties. It invited us in 1856 to accede to the declaration of the Congress of Paris, of which body Great Britain was herself a member, abolishing privateering everywhere in all cases and forever. You already have our authority to propose to her our accession to that declaration. If she refuse it, it can only be because she is willing to become the patron of privateering when aimed at our devastation.

These positions are not elaborately defended now, because to vindicate them would imply a possibility of our waiving them.

We are not insensible of the grave importance of this occasion. We see how, upon the result of the debate in which we are engaged, a war may ensue between the United States and one, two, or even more European nations. War in any case is as exceptionable from the habits as it is revolting from the sentiments of the American people. But if it come it will be fully seen that it results from the action of Great Britain, not our own; that Great Britain will have decided to fraternize with our domestic enemy, either without waiting to hear from you our remonstrances and our warnings, or after having heard them. War in defence of national life is not immoral, and war in defence of independence is an inevitable part of the discipline of nations.

The dispute will be between the European and the American branches of the British race. All who belong to that race will especially deprecate it, as they ought. It may well be believed that men of every race and kindred will deplore it. A war not unlike it, between the same parties, occurred at the close of the last century. Europe atoned by forty years of suffering for the error that Great Britain committed in provoking that contest. If that nation shall now repeat the same great error, the social convulsions which will follow may not be so long, but they will be more general. When they shall have ceased, it will, we think, be seen, whatever may have been the fortunes of other nations, that it is not the United States that will have come out of them with its precious Constitution altered, or its honestly obtained dominions in any degree abridged. Great Britain has but to wait a few months, and all her present inconveniences will cease with all our own troubles. If she take a different course she will calculate for herself the ultimate, as well as the immediate consequences, and will consider what position she will hold when she shall have forever lost the sympathies and affections of the only nation on whose sympathies and affections she has a natural claim. In making that calculation she will do well to remember that in the controversy she proposes to open we shall be actuated by neither pride, nor passion, nor cupidity, nor ambition; but we shall stand simply on the principle of self-preservation, and that our cause will involve the independence of nations and the rights of human nature.

Under date of May 21st, Mr. Adams writes to Mr. Seward, giving an account of his interview with Lord John Russell. The most important portion of their conversation, so far as regards its public interests, consists in the views of the English Government relative to regarding the Confederate States as a belligerent. On this point Mr. Adams thus writes:

I then alluded more especially to the brief report of the Lord Chancellor's speech on Thursday last, in which he had characterized the rebellious portion of my country as a belligerent State, and the war that was going on as *justum bellum*.

To this his lordship replied that he thought more stress was laid upon these events than they deserved. The fact was that a necessity seemed to exist to define the course of the Government in regard to the participation of the subjects of Great Britain in the impending conflict. To that end the legal questions involved had been referred to those officers most conversant with them, and their advice had been taken in shaping the result. Their conclusion had been that, as a question merely of *fact*, a war existed. A considerable number of the States, at least seven, occupying a wide extent of country, were in open resistance, whilst one or more of the others were associating themselves in the same struggle, and as yet there were no indications of any other result than a contest of arms more or less severe. In many preceding cases, much less formidable demonstrations had been recognized. Under such circumstances it seemed scarcely possible to avoid speaking of this in the technical sense as *justum bellum*, that is, a war of two sides, without in any way implying an opinion of its justice, as well as to withhold an endeavor, so far as possible, to bring the management of it within the rules of modern civilized warfare. This was all that was contemplated by the Queen's proclamation. It was designed to show the purport of existing laws, and to explain to British subjects their liabilities in case they should engage in the war. And however strongly the people of the United States might feel against their enemies, it was hardly to be supposed that in practice they would now vary from their uniformly humane policy heretofore in endeavoring to assuage and mitigate the horrors of war.

On the 3d of June Mr. Seward writes to Mr. Adams stating the views of the President relative to foreign interference, thus:

Every instruction you have received from this department is full of evidence of the fact that the principal danger in the present insurrection which the President has apprehended was that of foreign intervention, aid, or sympathy; and especially of such intervention, aid, or sympathy on the part of the Government of Great Britain.

The justice of this apprehension has been vindicated by the following facts, namely:

1. A guarded reserve on the part of the British Secretary of State, when Mr. Dallas presented to him our protest against the recognition of the insurgents, which seemed to imply that, in some conditions, not explained to us, such a recognition might be made.

2. The contracting of an engagement by the Government of Great Britain with that of France, without consulting us, to the effect that both Governments should adopt one and the same course of procedure in regard to the insurrection.

3. Lord John Russell's announcement to Mr. Dallas that he was not unwilling to receive the so-called commissioners of the insurgents unofficially.

4. The issue of the Queen's proclamation, remarkable, first, for the circumstances under which it was made, namely, on the very day of your arrival in London, which had been anticipated so far as to provide for your reception by the British secretary, but without affording you the interview promised before any decisive action should be adopted; secondly, the tenor of the proclamation itself, which seems to recognize, in a vague manner indeed, but does seem to recognize, the insurgents as a *belligerent* national *power*.

That proclamation, unmodified and unexplained, would leave us no alternative but to regard the Government of Great Britain as questioning our free exercise of all the rights of self-defence guaranteed to us by our Constitution and the laws of nature and of nations to suppress the insurrection.

I should have proceeded at once to direct you to

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communicate to the British Government the definitive views of the President on the grave subject, if there were not especial reasons for some little delay.

These reasons Mr. Seward states to be, the information that England and France were preparing communications concerning the attitude to be assumed by them, and an interview which it was presumed Mr. Adams had with Lord John Russell.

The view taken by the Administration of their own position at this time, is described by Mr. Seward in a despatch dated June 8th:

This Government insists, as all the world might have known that it must and would, under all circumstances, insist, on the integrity of the Union, as the chief element of national life. Since, after trials of every form of forbearance and conciliation, it has been rendered certain and apparent that this paramount and vital object can be saved only by our acceptance of civil war as an indispensable condition, that condition, with all its hazards and deplorable evils, has not been declined. The acceptance, however, is attended with a strong desire and fixed purpose that the war shall be as short and accompanied by as little suffering as possible. Foreign intervention, aid, or sympathy in favor of the insurgents, especially on the part of Great Britain, manifestly could only protract and aggravate the war. Accordingly, Mr. Dallas, under instructions from the President, in an interview conceded to him by the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, presented our protest against any such intervention.

The views of the Administration towards England are thus expressed:

This Government has no disposition to lift questions of even national pride or sensibility up to the level of diplomatic controversy, because it earnestly and ardently desires to maintain peace, harmony, and cordial friendship with Great Britain.

Again, he says:

It is the purpose of this Government, if possible, consistently with the national welfare and honor, to have no serious controversy with Great Britain at all; and if this shall ultimately prove impossible, then to have both the defensive position and the clear right on our side.

On the 14th of June, Mr. Adams relates another interview had with Lord John Russell. After allusion to the proclamation of the Queen by Mr. Adams, as having been hastily issued, Lord John Russell's reply is thus given:

He went over the ground once more which he occupied in the former interview—the necessity of doing something to relieve the officers of their ships from the responsibility of treating these persons as pirates if they met them on the seas. For his part, he could not believe the United States would persevere in the idea of hanging them, for it was not in consonance with their well-known character. But what would be their own situation if they should be found practising upon a harsher system than the Americans themselves?

Here was a very large territory—a number of States—and people counted by millions, who were in a state of actual war. The fact was undeniable, and the embarrassment unavoidable. Under such circumstances the law officers of the crown advised the policy which had been adopted. It was designed only as a preventive to immediate evils. The United States should not have thought hard of it. They meant to be entirely neutral.

On the 15th of June the British and French Ministers had an interview with Mr. Seward, at which they proposed to read to him certain instructions from their Governments. Mr. Seward declined to hear them officially until he knew the nature of their contents. For this purpose they were left for his perusal. He afterwards declined to hear them read, or to receive official notice of them. In a letter to Mr. Adams on the 19th, he thus states the contents of this paper:

That paper purports to contain a decision at which the British Government has arrived, to the effect that this country is divided into two belligerent parties, of which this Government represents one, and that Great Britain assumes the attitude of a neutral between them.

This Government could not, consistently with a just regard for the sovereignty of the United States, permit itself to debate these novel and extraordinary positions with that Government of her Britannic Majesty; much less can we consent that that Government shall announce to us a decision derogating from that sovereignty, at which it has arrived without previously conferring with us upon the question. The United States are still solely and exclusively sovereign within the territories they have lawfully acquired and long possessed, as they have always been. They are at peace with all the world, as, with unimportant exceptions, they have always been. They are living under the obligations of the law of nations, and of treaties with Great Britain, just the same now as heretofore; they are, of course, the friend of Great Britain, and they insist that Great Britain shall remain their friend now, just as she has hitherto been. Great Britain, by virtue of these relations, is a stranger to parties and sections in this country, whether they are loyal to the United States or not, and Great Britain can neither rightfully qualify the sovereignty of the United States, nor concede, nor recognize any rights, or interests, or power of any party, State, or section, in contravention to the unbroken sovereignty of the Federal Union. What is now seen in this country is the occurrence, by no means peculiar, but frequent in all countries, more frequent even in Great Britain than here, of an armed insurrection engaged in attempting to overthrow the regularly constituted and established Government. There is, of course, the employment of force by the Government to suppress the insurrection, as every other government necessarily employs force in such cases. But these incidents by no means constitute a state of war impairing the sovereignty of the Government, creating belligerent sections, and entitling foreign States to intervene or to act as neutrals between them, or in any other way to cast off their lawful obligations to the nation thus for the moment disturbed. Any other principle than this would be to resolve government everywhere into a thing of accident and caprice, and ultimately all human society into a state of perpetual war.

We do not go into any argument of fact or of law in support of the positions we have thus assumed. They are simply the suggestions of the instinct of self-defence, the primary law of human action, not more the law of individual than of national life.

On the 21st of June Mr. Adams writes:

I am now earnestly assured on all sides that the sympathy with the Government of the United States is general; that the indignation felt in America is not founded in reason; that the British desire only to be perfectly neutral, giving no aid nor comfort to the insurgents. I believe that this sentiment is now growing to be universal. It inspires her Majesty's Ministers, and is not without its effect on the opposition.

The views of the Administration concerning the principle of the law of Congress which authorized the President to close the ports of the seceded States, were set forth with much eloquence by Mr. Seward, in a despatch to Mr. Adams, on July 21st. The occasion for the

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despatch arose out of a debate in Parliament, and a statement by Lord John Russell, that the law officers were of opinion that the ports, of New Grenada for instance, could not be closed as against foreign nations, except by the regular form of blockade. After a general survey of the relations of the two countries subsequent to the outbreak in April, with a statement of the efforts of the United States to avoid all occasions for irritation, Mr. Seward proceeds:

The case then seemed to me to stand thus: The two nations had, indeed, failed to find a common ground or principle on which they could stand together; but they had succeeded in reaching a perfect understanding of the nature and extent of their disagreement, and in finding a line of mutual, practical forbearance. It was under this aspect of the positions of the two Governments that the President thought himself authorized to inform Congress on its coming together on the 4th of July instant, in extra session, that the sovereignty of the United States was practically respected by all nations.

Nothing has occurred to change this condition of affairs, unless it be the attitude which Lord John Russell has indicated for the British Government in regard to an apprehended closing of the insurrectionary ports, and the passage of the law of Congress which authorizes that measure in the discretion of the President.

It is my purpose not to anticipate or even indicate the decision which will be made, but simply to suggest to you what you may properly and advantageously say while the subject is under consideration. First. You will, of course, prevent misconception of the measure by stating that the law only authorizes the President to close the ports in his discretion, according as he shall regard exigencies now existing or hereafter to arise.

Secondly. The passage of the law, taken in connection with attendant circumstances, does not necessarily indicate a legislative conviction that the ports ought to be closed, but only shows the purpose of Congress that the closing of the ports, if it is now or shall become necessary, shall not fail for want of power explicitly conferred by law. When, on the 15th of April last, disloyal citizens defiantly inaugurated an armed insurrection by the bombardment of Fort Sumter, the President's constitutional obligation to suppress the insurrection became imperative.

But the case was new, and had not been adequately provided for by express law. The President called military and naval forces into activity, instituted a blockade, and incurred great expense, for all which no direct legal provisions existed. He convened Congress at the earliest possible day to confirm these measures, if they should see fit.

Congress, when it came together, confronted these facts. It has employed itself less in directing how and in what way the Union shall be maintained, than in confirming what the President had already done, and in putting into his hands more ample means and greater power than he has exercised or asked.

The law in question was passed in this generous and patriotic spirit. Whether it shall be put into execution to-day or to-morrow, or at what time, will depend on the condition of things at home and abroad, and a careful weighing of the advantages of so stringent a measure against those which are derived from the existing blockade.

Thirdly. You may assure the British Government that no change of policy now pursued, injuriously affecting foreign commerce, will be made from motives of aggression against nations which practically respect the sovereignty of the United States, or without due consideration of all the circumstances, foreign as well as domestic, bearing upon the question. The same spirit of forbearance towards foreign nations, arising from a desire to confine the calamities of the unhappy contest as much as possible, and to bring it to a close by the complete restoration of the authority of the Government as speedily as possible, that has hitherto regulated the action of the Government, will continue to control its counsels.

On the other hand, you will not leave it at all doubtful that the President fully adheres to the position that this Government so early adopted, and which I have so continually throughout this controversy maintained; consequently he fully agrees with Congress in the principle of the law which authorizes him to close the ports which have been seized by the insurgents, and he will put into execution and maintain it with all the means at his command, at the hazard of whatever consequences, whenever it shall appear that the safety of the nation requires it.

I cannot leave the subject without endeavoring once more, as I have so often done before, to induce the British Government to realize the conviction which I have more than once expressed in this correspondence, that the policy of the Government is one that is based on interests of the greatest importance, and sentiments of the highest virtue, and therefore is in no case likely to be changed, whatever may be the varying fortunes of the war at home or the action of foreign nations on this subject, while the policy of foreign States rests on ephemeral interests of commerce or of ambition merely. The policy of these United States is not a creature of the Government but an inspiration of the people, while the policies of foreign States are at the choice mainly of the governments presiding over them. If, through error, on whatever side this civil contention shall transcend the national bounds and involve foreign States, the energies of all commercial nations, including our own, will necessarily be turned to war, and a general carnival of the adventurous and the reckless of all countries, at the cost of the existing commerce of the world, must ensue. Beyond that painful scene upon the seas there lie, but dimly concealed from our vision, scenes of devastation and desolation which will leave no roots remaining out of which trade between the United States and Great Britain, as it has hitherto flourished, can ever again spring up.

The correspondence next enters upon the subject of the adhesion of the United States to the declaration of the Congress of Paris on neutral rights. The Government of the United States proposed to accede to this declaration if the proposition of Mr. Marcy could be added thereto. This soon appeared impracticable. It was then proposed by the American Government to accede to the declaration of the Paris Congress simply. This was to be accomplished by the negotiation of a separate convention with each nation represented in the congress. The secondary powers deferred to the action of Great Britain and France. On the 18th of July, Lord John Russell wrote to Mr. Adams that—

Her Majesty's Government would deem themselves authorized to advise the Queen to conclude a convention on this subject with the President of the United States so soon as they shall have been informed that a similar convention has been agreed upon, and is ready for signature, between the President of the United States and the Emperor of the French, so that the two conventions might be signed simultaneously and on the same day.

Mr. Adams corresponds with Mr. Dayton at Paris, who enters upon the negotiation at that city; and on the 29th of July writes to Lord John Russell, stating the progress of negotiations. To this Lord John Russell replies, and after recapitulating previous statements, says:

I shall be ready to carry on the negotiations as soon

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as the necessary arrangements can be perfected in London and Paris, so that the conventions may be signed simultaneously at those two capitals.

I need scarcely add that on the part of Great Britain the engagement will be prospective, and will not invalidate any thing already done.

Mr. Seward's opinion of this qualification of Lord John Russell appears in a letter addressed to Mr. Adams on the 17th of August, in which he writes thus:

Your letter to Lord John Russell is judicious, and is approved. Lord John Russell's answer is satisfactory, with the exception of a single passage, upon which it is my duty to instruct you to ask the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs for an explanation. That passage is as follows:

"I need scarcely add that on the part of Great Britain the engagement will be prospective, and will not invalidate any thing already done."

A brief statement of the objects of the proposed negotiation will bring the necessity for an explanation of this passage into a strong light. We have heretofore proposed to other maritime States certain meliorations of the laws of maritime war affecting the rights of neutrals. These meliorations are: 1st. That the neutral flag shall protect enemy's goods not contraband of war. 2d. That the goods of neutrals, not contraband, though found under an enemy's flag, shall not be confiscated. 3d. That blockades, to be respected, must be effective.

The Congress at Paris adopted these three principles, adding a fourth, namely, that privateering shall be abolished. The powers which constituted that congress invited the adhesion of the United States to that declaration. The United States answered that they would accede on condition that the other powers would accept a fifth proposition, namely, that the goods of private persons, non-combatants, should be exempt from confiscation in maritime war.

When this answer was given by the United States, the British Government declined to accept the proposed amendment, or fifth proposition, thus offered by the United States, and the negotiation was then suspended. We have now proposed to resume the negotiation, offering our adhesion to the declaration of Paris, as before, with the amendment which would exempt private property from confiscation in maritime war.

The British Government now, as before, declares this amendment or fifth proposition inadmissible. It results that, if the United States can at all become a party to the declaration of the Congress of Paris by the necessary consent of the parties already committed to it, this can be done only by their accepting that declaration without any amendment whatever—in other words, "pure and simple." Under these circumstances you have proposed in your letter to Lord John Russell to negotiate our adhesion to the declaration in that form. It is at this stage of the affair that Lord John Russell interposes, by way of caution, the remark, that "on the part of Great Britain the engagement will be prospective, and will not invalidate any thing already done."

I need dwell on this remark only one moment to show that, although expressed in a very simple form and in a quite casual manner, it contains what amounts to a preliminary condition, which must be conceded by the United States to Great Britain, and either be inserted in the convention, and so modify our adhesion to the declaration of Paris, or else must be in some confidential manner implied and reserved, with the same effect.

The letter then enlarges upon the possible meaning and object of the British Government without arriving at a satisfactory impression, and concludes with instructions to Mr. Adams to request respectfully, and with reasonable promptness, an explanation. This had been previously done, and Lord John Russell's explanation was given on the 19th of August, in a letter to Mr. Adams:

SIR: I have the honor to enclose a copy of a declaration which I propose to make upon signing the convention of which you gave me a draft embodying the articles of the declaration of Paris.

I propose to make the declaration in question in a written form, and to furnish you with a copy of it.

You will observe that it is intended to prevent any misconception as to the nature of the engagement to be taken by her Majesty.

If you have no objection to name a day in the course of this week for the signature of the convention, Mr. Dayton can on that day, and at the same time, sign with M. Thouvenel a convention identical with that which you propose to sign with me.

Draft of Declaration.—In affixing his signature to the convention of this day between her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and the United States of America, the Earl Russell declares, by order of her Majesty, that her Majesty does not intend thereby to undertake any engagement which shall have any bearing, direct or indirect, on the internal differences now prevailing in the United States.

Mr. Adams writes to Mr. Seward in August 23d, that this proceeding was "of so grave and novel a character as to render further action unadvisable until he obtained further instructions." The reply of Mr. Seward to this declaration, and the course decided upon by the Government, are stated by Mr. Seward in a letter to Mr. Adams dated September 7th:

I am instructed by the President to say that the proposed declaration is inadmissible.

It would be virtually a new and distinct article incorporated into the projected convention. To admit such a new article would, for the first time in the history of the United States, be to permit a foreign power to take cognizance of and adjust its relations upon assumed internal and purely domestic differences existing within our own country.

This broad consideration supersedes any necessity for considering in what manner or in what degree the projected convention, if completed either subject to the explanation proposed or not, would bear directly or indirectly on the internal differences which the British Government assume to be prevailing in the United States.

I do not enlarge upon this branch of the subject. It is enough to say that the view thus adopted by the President seems to be in harmony equally with a prudent regard to the safety of the Republic and a just sense of its honor and dignity.

The proposed declaration is inadmissible, among other reasons, because it is not mutual. It proposes a special rule by which her Majesty's obligations shall be meliorated in their bearing upon internal difficulties now prevailing in the United States, while the obligations to be assumed by the United States shall not be similarly meliorated or at all affected in their bearing on internal differences that may now be prevailing, or may hereafter arise and prevail, in Great Britain.

It is inadmissible, because it would be a substantial and even a radical departure from the declaration of the Congress at Paris. That declaration makes no exception in favor of any of the parties to it in regard to the bearing of their obligations upon internal differences which may prevail in the territories or dominions of other parties.

The declaration of the Congress of Paris is the joint act of forty-six great and enlightened powers, designing to alleviate the evils of maritime war, and promote the first interest of humanity, which is peace. The Government of Great Britain will not, I am sure, ex-

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pect us to accede to this noble act otherwise than upon the same equal footing upon which all the other parties to it are standing. We could not consent to accede to the declaration with a modification of its terms unless all the present parties to it should stipulate that the modification should be adopted as one of universal application. The British Government cannot but know that there would be little prospect of an entire reformation of the declaration of Paris at the present time, and it has not even told us that it would accept the modification as a general one if it were proposed.

It results that the United States must accede to the declaration of the Congress of Paris on the same terms with all the other parties to it, or that they do not accede to it at all.

Thus ended this negotiation, and the question arises, says Mr. Seward—

What, then, are to be the views and policy of the United States in regard to the rights of neutrals in maritime war in the present case? My previous despatches leave no uncertainty on this point. We regard Great Britain as a friend. Her Majesty's flag, according to our traditional principles, covers enemy's goods not contraband of war. Goods of her Majesty's subjects, not contraband of war, are exempt from confiscation though found under a neutral or disloyal flag. No depredations shall be committed by our naval forces or by those of any of our citizens, so far as we can prevent it, upon the vessels or property of British subjects. Our blockade, being effective, must be respected.

The unfortunate failure of our negotiations to amend the law of nations in regard to maritime war does not make us enemies, although, if they had been successful, we should have perhaps been more assured friends.

The reasons for inserting the declaration proposed by Lord John Russell in the convention contemplated with the United States, are stated by him in a letter to Mr. Adams dated August 28th:

The undersigned has notified Mr. Adams his intention to accompany his signature of the proposed convention with a declaration to the effect that her Majesty "does not intend thereby to undertake any engagement which shall have any bearing, direct or indirect, on the internal differences now prevailing in the United States."

The reasons for this course can be easily explained. On some recent occasions, as on the fulfilment of the treaty of 1846, respecting the boundary, and with respect to the treaty called by the name of the "Clayton-Bulwer treaty," serious differences have arisen with regard to the precise meaning of words, and the intention of those who framed them.

It was most desirable in framing a new agreement not to give rise to a fresh dispute.

But the different attitude of Great Britain and of the United States in regard to the internal dissensions now unhappily prevailing in the United States, gave warning that such a dispute might arise out of the proposed convention.

Her Majesty's Government, upon receiving intelligence that the President had declared by proclamation his intention to blockade the ports of nine of the States of the Union, and that Mr. Davis, speaking in the name of those nine States, had declared his intention to issue letters of marque and reprisals; and having also received certain information of the design of both sides to arm, had come to the conclusion that civil war existed in America, and her Majesty had thereupon proclaimed her neutrality in the approaching contest.

The Government of the United States, on the other hand, spoke only of unlawful combinations, and designated those concerned in them as rebels and pirates. It would follow logically and consistently, from the attitude taken by her Majesty's Government, that the so-called Confederate States, being acknowledged as a belligerent, might, by the law of nations, arm privateers, and that their privateers must be regarded as the armed vessels of a belligerent.

With equal logic and consistency it would follow, from the position taken by the United States, that the privateers of the Southern States might be decreed to be pirates, and it might be further argued by the Government of the United States that a European power signing a convention with the United States, declaring that privateering was and remains abolished, would be bound to treat the privateers of the so-called Confederate States as pirates.

Hence, instead of an agreement, charges of bad faith and violation of a convention might be brought in the United States against the power signing such a convention, and treating the privateers of the so-called Confederate States as those of a belligerent power.

The undersigned had at first intended to make verbally the declaration proposed. But he considered it would be more clear, more open, more fair to Mr. Adams to put the declaration in writing, and give notice of it to Mr. Adams before signing the convention.

The remainder of this extensive correspondence with the British Government is devoted to the cases of individuals and of vessels supposed to have infringed upon the strict laws of neutrality; and although many interesting topics were discussed, no important principle was disputed. For correspondence on the capture of Mason and Slidell from the steamer Trent, see page 276.

France.—The correspondence with the French Government is no less interesting than that with the Government of Great Britain. The letter of instructions to Mr. Dayton, Minister to France, commences with a simple statement of the origin, nature, and purposes of the contest in which the United States was involved. Secretary Seward says: "I have thus written only for the purpose of deducing from it the arguments you will find it necessary to employ in opposing the application of the so-called Confederate States to the Government of his Majesty the Emperor, for a recognition of its independence and sovereignty." He then proceeds to deduce these arguments:

The President neither expects nor desires any intervention, or even any favor, from the Government of France, or any other, in this emergency. Whatever else he may consent to do, he will never invoke nor even admit foreign interference or influence in this or any other controversy in which the Government of the United States may be engaged with any portion of the American people. It has been simply his aim to show that the present controversy furnishes no one ground on which a great and friendly power, like France, can justly lend aid or sympathy to the party engaged in insurrection, and therefore he instructs you to insist on the practice of neutrality by the Government of the Emperor, as all our representatives are instructed to insist on the neutrality of the several powers to which they are accredited.

Not entertaining the least apprehension of the departure from that course by his Majesty's Government, it is not without some reluctance that the President consents to the suggestion of some considerations affecting France herself, which you may urge in support of it. France is an agricultural and manufacturing country. Her industry depends very largely on a consumption of her productions and fabrics within the United States, and on the receipt, in exchange, of cotton, or other staples, or their equivalent in money, from the United States. The ability of the United States to thus consume and furnish depends on their ability to maintain and preserve peace. War here will

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in any case be less flagrant, and peace, when broken, will be restored all the more quickly and all the more perfectly if foreign nations shall have the sagacity, not to say the magnanimity, to practise the neutrality we demand.

Foreign intervention would oblige us to treat those who should yield it as allies of the insurrectionary party, and to carry on the war against them as enemies. The case would not be relieved, but, on the contrary, would only be aggravated, if several European States should combine in that intervention. The President and the people of the United States deem the Union, which would then be at stake, worth all the cost and all the sacrifices of a contest with the world in arms, if such a contest should prove inevitable.

However other European powers may mistake, his Majesty is the last one of those sovereigns to misapprehend the nature of this controversy. He knows that the revolution of 1775 in this country was a successful contest of the great American idea of free popular government against resisting prejudices and errors. He knows that the conflict awakened the sympathies of mankind, and that ultimately the triumph of that idea has been hailed by all European nations. He knows at what cost European nations resisted for a time the progress of that idea, and perhaps is not unwilling to confess how much France, especially, has profited by it. He will not fail to recognize the presence of that one great idea in the present conflict, nor will he mistake the side on which it will be found. It is, in short, the very principle of universal suffrage, with its claim to obedience to its decrees, on which the Government of France is built, that is put in issue by the insurrection here, and is in this emergency to be vindicated, and, more effectually than ever, established by the Government of the United States.

I forbear from treating of questions arising out of the revenue laws of the United States, which lately have been supposed to have some bearing on the subject. They have already passed away before the proclamation of the blockade of ports in the hands of the revolutionary party. Nor could considerations so merely mercenary and ephemeral in any case enter into the counsels of the Emperor of France.

You will, naturally enough, be asked what is the President's expectation concerning the progress of the contest and the prospect of its termination. It is, of course, impossible to speculate, with any confidence, upon the course of a revolution, and to fix times and seasons for the occurrence of political events affected by the excitement of popular passions; but there are two things which may be assumed as certain: First, That the union of these States is an object of supreme and undying devotion on the part of the American people, and, therefore, it will be vindicated and maintained. Secondly, The American people, notwithstanding any temporary disturbance of their equanimity, are yet a sagacious and practical people, and less experience of evils than any other nation would require will bring them back to their customary and habitual exercise of reason and reflection, and, through that process, to the settlement of the controversy without further devastation and demoralization by needless continuance in a state of civil war.

The President recognizes, to a certain extent, the European idea of the balance of power. If the principle has any foundation at all, the independence and the stability of these United States just in their present form, properties, and character, are essential to the preservation of the balance between the nations of the earth as it now exists. It is not easy to see how France, Great Britain, Russia, or even reviving Spain, could hope to suppress wars of ambition which must inevitably break out if this continent of North America, now, after the exclusion of foreign interests for three-quarters of a century, is again to become a theatre for the ambition and cupidity of European nations.

It stands forth now to the glory of France that she contributed to the emancipation of this continent from the control of European States—an emancipation which has rendered only less benefit to those nations than to America itself. The present enlightened monarch of France is too ambitious, in the generous sense of the word, to signalize his reign by an attempt to reverse that great and magnanimous transaction. He is, moreover, too wise not to understand that the safety and advancement of the United States are guaranteed by the necessities, and, therefore, by the sympathies of mankind.

On the 19th of March Mr. Faulkner replies to the letter of Mr. Black, dated February 28th. In this answer he thus describes the views and intentions of the French Government:

I have no hesitation in expressing it as my opinion, founded upon frequent general interviews with the Emperor, although in no instance touching this particular point, that France will act upon this delicate question when it shall be presented to her consideration in the spirit of a most friendly power; that she will be the last of the great States of Europe to give a hasty encouragement to the dismemberment of the Union, or to afford to the Government of the United States, in the contingency to which you refer, any just cause of complaint. The unhappy divisions which have afflicted our country have attracted the Emperor's earnest attention since the first of January last, and he has never, but upon one occasion of our meeting since, failed to make them the subject of friendly inquiry, and often of comment. He looks upon the dismemberment of the American Confederacy with no pleasure, but as a calamity to be deplored by every enlightened friend of human progress. And he would act, not only in conflict with sentiments often expressed, but in opposition to the well-understood feelings of the French people, if he should precipitately adopt any step whatever tending to give force and efficacy to those movements of separation, so long as a reasonable hope remains that the Federal authority can or should be maintained over the seceding States.

The Emperor Napoleon has no selfish purpose to accomplish by the dismemberment of the American Union. As he has upon more than one occasion said to me, "There are no points of collision between France and the United States; their interests are harmonious, and they point to one policy, the closest friendship, and the freest commercial intercourse." He knows full well that the greatness of our republic cannot endanger the stability of his throne, or cast a shadow over the glory of France. He would rather see us united and powerful than dissevered and weak. He is too enlightened to misapprehend the spirit of conciliation which now actuates the conduct of the Federal authorities. He knows that appeals to the public judgment perform that function in our republic which is elsewhere only accomplished by brute force. And if armies have not been marshalled, as they would have been ere this in Europe, to give effect to the Federal authority, he is aware that it is not because the General Government disclaims authority over the seceding States, or is destitute of the means and resources of war, but from an enlightened conviction on its part that time and reflection will be more efficacious than arms in reëstablishing the Federal authority, and restoring that sentiment of loyalty to the Union which was once the pride of every American heart.

I have not, so far, heard that any commissioners have been sent by the seceding States to France. Should they, as you anticipate, arrive shortly, I think I am not mistaken in saying that they will find that the Imperial Government is not yet prepared to look favorably upon the object of this mission.

Again, on the 15th of April, Mr. Faulkner describes to Mr. Seward his interview with the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Thouvenel. In reply to the request of Mr. Faulkner that no proposition recognizing the permanent

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dismemberment of the American Union should be considered by the French Government until after the arrival and reception of the new Minister accredited by the United States, M. Thouvenel said:

That no application had yet been made to him by the Confederated States, in any form, for the recognition of their independence; that the French Government was not in the habit of acting hastily upon such questions, as might be seen by its tardiness in recognizing the new kingdom of Italy; that he believed the maintenance of the Federal Union, in its integrity, was to be desired for the benefit of the people North and South, as well as for the interests of France, and the Government of the United States might rest well assured that no hasty or precipitate action would be taken on that subject by the Emperor. But whilst he gave utterance of these views, he was equally bound to say that the practice and usage of the present century had fully established the right of *de facto* Governments to recognition when a proper case was made out for the decision of foreign powers. Here the official interview ended.

The conversation was then further protracted by an inquiry from M. Thouvenel when the new tariff would go into operation, and whether it was to be regarded as the settled policy of the Government. I told him that the first day of the present month had been prescribed as the period when the new duties would take effect; that I had not yet examined its provisions with such care as would justify me in pronouncing an opinion upon its merits; that it was condemned by the commercial classes of the country, and that I had no doubt, from the discontent manifested in several quarters, that the subject would engage the attention of Congress at its next meeting, and probably some important modifications would be made in it. The finances of the Government were at this time temporarily embarrassed, and I had no doubt the provisions of the new tariff were adopted with a view, although probably a mistaken one, of sustaining the credit of the treasury as much as of reviving the protective policy. He then asked me my opinion as to the course of policy that would be adopted towards the seceding States, and whether I thought force would be employed to coerce them into submission to the Federal authority. I told him that I could only give him my individual opinion, and that I thought force would not be employed; that ours was a Government of public opinion, and although the Union unquestionably possessed all the ordinary powers necessary for its preservation, as had been shown in several partial insurrections which had occurred in our history, yet that the extreme powers of Government could only be used in accordance with public opinion, and that I was satisfied that the sentiment of the people was opposed to the employment of force against the seceding States. So sincere was the deference felt in that country for the great principles of self-government, and so great the respect for the action of the people, when adopted under the imposing forms of State organization and State sovereignty, that I did not think the employment of force would be tolerated for a moment, and I thought the only solution of our difficulties would be found in such modifications of our constitutional compact as would invite the seceding States back into the Union or a peaceable acquiescence in the assertion of their claims to a separate sovereignty.

On the 4th of May Mr. Seward writes to Mr. Dayton that the question had been asked of Mr. Faulkner by M. Thouvenel, whether there was not some diversity of opinion in the cabinet of the President as to the proper mode of meeting the difficulties which disturbed the relations of the States and the General Government. He instructs Mr. Dayton to recall that conversation and to assure M. Thouvenel explicitly that there was no difference of opinion whatever between the President and his constitutional advisers, or among those advisers themselves, concerning the policy that had been pursued, and which was prosecuted by the Administration in regard to the unhappy disturbances existing in the country. The path of executive duty has thus far been too plainly marked out by stern necessities to be mistaken, while the solemnity of the great emergency and the responsibilities it devolves have extinguished in the public councils every emotion but those of loyalty and patriotism. It is not in the hands of this Administration that this Government is to come to an end at all—much less for want of harmony and devotion to the country. He further adds:

You cannot be too decided or too explicit in making known to the French Government that there is not now, nor has there been, nor will there be, any the least idea existing in this Government of suffering a dissolution of this Union to take place in any way whatever.

There will be here only one nation and one Government, and there will be the same republic, and the same constitutional Union that have already survived a dozen national changes, and changes of government in almost every other country. These will stand hereafter, as they are now, objects of human wonder and human affection.

You have seen, on the eve of your departure, the elasticity of the national spirit, the vigor of the national Government, and the lavish devotion of the national treasures to this great cause. Tell M. Thouvenel, then, with the highest consideration and good feeling, that the thought of a dissolution of this Union, peaceably or by force, has never entered into the mind of any candid statesman here, and it is high time that it be dismissed by statesmen in Europe.

Again, on the 22d of May Mr. Dayton reports his arrival at Paris, and his first interview with the French Minister on the 16th. He thus relates the conversation:

M. Thouvenel, in the course of the conversation, took occasion to say that he deeply regretted the condition of things in the United States, and that in this expression of feeling he represented the views and feelings of the Emperor; that so deeply concerned was the Emperor that he had felt disposed to offer his good offices, but had been deterred from the fear that his offer might not be well received; but should occasion for this arise, he would always be ready and happy to be of use. He made special inquiry as to the policy of our Government in regard to neutral rights, particularly in reference to neutral property found in Southern ships. He went into considerable detail to show that historical precedents were in favor of treating Southern vessels as those of a regular belligerent, and applying the same doctrine to them as had always been upheld by the United States. He dwelt particularly upon the fact that Great Britain, during our revolutionary war, had not considered our privateers as pirates. I understood him to say that, as respects an effective blockade, it would be fully recognized and respected; but he seemed much impressed with the importance of understanding clearly the intentions of our Government in reference to these matters as respects the foreign world.

The recognition of the Southern Confederates as possessing belligerent rights he did not consider at all as recognizing them as independent States.

On the next day he was received by the Emperor, who said in substance: "That he felt great interest in the condition of things in the United States; that he was very anxious the

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difficulties should be settled amicably; that he had been and yet was ready to offer his kind offices, if such offer would be mutually agreeable to the contending parties; that whatever tended to affect injuriously American interests was detrimental to the interests of France, and that he desired a perpetuation of the Union of the States," with some additional remarks of like tenor and character.

On the 20th of May another interview with the French Minister was had, in which the conversation turned on "neutral rights" and "belligerent rights." Mr. Dayton thus describes it:

He said, in substance, that they held that the flag covers the cargo; and that if a Southern ship carrying neutral property was captured, the property would not be condemned, &c. He hoped our Government would recognize principles for which it had always contended. I told him it would certainly do so, but the question here was, whether there *was a flag;* that our Government insisted that the Confederates, being merely in rebellion, had no flag, and I could not exactly understand how a foreign Government which had not recognized them as an independent power could recognize them as having a flag. He said, furthermore, that the French Government had given no warning to their citizens, &c., (as the English Government had,) by proclamation, because it was unnecessary; that the statute law of France (of 1825, April 10, I think) declared that any French citizen taking service under a foreign power lost all claim to protection as a citizen; that if a subject of France should take service on board of a letter of marque licensed by the Confederate States, it would be, as I understood him, piratical on the part of such subject. He said, furthermore, that no letters of marque could be fitted out in their ports, or *even sheltered* there, unless they came in from necessity, (as stress of weather, &c.,) and then could remain, I think, but twenty-four hours; that consequently there could be no bringing of prizes into French ports, and while there a condemnation of them in the courts of the Southern States.

On the 30th of May, Mr. Seward, writing to Mr. Dayton, alludes to the conversation between Mr. Faulkner and M. Thouvenel, in which it was said by the latter, "that in view of the great commercial interests involved in the domestic controversy agitating the United States, the French Government had felt itself constrained to take measures in conjunction with the Government of Great Britain to meet a condition of things which imperilled those interests. Communications of a similar tenor would be addressed by both Governments to the Government of the United States," &c. The occasion is thus taken to state more explicitly the position of the United States. Mr. Seward writes:

First, I desire that M. Thouvenel may be informed that this Government cannot but regard any communications held by the French Government, even though unofficial, with the agents of the insurrectionary movement in this country as exceptionable and injurious to the dignity and honor of the United States. They protest against this intercourse, however, not so much on that ground as on another. They desire to maintain the most cordial relations with the Government of France, and would therefore, if possible, refrain from complaint. But it is manifest that even an unofficial reception of the emissaries of disunion has a certain though measured tendency to give them a prestige which would encourage their efforts to prosecute a civil war destructive to the prosperity of this country and aimed at the overthrow of the Government itself. It is earnestly hoped that this protest may be sufficient to relieve this Government from the necessity of any action on the unpleasant subject to which it relates.

Secondly, The United States cannot for a moment allow the French Government to rest under the delusive belief that they will be content to have the Confederate States recognized as a belligerent power by States with which this nation is in amity. No concert of action among foreign States so recognizing the insurgents can reconcile the United States to such a proceeding, whatever may be the consequences of resistance.

The measures we have adopted, and are now vigorously pursuing, will terminate the unhappy contest at an early day, and be followed by benefits to ourselves and to all nations greater and better assured than those which have hitherto attended our national progress. Nothing is wanting to that success except that foreign nations shall leave us, as is our right, to manage our own affairs in our own way. They, as well as we, can only suffer by their intervention. No one, we are sure, can judge better than the Emperor of France how dangerous and deplorable would be the emergency that should intrude Europeans into the political contests of the American people.

On the 30th of May Mr. Dayton writes to Mr. Seward:

I am happy to say that there is no disposition manifested here, so far as I have observed, to favor the rebellion in our Southern States, or to recognize them as an independent power. All recognition of rights on their part is for commercial purposes only. But the Government of France cannot, it says, look at this rebellion as a small matter. That, embracing as it does a large section and many States, they cannot apply to it the same reasoning as if it were an unimportant matter or confined to a small locality.

M. Thouvenel says he has had no application from Southern Commissioners for any purpose of recognition, and he does not know even that such persons are or have been in Paris.

Again, in June, he writes:

I think I may say with some confidence that all the efforts of the agents of the Confederates on this side of the channel have thus far been abortive. They have no encouragement to their hopes of recognition. They have met with no success in their attempts to negotiate a loan. I do not believe they have got any considerable supply of arms, and I think that we know substantially what they have done and are attempting to do. My only fear is of a possible, not probable, reverse to our arms in Virginia, and a rush, under the excitement of a first victory, upon the city of Washington. Should they get possession, by any possibility, of that point, the prestige it would give them (aside from any strategic advantage) might be productive of most unhappy results. God grant that no such future may hang over us.

On the 31st of May Mr. Dayton addressed to M. Thouvenel the proposition for the accession of the United States to the Declaration of the Paris Conference with the amendment proposed by Secretary Marcy.

On the 17th of June Mr. Seward informs Mr. Dayton of the visit of the British and French Ministers to lay before him conjointly certain views of their respective Governments, and that he declined to receive the same officially, and his reasons for adopting this course. The entire despatch is one of the ablest in the correspondence with the French Government, and explains very fully the views entertained by

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the Government relative to the Confederate States:

Every instruction which this Government has given to its representatives abroad, since the recent change of Administration took place, has expressed our profound anxiety lest the disloyal citizens who are engaged in an attempt to overthrow the Union should obtain aid and assistance from foreign nations, either in the form of a recognition of their pretended sovereignty, or in some other and more qualified or guarded manner. Every instruction has expressed our full belief that, without such aid or assistance, the insurrection would speedily come to an end, while any advantage that it could derive from such aid or assistance could serve no other purpose than to protract the existing struggle and aggravate the evils it is inflicting on our own country and on foreign and friendly nations. Every instruction bears evidence of an earnest solicitude to avoid even an appearance of menace or of want of comity towards foreign powers; but at the same time it has emphatically announced, as is now seen to have been necessary, our purpose not to allow any one of them to expect to remain in friendship with us if it should, with whatever motive, practically render such aid or assistance to the insurgents. We have intended not to leave it doubtful that a concession of sovereignty to the insurgents, though it should be indirect or unofficial, or though it should be qualified so as to concede only belligerent or other partial rights, would be regarded as inconsistent with the relations due to us by friendly nations. Nor has it been left at all uncertain that we shall, in every event, insist that these United States must be considered and dealt with now, as heretofore, by such nations as exclusively sovereign for all purposes whatsoever within the territories over which the Constitution has been extended. On the other hand we have not, at any time, been unmindful of the peculiar circumstances which might excite apprehensions on the part of commercial nations for the safety of their subjects and their property in the conflicts which might occur upon sea as well as on land between the forces of the United States and those of the insurgents.

The United States have never disclaimed the employment of letters of marque as a means of maritime war. The insurgents early announced their intention to commission privateers. We knew that friendly nations would be anxious for guarantees of safety from injury by that form of depredation upon the national commerce. We knew also that such nations would desire to be informed whether their flags should be regarded as protecting goods, not contraband of war, of disloyal citizens, found under them, and whether the goods, not contraband, of subjects of such nations would be safe from confiscation when found in vessels of disloyal citizens of the United States. This Administration, free from some of the complications of those which had preceded it, promptly took up the negotiations relating to the declaration of the Congress of Paris, just at the point where they had been suspended by President Buchanan. We found it just and humane in itself so far as it goes, and that it had only failed to be accepted by the United States because foreign nations had refused to accept an additional principle proposed by this Government, yet more just and humane than any which it does contain, namely, that the property of private citizens, not contraband, should be exempted from confiscation in maritime war. While still willing and desirous to have that further principle incorporated in the law of nations, we nevertheless instructed you, and all our representatives in foreign countries, to waive it, if necessary, and to stipulate, subject to the concurrence of the Senate of the United States, our adhesion to the declaration of the Congress of Paris as a whole and unmodified. This was done so early as the 25th day of April last, long before the date of the instructions which Mr. Mercier proposed to submit to us. We have ever since that time been waiting for the responses of foreign powers to this high and liberal demonstration on our part. We have, however, received no decisive answers on the subject from those powers.

It was under these circumstances that, on the 15th day of June instant, the Minister from France and the Minister from Great Britain, having previously requested an interview, were received by me. Each of them announced that he was charged by his Government to read a despatch to me and to give me a copy if I should desire it.

I answered that, owing to the peculiar circumstances of the times, I could not consent to an official reading or delivery of these papers without first knowing their characters and objects. They confidentially and with entire frankness put the despatches into my hands for an informal preliminary examination. Having thus become possessed of their characters, I replied to those Ministers that I could not allow them to be officially communicated to this Government. They will doubtless mention this answer to their respective States.

I give you now the reasons of this Government for pursuing this course in regard to the despatch from France, that you may communicate them to the French Government, if you shall find it necessary or expedient.

Some time ago we learned, through our legation at St. Petersburg, that an understanding had been effected between the Governments of Great Britain and France that they should take one and the same course on the subject of the political disturbances in this country, including the possible recognition of the insurgents. At a later period this understanding was distinctly avowed by M. Thouvenel to Mr. Sanford, who had been informally introduced by me to the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, and by Lord John Russell to Mr. Dallas, our late Minister in London. The avowal in each case preceded the arrival of our newly appointed Ministers in Europe, with their instructions for the discharge of their respective missions.

On receiving their avowals I immediately instructed yourself and Mr. Adams "that although we might have expected a different course on the part of these two great powers, yet, as the fact that an understanding existed between them did not certainly imply an unfriendly spirit, we should not complain of it, but that it must be understood by the French and British Governments that we shall deal hereafter, as heretofore, in this case, as in all others, with each power separately, and that the agreement for concerted action between them would not at all influence the course we should pursue." The concert thus avowed has been carried out. The Ministers came to me together; the instructions they proposed to me differ in form, but are counterparts in effect.

Adhering to our previous decision, which before this time has doubtless been made known to the Government of France, we do not make this concert, under the circumstances, a reason for declining to hear the instruction with which Mr. Mercier is charged.

That paper does not expressly deny the sovereignty of the United States of America, but it does assume, inconsistently with that sovereignty, that the United States are not altogether and for all purposes one sovereign power, but that this nation consists of two parties, of which this Government is one. France proposes to take cognizance of both parties as belligerents, and for some purposes to hold communication with each. The instruction would advise us indeed that we must not be surprised if France shall address herself to a Government which she says is to be installed at Montgomery for certain explanations. This intimation is conclusive in determining this Government not to allow the instruction to be read to it.

The United States, rightly jealous, as we think, of their sovereignty, cannot suffer themselves to debate any abridgment of that sovereignty with France or with any other nation. Much less can they consent that France shall announce to them a conclusion of her own against that sovereignty, which conclusion France has adopted without any previous conference with the

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United States on the subject. This Government insists that the United States are one whole undivided nation, especially so far as foreign nations are concerned, and that France is, by the law of nations and by treaties, not a neutral power between two imaginary parties here, but a friend of the United States.

In the spirit of this understanding of the case, we are not only not wishing to seek or to give offence to France, but, on the contrary, we desire to preserve peace and friendship with that great power, as with all other nations. We do not feel at liberty to think, and do not think, that France intended any want of consideration towards the United States in directing that the instruction in question should be read to us. Outside of that paper we have abundant evidence of the good feeling and good wishes of the Emperor, and even his anxious solicitude for the same consummation which is the supreme object of our own desires and labors, namely, the preservation of the American Union in its full and absolute integrity.

Doubtless the proceeding has been the result of inadvertence. We feel ourselves at liberty to think that it would not have occurred if we had been so fortunate as to have been heard through you in the consultations of the French Government. We think we can easily see how the inadvertence has occurred. France seems to have mistaken a mere casual and ephemeral insurrection here, such as is incidental in the experience of all nations, because all nations are merely human societies, such as have sometimes happened in the history of France herself, for a war which has flagrantly separated this nation into two coexisting political powers which are contending in arms against each other after the separation.

It is erroneous, so far as foreign nations are concerned, to suppose that any war exists in the United States. Certainly there cannot be two belligerent powers where there is no war. There is here, as there has always been, one political power, namely, the United States of America, competent to make war and peace, and conduct commerce and alliances with all foreign nations. There is none other, either in fact, or recognized by foreign nations. There is, indeed, an armed sedition seeking to overthrow the Government, and the Government is employing military and naval forces to repress it. But these facts do not constitute a war presenting two belligerent powers, and modifying the national character, rights, and responsibilities, or the characters, rights, and responsibilities of foreign nations. It is true that insurrection may ripen into revolution, and that revolution thus ripened may extinguish a previously existing State, or divide it into one or more independent States, and that if such States continue their strife after such division, then there exists a state of war affecting the characters, rights, and duties of all parties concerned. But this only happens when the revolution has run its successful course.

The French Government says, in the instruction which has been tendered to us, that certain facts which it assumes confer upon the insurgents of this country, in the eyes of foreign powers, all the appearances of a government *de facto*; wherefore, whatever may be its regrets, the French Government must consider the two contending parties as employing the forces at their disposal in conformity with the laws of war.

This statement assumes not only that the law of nations entitles any insurrectionary faction, when it establishes a *de facto* government, to be treated as a belligerent, but also that the fact of the attainment of this status is to be determined by the appearance of it in the eyes of foreign nations. If we should concede both of these positions, we should still insist that the existence of a *de facto* government, entitled to belligerent rights, is not established in the present case. We have already heard from most of the foreign nations. There are only two which seem so to construe appearances, and France is one of them. Are the judgments of these two to outweigh those of all other nations? Doubtless each nation may judge and act for itself, but it certainly cannot expect the United States to accept its decision upon a question vital to their national existence. The United States will not refine upon the question when and how new nations are born out of existing nations. They are well aware that the rights of the States involve their duties and their destinies, and they hold those rights to be absolute as against all foreign nations. These rights do not at all depend on the appearances which their condition may assume in the eyes of foreign nations, whether strangers, neutrals, friends, or even allies. The United States will maintain and defend their sovereignty throughout the bounds of the republic, and they deem all other nations bound to respect that sovereignty until, if ever, Providence shall consent that it shall be successfully overthrown. Any system of public law or national morality that conflicts with this would resolve society, first in this hemisphere and then in the other, into anarchy and chaos.

This Government is sensible of the importance of the step it takes in declining to hear the communication the tender of which has drawn out these explanations. It believes, however, that it need not disturb the good relations which have so long and so happily subsisted between the United States and France.

The paper, as understood, while implying a disposition on the part of France to accord belligerent rights to the insurgents, does not name, specify, or even indicate one such belligerent right. On the other hand, the rights which it asserts that France expects, as a neutral, from the United States, as a belligerent, are even less than this Government, on the 25th of April, instructed you to concede and guarantee to her by treaty, as a friend. On that day we offered to her our adhesion to the declaration of Paris, which contains four propositions, namely: 1st. That privateering shall be abolished. 2d. That a neutral flag covers enemy's goods not contraband of war. 3d. That goods of a neutral, not contraband, shall not be confiscated though found in an enemy's vessel. 4th. That blockades, in order to be lawful, must be maintained by competent force. We have always, when at war, conceded the three last of these rights to neutrals; *a fortiori*, we could not when at peace deny them to friendly nations. The first-named concession was proposed on the grounds already mentioned. We are still ready to guarantee these rights, by convention with France, whenever she shall authorize either you or her Minister here to enter into convention. There is no reservation or difficulty about their application in the present case. We hold all the citizens of the United States, loyal or disloyal, alike included by the law of nations and treaties; and we hold ourselves bound by the same obligations to see, so far as may be in our power, that all our citizens, whether maintaining this Government or engaged in overthrowing it, respect those rights in favor of France and of every other friendly nation. In any case, not only shall we allow no privateer or national vessel to violate the rights of friendly nations as I have thus described them, but we shall also employ all our naval force to prevent the insurgents from violating them just as much as we do to prevent them from violating the laws of our own country.

What, then, does France claim of us that we do not accord to her? Nothing. What do we refuse to France by declining to receive the communication sent to us through the hands of Mr. Mercier? Nothing but the privilege of telling us that we are at war, when we maintain we are at peace, and that she is a neutral, when we prefer to recognize her as a friend.

Of course, it is understood that on this occasion we reserve, as on all others, our right to suppress the insurrection by naval as well as by military power, and for that purpose to close such of our ports as have fallen or may fall into the hands of the insurgents, either directly or in the more lenient and equitable form of a blockade, which for the present we have adopted. It is thus seen that there is no practical subject of difference between the two Governments. The United States will hope that France will not think

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it necessary to adhere to and practise upon the speculation concerning the condition of our internal affairs which she has proposed to communicate to us. But however this may be, the United States will not anticipate any occasion for a change of the relations which, with scarcely any interruption, have existed between the two nations for three-quarters of a century, and have been very instrumental in promoting, not merely the prosperity and greatness of each State, but the cause of civil and religious liberty and free institutions throughout the world.

This Government understands equally the interest of friendly nations and its own in the present emergency. If they shall not interfere, the attempt at revolution here will cease without inflicting serious evils upon foreign nations. All that they can do by any interference, with a view to modify our action, will only serve to prolong the present unpleasant condition of things, and possibly to produce results that would be as universally calamitous as they would be irretrievable.

The case, as it now stands, is the simple, ordinary one that has happened at all times and in all countries. A discontented domestic faction seeks foreign intervention to overthrow the Constitution and the liberties of its own country. Such intervention, if yielded, is ultimately disastrous to the cause it is designed to aid. Every uncorrupted nation, in its deliberate moments, prefers its own integrity, even with unbearable evils, to division through the power or influence of any foreign State. This is so in France. It is not less so in this country. Down deep in the heart of the American people—deeper than the love of trade, or of freedom—deeper than the attachment to any local or sectional interest, or partisan pride or individual ambition—deeper than any other sentiment—is that one out of which the Constitution of this Union arose, namely, American independence—independence of all foreign control, alliance, or influence. Next above it lies the conviction that neither peace, nor safety, nor public liberty, nor prosperity, nor greatness, nor empire, can be attained here with the sacrifice of the unity of the people of North America. Those who, in a frenzy of passion, are building expectations on other principles, do not know what they are doing. Whenever one part of this Union shall be found assuming bonds of dependence or of fraternity towards any foreign people, to the exclusion of the sympathies of their native land, then, even if not before, that spirit will be reawakened which brought the States of this republic into existence, and which will preserve them united until the common destiny which it opened to them shall be fully and completely realized.

On the 6th of July, writing to Mr. Dayton, Mr. Seward gives the reasons why a speedy adhesion to the declaration of the Paris Congress had been desired. This letter presents also the aspect of the question of neutral rights as viewed by our Government, and was intended when written to be regarded as a private communication between himself and Mr. Dayton.

The reason why we wished it done immediately was, that we supposed the French Government would naturally feel a deep anxiety about the safety of their commerce, threatened distinctly with privateering by the insurgents, while at the same time, as this Government had heretofore persistently declined to relinquish the right of issuing letters of marque, it would be apprehended by France that we too should take up that form of maritime warfare in the present domestic controversy. We apprehended that the danger of such a case of depredation upon commerce equally by the Government itself, and by its enemies, would operate as a provocation to France and other commercial nations to recognize the insurrectionary party in violation of our national rights and sovereignty. On the contrary, we did not desire to depredate on friendly commerce ourselves, and we thought it our duty to prevent such depredations by the insurgents by executing our own laws, which make privateering by disloyal citizens piracy, and punish its pursuit as such. We thought it wise, just, and prudent to give, unasked, guarantees to France and other friendly nations for the security of their commerce from exposure to such depredations on either side, at the very moment when we were delivering to them our protest against the recognition of the insurgents. The accession to the declaration of Paris would be the form in which these guarantees could be given—that for obvious reasons must be more unobjectionable to France and to other commercial nations than any other. It was safe on our part, because we tendered it, of course, as the act of this Federal Government, to be obligatory equally upon disloyal as upon loyal citizens.

The instructions waived the Marcy amendment, (which proposed to exempt private property from confiscation in maritime war,) and required you to propose our accession to the declaration of the Congress of Paris, pure and simple. These were the reasons for this course, namely: First, It was as well understood by this Government then, as it is now by yourself, that an article of that celebrated declaration prohibits every one of the parties to it from negotiating upon the subject of neutral rights in maritime warfare with any nation not a party to it, except for the adhesion of such outstanding party to the declaration of the Congress of Paris, pure and simple. An attempt to obtain an acceptance of Mr. Marcy's amendment would require a negotiation not merely with France alone, but with all the other original parties of the Congress of Paris, and every Government that has since acceded to the declaration. Nay, more: we must obtain their unanimous consent to the amendment before being able to commit ourselves or to engage any other nation, however well disposed, to commit itself to us on the propositions actually contained in the declaration. On the other hand, each nation which is a party to the declaration of Paris is at liberty to stipulate singly with us for acceptance of that declaration for the government of our neutral relations. If, therefore, we should waive the Marcy proposition, or leave it for ultimate consideration, we could establish a complete agreement between ourselves and France on a subject which, if it should be left open, might produce consequences very much to be deprecated. It is almost unnecessary to say that what we proposed to France was equally and simultaneously proposed to every other maritime power. In this way we expected to remove every cause that any foreign power could have for the recognition of the insurgents as a belligerent power.

The matter stood in this plain and intelligible way until certain declarations or expressions of the French Government induced you to believe that they would recognize and treat the insurgents as a distinct national power for belligerent purposes. It was not altogether unreasonable that you, being at Paris, should suppose that this Government would think itself obliged to acquiesce in such a course by the Government of France. So assuming, you thought that we would not adhere to our proposition to accede to the declaration, pure and simple, since such a course would, as you thought, be effective to bind this Government without binding the insurgents, and would leave France at liberty to hold us bound, and the insurgents free from the obligations created by our adhesion. Moreover, if we correctly understand your despatch on that subject, you supposed that you might propose our adhesion to the treaty of Paris, not pure and simple, but with the addition of the Marcy proposition in the first instance, and might afterwards, in case of its being declined in that form, withdraw the addition, and then propose our accession to the declaration of Paris, pure and simple.

While you were acting on these views on your side of the Atlantic, we on this side, not less confident in our strength than in our rights, as you are now aware, were acting on another view, which is altogether different, namely, that we shall not acquiesce in any declaration of the Government of France that assumes that this Government is not now, as it always has been,

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exclusive sovereign, for war as well as for peace, within the States and Territories of the Federal Union, and over all citizens, the disloyal and loyal all alike. We treat in that character, which is our legal character, or we do not treat at all, and we in no way consent to compromise that character in the least degree; we do not even suffer this character to become the subject of discussion. Good faith and honor, as well as the same expediency which prompted the proffer of our accession to the declaration of Paris, pure and simple, in the first instance, now require us to adhere to that proposition and abide by it; and we do adhere to it, not, however, as a divided, but as an undivided nation. The proposition is tendered to France not as a neutral but as a friend, and the agreement is to be obligatory upon the United States and France and all their legal dependencies just alike.

The case was peculiar, and in the aspect in which it presented itself to you portentous. We were content that you might risk the experiment, so, however, that you should not bring any responsibility for delay upon this Government. But you now see that by incorporating the Marcy amendment in your proposition, you have encountered the very difficulty which was at first foreseen by us. The following nations are parties to the declaration of Paris, namely: Baden, Bavaria, Belgium, Bremen, Brazils, Duchy of Brunswick, Chili, the Argentine Confederation, the Germanic Confederation, Denmark, the two Sicilies, the Republic of the Equator, the Roman States, Greece, Guatemala, Hayti, Hamburgh, Hanover, the two Hesses, Lubeck, Mecklenburgh Strelitz, Mecklenburgh Schwerin, Nassau, Oldenburgh, Parma, Holland, Peru, Portugal, Saxony, Saxe Altenburgh, Saxe Coburg Gotha, Saxe Meiningen, Saxe Weimar, Sweden, Switzerland, Tuscany, Wurtemburg, Anhalt-Dessau, Modena, New Granada, and Uruguay.

The great exigency in our affairs will have passed away—for the preservation or destruction of the American Union—before we could bring all these nations to unanimity on the subject, as you have submitted it to M. Thouvenel. It is a time not for propagandism, but for energetic acting to arrest the worst of all national calamities. We therefore expect you now to renew the proposition in the form originally prescribed. But in doing this you will neither unnecessarily raise a question about the character in which this Government acts, (being exclusive sovereign,) nor, on the other hand, in any way compromise that character in any degree. Whenever such a question occurs to hinder you, let it come up from the other party in the negotiation. It will be time then to stop and wait for such further instructions as the new exigency may require.

One word more. You will, in any case, avow our preference for the proposition with the Marcy amendment incorporated, and will assure the Government of France that whenever there shall be any hope for the adoption of that beneficent feature by the necessary parties, as a principle of the law of nations, we shall be ready not only to agree to it, but even to propose it, and to lead in the necessary negotiations.

On the 2d of August Mr. Dayton proposed to open negotiations with M. Thouvenel relative to the accession of his Government to the declaration of the Paris Congress. On the 22d of August these negotiations had reached a crisis which Mr. Dayton thus reports to Secretary Seward:

My anticipations expressed in despatch No. 10 are fully realized. Both Lord John Russell and M. Thouvenel refuse to negotiate for an accession by the United States to the treaty of Paris of 1856, except on the distinct understanding that it is to have no bearing, directly or indirectly, on the question of our Southern or domestic difficulty, and to render the matter certain they each propose to make a written declaration simultaneous with the execution of the convention, of which I herewith send you a copy and a translation. I likewise send you a copy of M. Thouvenel's note to me, with its translation.

I had an interview on Tuesday, the 20th instant, with M. Thouvenel by appointment in reference to the subject-matter of the convention, and then he gave me the first notice of the purpose of the French Government to execute this outside declaration, predicated as it was, beyond all doubt, upon a note he had just received from Lord John Russell, dated only the day preceding. He said that both France and Great Britain had already announced that they would take no part in our domestic controversy, and they thought that a frank and open declaration in advance of the execution of this convention might save difficulty and misconception hereafter. He further said, in the way of specification, that the provisions of the treaty standing alone might bind England and France to pursue and punish the privateers of the South as pirates. That they were unwilling to do this, and had already so declared. He said that we could deal with these people as we chose, and they could only express their regrets on the score of humanity if we should deal with them as pirates, but they could not participate in such a course. He said, further, that, although both England and France were anxious to have the adhesion of the United States to the declaration of Paris, they would rather dispense with it altogether than be drawn into our domestic controversy. He insisted somewhat pointedly that I could take no just exception to this outside declaration, simultaneous with the execution of the convention, unless we intended they should be made parties to our controversy; and that the very fact of my hesitation was an additional reason why they should insist upon making such contemporaneous declaration. These are the general views expressed by him.

In answer I assented at once to the propriety of such declaration being made in advance *if France and England did not mean to abide by the terms of the treaty.* I stated that I had no reason to suppose that the United States desired to embroil these countries in our domestic difficulties—that in point of fact our great desire had been that they should keep out of them; but they proposed now to make a declaration to accompany the execution of the convention which they admitted would vary its obligations. That my instructions were to negotiate that convention, and that I had no authority to do any thing or listen to any thing which would waive any rights or relieve from any obligation which might fairly arise from a just construction of its terms. He said they did not mean to alter its terms, that it was not like an addition of other provisions to the terms of the treaty itself. To this I replied, that for the purpose intended, it was precisely the same as if this declaration they proposed to make were to be incorporated into the treaty itself. In the course of our conversation I told him that any declaration or action which looked to or recognized a difference or distinction between the North and South was a matter upon which our Government was, under the circumstances, peculiarly sensitive; that we treated with foreign Governments for our whole country, North and South, and for all its citizens, whether true men or rebels, and when we could not so treat, we would cease to treat at all. He answered that they did not mean to contest our right to treat for the whole country, and that was not the purpose of the outside declaration they proposed to make; but having heretofore adopted a course of strict neutrality, the declaration in question was right and proper to prevent misconception and controversy in the future.

The reservation which the French Minister proposed to the declaration of the Congress of Paris, was inadmissible. The negotiation on this subject failed. The remainder of the correspondence with the French Government possesses less importance.

The diplomatic correspondence with Russia, although brief, was marked by a very friendly

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letter from Prince Gortchakoff to the Russian Minister at Washington, expressive of the views of the Emperor. (*See* PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.)

The diplomatic correspondence with Spain contains a decree relative to the position of the Spanish Government on American affairs. (*See* PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.) The King of Portugal issued a similar decree. (*See* PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.)

The Trent Affair.—Near the close of the year a supplement was added to the correspondence with Great Britain, by the occurrence of the "Trent affair," as it is called. (*See* TRENT.)

On the 30th of November, Mr. Seward writes to Mr. Adams that Capt. Wilkes, in the steamer San Jacinto, had boarded a British colonial steamer, and taken from her deck two insurgents who were proceeding to England on an errand of treason against their own country. He then proceeds:

We have done nothing on the subject to anticipate the discussion, and we have not furnished you with any explanations. We adhere to that course now, because we think it more prudent that the ground taken by the British Government should be first made known to us here, and that the discussion, if there must be one, shall be had here. It is proper, however, that you should know one fact in the case, without indicating that we attach much importance to it, namely, that, in the capture of Messrs. Mason and Slidell on board a British vessel, Captain Wilkes having acted without any instructions from the Government, the subject is therefore free from the embarrassment which might have resulted if the act had been specially directed by us.

Earl Russell on the same day writes to Lord Lyons, the British Minister at Washington, relating the facts of the case as he had received them from the commander of the colonial steamer Trent, and thus states the demands of his Government in relation to the matter:

Her Majesty's Government, bearing in mind the friendly relations which have long subsisted between Great Britain and the United States, are willing to believe that the United States naval officer who committed the aggression was not acting in compliance with any authority from his Government, or that if he conceived himself to be so authorized he greatly misunderstood the instructions which he had received. For the Government of the United States must be fully aware that the British Government could not allow such an affront to the national honor to pass without full reparation, and her Majesty's Government are unwilling to believe that it could be the deliberate intention of the Government of the United States unnecessarily to force into discussion between the two Governments a question of so grave a character, and with regard to which the whole British nation would be sure to entertain such unanimity of feeling.

Her Majesty's Government, therefore, trust that when this matter shall have been brought under the consideration of the Government of the United States, that Government will, of its own accord, offer to the British Government such redress as alone could satisfy the British nation, namely, the liberation of the four gentlemen and their delivery to your lordship, in order that they may again be placed under British protection, and a suitable apology for the aggression which has been committed.

Should these terms not be offered by Mr. Seward you will propose them to him.

Later, on the same day, Lord John Russell addressed another note to Lord Lyons, of a private nature, as follows:

In my previous despatch of this date I have instructed you, by command of her Majesty, to make certain demands of the Government of the United States.

Should Mr. Seward ask for delay in order that this grave and painful matter should be deliberately considered, you will consent to a delay not exceeding seven days. If, at the end of that time, no answer is given, or if any other answer is given except that of a compliance with the demands of her Majesty's Government, your lordship is instructed to leave Washington with all the members of your legation, bringing with you the archives of the legation, and to repair immediately to London.

If, however, you should be of opinion that the requirements of her Majesty's Government are substantially complied with, you may report the facts to her Majesty's Government for their consideration, and remain at your post till you receive further orders.

A copy of the first despatch was sent to Mr. Seward by Lord Lyons, who gave him a reply on the 26th of December. After stating the facts in the case, Mr. Seward proceeds thus:

Your lordship will now perceive that the case before us, instead of presenting a merely flagrant act of violence on the part of Captain Wilkes, as might well be inferred from the incomplete statement of it that went up to the British Government, was undertaken as a simple legal and customary belligerent proceeding by Captain Wilkes to arrest and capture a neutral vessel engaged in carrying contraband of war for the use and benefit of the insurgents.

The question before us is, whether this proceeding was authorized by, and conducted according to the law of nations. It involves the following inquiries:

1st. Were the persons named and their supposed despatches contraband of war?

2d. Might Captain Wilkes lawfully stop and search the Trent for these contraband persons and despatches?

3d. Did he exercise that right in a lawful and proper manner?

4th. Having found the contraband persons on board and in presumed possession of the contraband despatches, had he a right to capture the persons?

5th. Did he exercise that right of capture in the manner allowed and recognized by the law of nations?

If all these inquiries shall be resolved in the affirmative, the British Government will have no claim for reparation.

The first four questions are briefly answered by himself in the affirmative, and only the fifth remained for consideration. This he examines at some length, and thus draws to a conclusion the most important paper that has emanated from his department:

I trust that I have shown to the satisfaction of the British Government, by a very simple and natural statement of the facts, and analysis of the law applicable to them, that this Government has neither meditated, nor practised, nor approved any deliberate wrong in the transaction to which they have called its attention; and, on the contrary, that what has happened has been simply an inadvertency, consisting in a departure, by the naval officer, free from any wrongful motive, from a rule uncertainly established, and probably by the several parties concerned either imperfectly understood or entirely unknown. For this error the British Government has a right to expect the same reparation that we, as an independent State, should expect from Great Britain or from any other friendly nation in a similar case.

I have not been unaware that, in examining this question, I have fallen into an argument for what seems to be the British side of it against my own country. But I am relieved from all embarrassment on that subject. I had hardly fallen into that line of argument when I discovered that I was really defending and maintain-

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ing, not an exclusively British interest, but an old, honored, and cherished American cause, not upon British authorities, but upon principles that constitute a large portion of the distinctive policy by which the United States have developed the resources of a continent, and thus becoming a considerable maritime power, have won the respect and confidence of many nations. These principles were laid down for us in 1804, by James Madison, when Secretary of State in the administration of Thomas Jefferson, in instructions given to James Monroe, our Minister to England. Although the case before him concerned a description of persons different from those who are incidentally the subjects of the present discussion, the ground he assumed then was the same I now occupy, and the arguments by which he sustained himself upon it, have been an inspiration to me in preparing this reply.

"Whenever," he says, "property found in a neutral vessel is supposed to be liable on any ground to capture and condemnation, the rule in all cases is, that the question shall not be decided by the captor, but be carried before a legal tribunal, where a regular trial may be had, and where the captor himself is liable to damages for an abuse of his power. Can it be reasonable then, or just, that a belligerent commander who is thus restricted, and thus responsible in a case of mere property of trivial amount, should be permitted, without recurring to any tribunal whatever, to examine the crew of a neutral vessel, to decide the important question of their respective allegiances, and to carry that decision into execution by forcing every individual he may choose into a service abhorrent to his feelings, cutting him off from his most tender connections, exposing his mind and his person to the most humiliating discipline, and his life itself to the greatest danger. Reason, justice, and humanity unite in protesting against so extravagant a proceeding."

If I decide this case in favor of my own Government, I must disavow its most cherished principles, and reverse and forever abandon its essential policy. The country cannot afford the sacrifice. If I maintain those principles, and adhere to that policy, I must surrender the case itself. It will be seen, therefore, that this Government could not deny the justice of the claim presented to us in this respect upon its merits. We are asked to do to the British nation just what we have always insisted all nations ought to do to us.

The claim of the British Government is not made in a discourteous manner. This Government, since its first organization, has never used more guarded language in a similar case.

In coming to my conclusion I have not forgotten that, if the safety of this Union required the detention of the captured persons, it would be the right and duty of this Government to detain them. But the effectual check and waning proportions of the existing insurrection, as well as the comparative unimportance of the captured persons themselves, when dispassionately weighed, happily forbid me from resorting to that defence.

Nor am I unaware that American citizens are not in any case to be unnecessarily surrendered for any purpose into the keeping of a foreign State. Only the captured persons, however, or others who are interested in them, could justly raise a question on that ground.

Nor have I been tempted at all by suggestions that cases might be found in history where Great Britain refused to yield to other nations, and even to ourselves, claims like that which is now before us. Those cases occurred when Great Britain, as well as the United States, was the home of generations, which, with all their peculiar interests and passions, have passed away. She could in no other way so effectually disavow any such injury as we think she does by assuming now as her own the ground upon which we then stood. It would tell little for our own claims to the character of a just and magnanimous people if we should so far consent to be guided by the law of retaliation as to lift up buried injuries from their graves to oppose against what national consistency and the national conscience compel us to regard as a claim intrinsically right.

Putting behind me all suggestions of this kind, I prefer to express my satisfaction that, by the adjustment of the present case upon principles confessedly American, and yet, as I trust, mutually satisfactory to both of the nations concerned, a question is finally and rightly settled between them, which, heretofore exhausting not only all forms of peaceful discussion, but also the arbitrament of war itself, for more than half a century alienated the two countries from each other, and perplexed with fears and apprehensions all other nations.

The four persons in question are now held in military custody at Fort Warren, in the State of Massachusetts. They will be cheerfully liberated. Your lordship will please indicate a time and place for receiving them.

Other nations besides Great Britain took a lively interest in this seizure of Messrs. Mason and Slidell. On the 10th of December, the Minister of France for Foreign Affairs writes to the representative of that court at Washington that "the arrest had produced in France, if not the same emotion as in England, at least extreme astonishment and sensation. Public sentiment was at once engrossed with the unlawfulness and the consequences of such an act." Again he says:

The desire to contribute to prevent a conflict, perhaps imminent, between two powers for which the French Government is animated by sentiments equally friendly, and the duty to uphold, for the purpose of placing the right of its own flag under shelter from any attack, certain principles, essential to the security of neutrals, have, after mature reflection, convinced it that it could not, under the circumstances, remain entirely silent.

After examining the reasons which might be urged to justify the arrest of Mason and Slidell, if the United States approved of the act, he proceeds to show the disastrous effects which their detention would have on the principles governing neutral rights.

There remains, therefore, to invoke, in explanation of their capture, only the pretext that they were the bearers of official despatches from the enemy; but this is the moment to recall a circumstance which governs all this affair, and which renders the conduct of the American cruiser unjustifiable.

The Trent was not destined to a point belonging to one of the belligerents. She was carrying to a neutral country her cargo and her passengers; and, moreover, it was in a neutral port that they were taken.

The Cabinet of Washington could not, without striking a blow at the principles which all neutral nations are alike interested in holding in respect, nor without taking the attitude of contradiction of its own course up to this time, give its approbation to the proceedings of the commander of the San Jacinto. In this state of things it evidently should not, according to our views, hesitate about the determination to be taken.

The result of this occurrence was highly favorable to the United States. It caused the courts of Great Britain and France to manifest a degree of respect for her which had been in a great measure withheld so far during the troubles of the country. The recognition of the Confederate States was emphatically declined, and all hope of encouragement on their part from those powers, was destroyed.

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DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES. On the 4th of May, Messrs. Yancey, Mann, and Rost, the commissioners from the Confederate States to obtain their recognition in Europe as an independent nation, waited upon Lord John Russell, the British Minister for Foreign Affairs. Their interview is described in a letter from Lord Russell to Lord Lyons, the British Minister resident at Washington. He writes:

One of these gentlemen, speaking for the others, dilated on the causes which had induced the Southern States to secede from the Northern. The principal of these causes, he said, was not slavery, but the very high price which, for the sake of protecting the Northern manufacturers, the South were obliged to pay for the manufactured goods which they required. One of the first acts of the Southern Congress was to reduce these duties, and, to prove their sincerity, he gave as an instance that Louisiana had given up altogether that protection on her sugar which she enjoyed by the legislation of the United States.

As a proof of the riches of the South, he stated that of $350,000,000 of exports of produce to foreign countries, $270,000,000 were furnished by the Southern States.

I said that I could hold no official communication with the delegates of the Southern States. That, however, when the question of recognition came to be formally discussed, there were two points upon which inquiry must be made: first, whether the body seeking recognition could maintain its position as an independent State; secondly, in what manner it was proposed to maintain relations with foreign States.

After speaking at some length on the first of these points, and alluding to the news of the secession of Virginia, and other intelligence favorable to their cause, these gentlemen called my attention to the article in their constitution prohibiting the slave trade.

I said that it was alleged very currently that if the slave States found that they could not compete successfully with the cotton of other countries, they would revive the slave trade for the purpose of diminishing the cost of production. They said this was a suspicion unsupported by any proof. The fact was they had prohibited the slave trade, and did not mean to revive it. They pointed to the new tariff of the United States as a proof that British manufactures would be nearly excluded from the North, and freely admitted in the South.

Other observations were made, but not of very great importance. The delegates concluded by stating that they should remain in London for the present, in the hope that the recognition of the Southern Confederacy would not be long delayed.

On the 14th of August, the same commissioners address a lengthy note to Lord John Russell, again urging the recognition of the Confederate States, for the reasons set forth in their letter. They thus allude to their first interview:

At an early day after the arrival of the undersigned in London, at an informal interview which your lordship was pleased to accord to them, they informed your lordship of the object of their mission, and endeavored to impress upon your lordship that the action of the seven Confederate States had been based upon repeated attempts on the part of the Federal Government, and of many of the more Northern States which composed the late Union, during a series of years which extended over near half a century, to rule the people of the Southern section of that Union by means of the unconstitutional exercise of power; and that secession from that Union had been resorted to as, in the opinion of the seceding States, the best and surest mode of saving the liberties which their Federal and State constitutions were designed to secure to them. They also endeavored to place before your lordship satisfactory evidence that the justice of this great movement upon the part of the cotton States was so palpable that it would be endorsed by many, if not by all, of the Southern States which were then adhering to the Union, which would sooner or later become convinced that the security of their rights could only be maintained by pursuing the like process of secession from the late Federal Union, and accession to the constitution of the government of the Confederate States of America.

They next proceed to state the reasons for which the people of the Confederate States believe they violated no principle of allegiance in their act of secession. They then refer to the British declaration of neutrality, respecting which they present the following views:

The undersigned, however, received with some surprise and regret the avowal of her Britannic Majesty's government that, in order to the observance of a strict neutrality, the public and private armed vessels of neither of the contending parties would be permitted to enter her Majesty's ports with prizes. The undersigned do not contest the right of the British Government to make such regulations, but have been disposed to think that it has been unusual for her Majesty's Government to exercise such right, and that in this instance the practical operation of the rule has been to favor the government at Washington, and to cripple the exercise of an undoubted public right of the Government of the Confederate States. This Government commenced its career entirely without a navy. Owing to the high sense of duty which distinguished the Southern officers who were lately in commission in the United States navy, the ships which otherwise might have been brought into Southern ports were honorably delivered up to the United States Government, and the navy, built for the protection of the people of all the States, is now used by the Government at Washington to coerce the people and blockade the ports of one-third of the States of the late Union.

The people of the Confederate States are an agricultural, not a manufacturing or commercial people. They own but few ships. Hence there has been not the least necessity for the Government at Washington to issue letters of marque. The people of the Confederate States have but few ships, and not much commerce upon which such private armed vessels could operate. The commodities produced in the Confederate States are such as the world needs more than any other, and the nations of the earth have heretofore sent their ships to our wharves, and there the merchants buy and receive our cotton and tobacco.

But it is far otherwise with the people of the present United States. They are a manufacturing and commercial people. They do a large part of the carrying trade of the world. Their ships and commerce afford them the sinews of war, and keep their industry afloat. To cripple this industry and commerce, to destroy their ships, or cause them to be dismantled and tied up to their rotting wharves, are legitimate objects and means of warfare.

Having no navy, no commercial marine, out of which to improvise public armed vessels to any considerable extent, the Confederate States were compelled to resort to the issuance of letters of marque, a mode of warfare as fully and clearly recognized by the law and usage of nations as any other arm of war, and most assuredly more humane and more civilized in its practice than that which appears to have distinguished the march of the troops of the Government of the United States upon the soil and among the villages of Virginia.

These facts tend to show that the practical working of the rule that forbids the entry of the public and private armed vessels of either party into British ports with prizes, operates exclusively to prevent the exercise of this legitimate mode of warfare by the Confed-

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erate States, while it is, to a great degree, a practical protection to the commerce and ships of the United States.

The inefficiency of the Federal Administration, and the ill success of all its military efforts, are next related. The commercial resources of the South are then stated for the purpose of removing any impression which might be entertained that the South was a poor country. After which it is argued that the Abolition sentiment of England can hope for nothing from the Administration of Mr. Lincoln, which "proposes no freedom to the slave." In this connection it would be well to read the views expressed in Congress at the session previous to Mr. Lincoln's inauguration. [*See* CONGRESS U. S.] The views of the Southern Commissioners, so entirely opposite to those of Southern Senators and Representatives, were thus expressed:

The undersigned are also aware that the anti-slavery sentiment, so universally prevalent in England, has shrunk from the idea of forming friendly public relations with a government recognizing the slavery of a part of the human race. The question of the morality of slavery it is not for the undersigned to discuss with any foreign Power. The authors of the American Declaration of Independence found the African race in the colonies to be slaves, both by colonial and English law, and by the law of nations. Those great and good men left that fact and the responsibility for its existence where they found it; and thus finding that there were two distinct races in the colonies, one free and capable of maintaining their freedom, and the other slave, and, in their opinion, unfitted to enter upon that contest and to govern themselves, they made their famous declaration of freedom for the white race alone. They eventually planned and put in operation, in the course of a few years, two plans of government, both resting upon that great and recognized distinction between the white and the black man, and perpetuating that distinction as the fundamental law of the Government they framed, which they declared to be framed for the benefit of themselves and their posterity—in their own language, "to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

The wisdom of that course is not a matter for discussion with foreign nations. Suffice it to say that thus were the great American institutions framed, and thus have they remained unchanged to this day. It was from no fear that the slaves would be liberated that secession took place. The very party in power has proposed to guarantee slavery forever in the States, if the South would but remain in the Union. Mr. Lincoln's message proposes no freedom to the slave, but announces subjection of his owner to the will of the Union—in other words, to the will of the North. Even after the battle of Bull Run, both branches of the Congress at Washington passed resolations that the war is only waged in order to uphold that (pro-slavery) Constitution, and to enforce the laws, (many of them pro-slavery,) and out of one hundred and seventy-two votes in the Lower House they received all but two, and in the Senate all but one vote. As the army commenced its march, the Commanding General issued an order that no slaves should be received into, or allowed to follow, the camp. The great object of the war, therefore, as now officially announced, is not to free the slave, but to keep him in subjection to his owner, and to control his labor through the legislative channels, which the Lincoln Government designs to force upon the master. The undersigned, therefore, submit with confidence that, as far as the anti-slavery sentiment of England is concerned, it can have no sympathy with the North; nay, it will probably become disgusted with a canting hypocrisy which would enlist those sympathies on false pretences. The undersigned are, however, not insensible to the surmise that the Lincoln Government may, under stress of circumstances, change its policy—a policy based at present more upon a wily view of what is to be its effect in rearing up an element in the Confederate States favorable to the reconstruction of the Union, than from any honest desire to uphold a Constitution, the main provisions of which it has most shamelessly violated. But they confidently submit to your lordship's consideration, that success in producing so abrupt and violent a destruction of a system of labor which has reared up so vast a commerce between America and the great States of Europe, which, it is supposed, now gives bread to 10,000,000 of the population of those States, which, it may be safely assumed, is intimately blended with the basis of the great manufacturing and navigating prosperity that distinguishes the age, and probably not the least of the elements of this prosperity, would be visited with results disastrous to the world, as well as to the master and slave.

Resort to servile war has, it is true, as we have heretofore stated, not been proclaimed, but officially abandoned. It has been, however, recommended by persons of influence in the United States; and when all other means shall fail, as the undersigned assure your lordship they will, to bring the Confederate States into subjection to the power of Mr. Lincoln's Government, it is by no means improbable that it may be inaugurated.

Other reasons are advanced for a speedy recognition of the Confederate States.

On the 24th of August, Lord John Russell gave his reply, as follows:

The undersigned has had the honor to receive the letter of the 14th inst., addressed to him by Messrs. Yancey, Rost and Mann, on behalf of the so-styled Confederate States of North America.

The British Government do not pretend in any way to pronounce a judgment upon the questions in debate between the United States and their adversaries in North America; the British Government can only regret that these differences have unfortunately been submitted to the arbitrament of arms. Her Majesty has considered this contest as constituting a civil war, and her Majesty has, by her royal proclamation, declared her intention to preserve a strict neutrality between the contending parties in that war.

Her Majesty will strictly perform the duties which belong to a neutral. Her Majesty cannot undertake to determine by anticipation what may be the issue of the contest, nor can she acknowledge the independence of the nine States which are now combined against the President and Congress of the United States, until the fortune of arms, or the more peaceful mode of negotiation, shall have more clearly determined the respective positions of the two belligerents.

Her Majesty can, in the mean time, only express a hope that some adjustment, satisfactory to both parties, may be come to, without the calamities which must ensue in the event of an embittered and protracted conflict.

On the 30th of November, the Commissioners, under instructions from the President of the Confederate States, urge upon her Majesty's Government the ineffective nature of the blockade, and the paramount interests affected by the blockade. To this appeal a brief reply was given on the 7th of December, as follows:

Lord Russell presents his compliments to Mr. Yancey, Mr. Rost, and Mr. Mann. He has had the honor to receive their letters and inclosures of the 27th and 30th of November; but, in the present state of affairs, he must decline to enter into any official communication with them.

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DOUGLASS, SIR HOWARD, an English general, born in Gosport, Hampshire, July 1st, 1776, and died on the 8th of Nov. 1861, in the 86th year of his age. His career, military, political, and scientific, was long and distinguished. Some thirty years since he was well known on this side of the Atlantic as the Governor of New Brunswick, a position which he held from 1823 to 1829. His name is more particularly identified with military matters, for which he had a decided preference, as is shown by long, active service, as well as by many able treatises on fortifications and gunnery, which he has written. He entered the British army early in life, served in Portugal and Spain in 1808–'9, took a prominent part in the expedition to Walcheren in 1810, returned to the Peninsula in 1811, and served there until the close of the campaign in 1812. He was Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands from 1835 to 1840, and represented Liverpool in parliament from 1842 to 1847. Among the productions of his pen is an essay "On the Construction of Military Bridges," and "A Treatise on Naval Gunnery." He was lineally descended from one of the most illustrious families of Scotland.

DOUGLAS, STEPHEN ARNOLD, an American statesman, born at Brandon, Vermont, April 23, 1813, and died at Chicago, Illinois, June 3, 1861. With his mother and step-father he removed to Canandaigua, New York, about the age of eighteen years, and entered as a student in the academy at that place, in which he continued until 1833. At the same time he pursued the study of the law, and finally adopted that profession. He commenced the practice of the law at Jacksonville, Illinois, and in 1835, when scarcely twenty-two years of age, was elected attorney-general of the State. In 1835 he resigned, and became a member of the Legislature, and in 1837 was appointed register of the land office at Springfield, and resigned in 1839. In 1840 he was appointed Secretary of State, and in 1841 elected by the Legislature a Judge of the Supreme Court, which he resigned in 1843, and was elected a member of Congress, and again reëlected, and in 1847 was chosen Senator for six years from the 4th of March; which position he continued to hold until the time of his death. He was a candidate for the Presidency of the United States in 1852, and again in 1856, and in 1860 received a nomination. (For the details of his distinguished career up to this period *see* NEW AMERICAN CYCLOPÆDIA.) The vote at the Presidential election in 1860 resulted in the electoral college as follows:

Douglas, 12.	Lincoln, 180.
Bell, 39.	Breckinridge, 72.

The popular vote was as follows:

Douglas, 1,365,976.	Lincoln, 1,857,610.
Bell, 590,631.	Breckinridge, 847,953.

Senator Douglas took a lively interest in the exciting troubles which commenced subsequently to this election. His views were freely and forcibly expressed in his place in the Senate, (*see* CONGRESS, U. S.) and his determination to sustain and defend the Government at every cost.

Soon after the close of the extra session of the Senate he left Washington for Chicago. On the 20th of April, 1861, he was detained at Belair, Ohio, in consequence of the railroad train having missed a connection. No sooner was it known that the distinguished Senator was there than the town became alive with excitement, and in the afternoon a crowd of the citizens, and a large delegation from Wheeling, and hundreds from the surrounding country, gathered in front of the house where he was stopping. They cheered him and the Union, and Major Anderson, and the Stars and Stripes.

Finally Mr. Douglas made his appearance, and found it impossible to refrain from speaking. In a lengthy speech he thus expressed in a few words the matter at issue before the country:

> We in the northwest of this great valley can never recognize either the propriety or the right of States bordering along upon the Gulf of Mexico and upon the Atlantic Ocean, or upon the Pacific, to separate from the Union of our fathers, and establish and erect tax-gatherers and custom-houses upon our commerce in its passage to the Gulf or the ocean. If we recognize the right in one case we give our assent to it in all cases; and if the few States upon the Gulf now are to separate themselves from us and erect a barrier across the mouth of that great river, of which the Ohio is a tributary, how long will it be before New York may come to the conclusion that she may set up for herself and levy taxes upon every dollar's worth of goods imported and consumed in the Northwest, and taxes upon every bushel of wheat and every pound of pork and beef or other productions that may be sent from the Northwest to the Atlantic in search of a market? The very existence of the people in this great valley depends upon maintaining inviolate and forever that great right secured by the Constitution, of freedom of trade, of transit, and of commerce, from the centre of the continent to the ocean that surrounds it. This right can never be surrendered; our very existence depends upon maintaining it.
>
> The proposition now is, to separate these United States into little petty confederacies. First, divide them into two; and then, when either party gets beaten at the next election, subdivide again; then, whenever one gets beat again, another subdivision; and then, when you beat on Governor's election, the discomfited will rebel again, and so it will go on. And if this new system of resistance by the sword and bayonet to the result of the ballot-box shall prevail here in this country of ours, the history of the United States is already written in the history of Mexico.

On the 25th of the same month the Legislature of Illinois assembled to hear an address from him, in which he discussed with considerable fulness the exciting topics of the day. On the 1st of May he returned to his home in Chicago, somewhat indisposed at the time with the incipient stages of inflammatory rheumatism. His primary attack rapidly assumed a typhoid character, and continued from the outset very unyielding. After some ten or twelve days his attack was complicated with an ulcerated sore throat, which soon disappeared. At this time he writes to the Chairman of the State Democratic Committee, giving, in a candid, friendly manner, his views

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upon the posture of affairs. This letter is rendered more valuable by being the expression of his sentiments in a form which he did not anticipate would be given to the public; at the same time it was probably one of the last letters from this distinguished man:

CHICAGO, *May* 10, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR: Being deprived of the use of my arms for the present by a severe attack of rheumatism, I am compelled to avail myself of the services of an amanuensis in reply to your two letters.

It seems that some of my friends are unable to comprehend the difference between arguments used in favor of an equitable compromise, with the hope of averting the horrors of war, and those urged in support of the Government and flag of our country, when war is being waged against the United States with the avowed purpose of producing a permanent disruption of the Union and a total destruction of its Government. All hope of compromise with the cotton States was abandoned when they assumed the position that the separation of the Union was complete and final, and that they would never consent to a reconstruction in any contingency—not even if we would furnish them with a blank sheet of paper and permit them to inscribe their own terms. Still the hope was cherished that reasonable and satisfactory terms of adjustment could be agreed upon with Tennessee, North Carolina, and the Border States, and that whatever terms would prove satisfactory to these loyal States would create a Union party in the cotton States which would be powerful enough at the ballot-box to destroy the revolutionary Government, and bring those States back into the Union by the voice of their own people. This hope was cherished by Union men North and South, and was never abandoned until actual war was levied at Charleston, and the authoritative announcement made by the revolutionary Government at Montgomery, that the secession flag should be planted upon the walls of the Capitol at Washington, and a proclamation issued inviting the pirates of the world to prey upon the commerce of the United States.

These startling facts, taken in connection with the boastful announcement that the ravages of war and carnage should be quickly transferred from the cotton-fields of the South to the wheat-fields and corn-fields of the North, furnish conclusive evidence that it was the fixed purpose of the Secessionists utterly to destroy the Government of our fathers and obliterate the United States from the map of the world.

In view of this state of facts there was but one path of duty left to patriotic men. It was not a party question, nor a question involving partisan policy; it was a question of Government or no Government, country or no country; and hence it became the imperative duty of every Union man, every friend of constitutional liberty, to rally to the support of our common country, its Government and flag, as the only means of checking the progress of revolution and of preserving the Union of the States.

I am unable to answer your questions in respect to the policy of Mr. Lincoln and his Cabinet. I am not in their confidence, as you and the whole country ought to be aware. I am neither the supporter of the partisan policy nor the apologist for the errors of the Administration. My previous relations to them remain unchanged; but I trust the time will never come when I shall not be willing to make any needful sacrifice of personal feeling and party policy for the honor and integrity of my country.

I know of no mode by which a loyal citizen may so well demonstrate his devotion to his country as by sustaining the flag, the Constitution, and the Union, under all circumstances, and under every Administration, (regardless of party politics,) against all assailants, at home and abroad. The course of Clay and Webster towards the Administration of General Jackson, in the days of nullification, presents a noble and worthy example for all true patriots. At the very moment when that fearful crisis was precipitated upon the country, partisan strife between Whigs and Democrats was quite as bitter and relentless as now between Democrats and Republicans. The gulf which separated party leaders in those days was quite as broad and deep as that which now separates the Democracy from the Republicans. But the moment an enemy rose in our midst, plotting the dismemberment of the Union and the destruction of the Government, the voice of partisan strife was hushed in patriotic silence. One of the brightest chapters in the history of our country will record the fact that, during this eventful period, the great leaders of the opposition, sinking the partisan in the patriot, rushed to the support of the Government, and became its ablest and bravest defenders against all assailants until the conspiracy was crushed and abandoned, when they resumed their former positions as party leaders upon political issues.

These acts of patriotic devotion have never been deemed evidences of infidelity or political treachery, on the part of Clay and Webster, to the principles and organization of the old Whig party. Nor have I any apprehension that the firm and unanimous support which the Democratic leaders and masses are now giving to the Constitution and the Union will ever be deemed evidences of infidelity to democratic principles, or a want of loyalty to the organization and creed of the Democratic party. If we hope to regain and perpetuate the ascendency of our party, we should never forget that a man cannot be a true Democrat unless he is a loyal patriot.

With the sincere hope that these my conscientious convictions may coincide with those of my friends,

I am, very truly, yours,

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

TO VIRGIL HICOX, Esq.,
Chairman State Democratic Committee.

Torpor of the liver and constipation soon ensued, followed by a jaundiced condition which still more prostrated his nervous system. A wandering and delirious state accompanied his illness more or less to its fatal close. The salvation of the Republic was uppermost in his thoughts by day and by night. His own condition, the imminent peril of his death, his complicated affairs, gave him no concern. Almost his last coherent words expressed an ardent wish for the honor and prosperity of his country by the defeat and dispersion of her enemies.

DRANESVILLE is 17 miles west of Washington, in Fairfax County, Virginia. A skirmish took place in its neighborhood on the 26th of November. The First Pennsylvania Cavalry, under Colonel Bayard, were ordered to proceed to the village, and arrest certain citizens who were openly and actively aiding the Confederate cause. Having accomplished this object without meeting any of the Confederate force, except two picket men, who were captured, the party set out on their return, when a fire was opened upon them from a thick pine wood a few miles from the village. The wood was immediately surrounded, and four were captured, and two killed, of the hostile force. Another conflict took place near the village on the 20th of December, which was a sharp affair. Its success was so complete in favor of the Union troops that much credit was bestowed upon them. A brigade of General McCall's division, under the command of General E. O. C. Ord, having been ordered to advance in the direction of

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Dranesville, for the purpose of obtaining a quantity of forage known to be in the possession of secessionists, they marched from camp about 6 o'clock in the morning. Apprehending that they might be attacked, General McCall ordered another brigade, under General Reynolds, to follow at 8 o'clock. Meantime, General Orde's brigade, having advanced nearly to Dranesville, were assailed by a Confederate force in ambush. A spirited engagement ensued, which lasted nearly an hour, when the enemy's force fled in the direction of Fairfax Court House, abandoning on the field a number of their killed and wounded, besides arms, clothing, and other articles. The force under General Reynolds did not come up until the action was over. The Union force, after remaining at Dranesville till near sundown, returned to their camp, which they reached between 9 and 10 o'clock at night, bringing with them fifty wagon loads of forage, and the prisoners and abandoned articles.

The enemy's force was composed of the First and Eleventh Kentucky regiments, and the Tenth Alabama, with a regiment of cavalry and a battery of cannon, all under the command of Colonel John H. Forney, acting Brigadier-General. They left on the field ninety dead bodies, and ten of their wounded. Eight of their number, unhurt, were taken prisoners.

On the Union side, about seven were killed, and sixty-three wounded.

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EARTHQUAKES and ERUPTIONS OF VOLCANOES. One of the most disastrous earthquakes of modern times occurred on the 20th of March, 1861, along the western border of the Argentine Republic and the eastern foot of the Andes, totally destroying the city of Mendoza and the greater part of San Juan, lying 120 miles further north. On the eastern side of the mountains the shock was felt at about half-past eight in the morning, at Valparaiso and Santiago, causing great alarm and confusion to the people, who at that time were assembled in great numbers in the churches, it being near the close of Lent. To the east the subterranean movement extended to the borders of the Atlantic, being felt at Buenos Ayres, 323 leagues from Mendoza, where it was observed that the movement of pendulums vibrating north and south was accelerated, while those moving east and west were not affected. At Cordova, 150 leagues east from Mendoza, a church was thrown down. The shock was felt at Mendoza in the evening of March 20th, at the time when a large congregation was dispersing from the Jesuit church. Those who had reached the Plaza were saved, but many were destroyed by the falling in of the walls and roof of the building. In a short space, computed at only six or eight seconds, every building, public and private, in the city was thrown down, burying a large portion of the population in the ruins. Flames soon burst forth from these, consuming the dead and wounded entangled in them. The air was filled with the awful sound of the subterranean rumblings, and affrighted animals ran howling about; while from the gaping fissures floods of water were vomited forth. For several days the earth continued to tremble at intervals, till every portion of the walls that had resisted the first shock had fallen to the earth. For some leagues towards the Andes the roads were rendered almost impassable, by the fissures and deep holes opened by the earthquake; while upon the mountains huge masses of rock were precipitated down the steep slopes, filling the road, and occasionally falling for days after the first catastrophe. The city of Mendoza is described as one of the most attractive of that portion of South America, pleasantly situated, about 2,900 feet above the level of the sea, near the Andes, its houses adorned with porticoes, and surrounded with gardens and orchards. Its public promenade, called the Alameda, was about a mile long, bordered with stately poplars. The total population was about 15,000, of whom it is reported that three-fourths were destroyed, though in some of the accounts the number is given at about one-half the whole population. At San Juan it is reported that about 3,000 persons were destroyed.

Earthquake and Volcanic Eruption on the East Coast of Africa.—On the night of the 7th of May, or morning of the 8th, earthquake shocks were felt for about an hour, at Edd, about half-way between Massonah and the Straits of Bab-el-Mandel. Fine dust, at first white and afterwards red, continued to fall during the day, becoming in places nearly knee-deep. This ceased to fall on the 9th, and at night fire and smoke were seen issuing from Jebel Dubbeh, a mountain about a day's journey inland, never before known to be a volcano; and sounds like the firing of cannon were heard at Perim—these sounds were heard at 2 A. M. on the 8th, and at long intervals up to the 10th or 11th. The dust was also met with at sea, and along the entire coast of Yemen it fell for several days. Several shocks were felt on the 8th at Mocha and Hodeida.

Eruption of Vesuvius.—One of the great eruptions of Vesuvius, such as occur but once in the course of centuries, took place on the 8th of December, 1861. It was preceded by a succession of subterranean movements during the night, which were felt at Naples, violently shaking the furniture in the houses, and causing no little alarm to the people in their beds. The eruption commenced at about one o'clock Sunday morning, just over Torre del Greco,

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about one-fourth the distance up the mountain. In a short time there were six openings in full operation, sending forth enormous jets of flame, accompanied with terrific explosions. This was in an inhabited district, and some of the houses were thrown into the air by the eruptions. The lava commenced to flow on Sunday morning, and destroyed several houses and villas at Torre del Greco; but more buildings were destroyed at this place by the tremblings of the earth, which caused the walls and roofs to be fissured or thrown down. According to the official report the number thus injured was from 400 to 500, but from private accounts it would appear that none seemed to be in a secure state. The inhabitants reported that about 22,000 in number fled at the first alarm towards Naples, and the city was left to the depredations of thieves. At about two o'clock on Monday morning, the grand crater at the summit of the mountain, which had been for a long period comparatively dormant, burst out with a tremendous noise, and the escape of its pent-up fires gave hopes to the despairing population that their dwellings might yet be saved. The opening of this new outlet, no doubt, checked the flow of lava from the lower craters; and the total destruction of Torre del Greco, which had already been laid waste nine times within the historic period, was averted by the diversion of the lava streams, caused by elevations above the town that lay in their course. Within a quarter of a mile of the town the lava stream was seen on Monday, slowly moving down about half a mile below the craters that fed it, covering about half a mile in width and reaching to the height of about 24 feet. It is remarkable that in these terrible scenes, the loss of human life should have been so small, only two deaths being recorded—one that of a guide who was killed by the falling of a stone upon his head as he was attempting to procure a piece of the semi-fluid lava, in which to imbed a coin; and the other, of a person who fell into the molten stream. The scene is described by those who witnessed it as one of unparalleled magnificence, both by day and night. The volume of smoke that poured forth from the craters was remarkably dense and black, and charged with enormous quantities of fine dust and sand, which were carried up in the heated column to great heights, and hung suspended over the bay in the calm atmosphere, or were swept onward by the winds, overshadowing the sea and hiding the islands and headlands from view. In the morning and evening the rising and setting sun illuminated these dense clouds, tinting them with a profusion of rich colors, and giving to their irregular forms the appearance of solidity, with hues of fiery brilliancy. From the craters the clouds were renewed with wonderful rapidity, rolling over each other in magnificent involutions; while each eruption was preceded by a sound as of the heaviest artillery, followed by a shaking of the mountain itself, which was felt at Naples and by vessels at sea, many miles from the shore. Everywhere in the vicinity the fine black dust settled down upon the surface, and at Torre del Greco attained the depth of 4½ inches. At night, under the pall of the dark cloud the volcanic fires appeared like brilliant fireworks upon the grandest scale. Then the immense quantities of stones thrown high up into the air were seen to be of an intense red heat and rose like Roman candles. Bright flames were seen shooting upward through the dense smoke, and appearances resembling forked lightning darting around with globes of electric light. On Tuesday, the 10th, the violence of the eruption had greatly subsided, and it was an occasion of regret to the people that the volcano did not continue in more vigorous action; as this would have insured a cessation of the earthquake shocks which still continued at intervals, doing increased injury to Torre del Greco and the other towns. These continued even into the first week of the new year; and the vicinity of the volcano was rendered almost insufferable from the shocks, and from the exhalations of gas, especially about Torre and Resina. This gas, upon the land, was said to be carbonic acid, intermixed with a small quantity of carburetted hydrogen; and at sea chiefly the latter intermixed with a small portion of the former. About the close of the year the people who had returned to their houses, were again driven forth by the shock of an earthquake, and a new volcanic opening was produced under the sea, causing the water to be thrown into violent commotion, like boiling, for a considerable distance.

Earthquake on the Island of Penang.—Feb. 16, 1861, a severe earthquake occurred at half-past 7 P. M., in three distinct shocks, each of which seemed to pass from north to south and to continue about thirty seconds. The ground undulated, causing persons to be affected with nausea, crockery to be thrown from shelves, &c. The shock was also felt at the same time at Malacca and Singapore, where no earthquake had been known for the seventeen preceding years. The sky was clear at the time, no air stirring; thermometer at 91° F.

Earthquakes in the United States.—During the year a number of earthquakes occurred in the United States, but none of serious character. At Syracuse, N. Y., at about 9 P. M. of July 11, a very sensible shock was felt, which extended over most of the county. It lasted about four seconds, and was so severe as to cause dwelling-houses to rock, and in some cases furniture was removed and persons tipped in chairs to and fro. The shock was preceded by a sudden change in the weather, which became cold and chilly, after having been intensely hot for several days previous.

On the 31st August at 5 h. 22 m. A. M., two marked shocks of an earthquake were felt at the Washington Observatory, each being a succession of long waves of slight elevation apparently proceeding from south to north. The in-

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terval between the shocks was perhaps five seconds. They were accompanied by the usual rumbling noise, and were sufficient to jar the furniture in the building. The sound of the earth wave in the air continued audible some seconds after the tremor had ceased.

EGLINTON AND WINTON, ARCHIBALD WILLIAM MONTGOMERIE, Earl of, an English and Scottish peer, born at Palermo, Sicily, Sept. 29, 1812, died at Eglinton Castle, Ardrossan, in Ayrshire, Oct. 14, 1861. He was educated at Oxford, where he attained a high rank as a classical scholar, and received the degree of D. C. L. He held for many years the office of lord-lieutenant and sheriff-principal of Ayrshire. He became 13th earl of Eglinton on the death of his father in 1819, Earl of Winton, in Scotland, in 1840, and Earl of Winton in the peerage of the United Kingdom in 1859. In 1852 he was elected lord-rector of Glasgow University, and in Feb. 1852, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, but resigned in December of the same year. In 1858 he was again appointed to the same office, but retired in 1859. He was passionately fond of the sports of the turf, and had done much to improve the qualities of the English blood horse. He also made improvements in agriculture. In 1839 he revived on his own estate the tournament of the middle ages, with more than its original splendor. The preparations which had been made for this festivity were vast, and the scene was one long to be remembered. Lady Seymour, now the Duchess of Somerset, was the Queen of Beauty for this occasion, and the present emperor of France one of the knights. The earl was greatly beloved by his tenants for his efforts for their improvement and welfare.

ELLIS, JOHN WILLIS, late Governor of North Carolina, born in Rowan near Davidson County, Nov. 25, 1820, died at Raleigh, 1861. His early education was conducted under Robert Allian, Esq., at Beattie's Ford, and was continued at Randolph, Macon College, Va., from which he transferred his college relation to the University of North Carolina, where he graduated in 1841. He there studied law with Hon. R. M. Pearson, of Rowan, since Judge of the Supreme Court of North Carolina. In 1844 he was elected a member of the House of Commons of the State Legislature, and reëlected till 1848, when he was chosen a Judge of the Superior Courts of Law and Equity, which position he held till 1858, when he was elected Governor of the State, and in 1860 reëlected. On the 2d of January Governor Ellis took possession of Fort Macon, at Beaufort, the works at Wilmington, and the United States arsenal at Fayetteville, professedly on behalf of the State. On the 20th of April he ordered the seizure of the United States mint at Charlotte. He was active also in promoting the passage of the secession ordinance in North Carolina.

ELLSWORTH, EPHRAIM ELMER, a colonel of volunteers and the introducer of the Zouave drill and organization into the United States, born at Mechanicsville, Saratoga Co., New York, April 23, 1837, killed at Alexandria, Virginia, May 24, 1861. The financial misfortunes which overtook his father during Elmer's early childhood, prevented him from attaining the object of his boyish ambition, a cadetship at West Point; but, passionately fond of study, he acquired a good English education. After brief engagements in mercantile employment in Troy and New York, he went to Chicago, and though not yet of age, commenced business for himself as a patent solicitor, and soon attained success and a handsome income; but through the fraud of one whom he had trusted was despoiled of his hard earnings. Instead of giving way to despondency, he turned his attention to the study of law, supporting himself meanwhile by copying law papers at night. But while thus rapidly familiarizing himself with the science of law, his predilection for the military profession was very strong; and having attained a thorough familiarity with the French *chasseur d'Afrique* or Zouave drill and organization, he resolved to form a Zouave corps in Chicago, with such modifications as he deemed desirable to better adapt it to this country and the genius of the people. The corps which he organized and of which he became the commander, was a remarkable one; the strictest abstinence from spirituous liquors and tobacco was enforced, and the drill was exceedingly severe in its gymnastic requirements. They had been organized less than a year when their extraordinary performances won them at the State Agricultural Fair a stand of colors, and in July, 1860, with their gallant commander at their head and bearing their prize colors, they visited the Eastern cities, and challenged competition in their military discipline and practice, and won golden opinions everywhere. On his return to Chicago he organized a Zouave regiment, which he offered to the governor for the defence of the State, as if in premonition of the coming struggle. During the autumn Ellsworth entered heartily into the political campaign, advocating the election of Mr. Lincoln. After the election he accompanied the President elect to Washington, where he received a lieutenant's commission preparatory to his entrance into the War Department, and had already matured in his own mind a reorganization of the militia of the country. The breaking out of the war changed his plans. At the proclamation of the President on the 15th of April, he hastened to New York, organized a Zouave regiment of 1,200 men, from the Fire Department, and in three weeks marched at their head through Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington. He drilled his regiment assiduously, and more than any other man could have done, tamed and controlled those restless and ungovernable spirits. On the 23d of May his regiment was ordered to Alexandria, which they reached early in the morning of the 24th. Seeing a secession flag flying over a hotel, (the Marshall House,) he

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entered and demanded of a man whom he met there, whose flag it was; the man, who was really the proprietor of the house, professed not to know, saying he was only a lodger; and Ellsworth, with two companions, ascended to the roof and took it down, wrapping it around his body. As he descended, the proprietor, (Jackson,) who had concealed himself in a dark passage, fired, and killed him instantly, and the next moment himself fell dead, from the bullet of one of Ellsworth's companions, Francis E. Brownell. The body was borne sadly back to Washington, and the funeral services performed at the White House, with the President as chief mourner. From thence it was brought to his birthplace, (Mechanicsville.) A noble regiment, made up of one man from a town, in his native State, was raised as his fittest, though not his only monument.

EPIDEMICS. The following papers upon these subjects were read before a recent meeting of the Epidemiological Society of London. The first, by Dr. M'William, the Secretary of the Society, is a *résumé* of the principal epidemics that prevailed in various quarters of the world during the year 1861; and the second, prepared by Herbert Chalmers Miles, Surgeon Royal Artillery, Halifax, Nova Scotia, brings forward an Indian remedy for small-pox.

1. We have no epidemics of any magnitude to record as having occurred either in England or on the continent during the last twelve months.

Cholera, which in 1860 and the early months of the past year was prevailing at St. Petersburg and other ports in the Gulf of Finland, ceased with the return of spring. The same disease also disappeared about the same time at Ceuta and other stations in the empire of Morocco. Typhus fever had raged to a disastrous extent in the beleaguered fortress of Gæta, and afterwards amongst the Neapolitan and Sardinian troops at Naples. Typhus had also been prevalent to some extent, but in a mild form, in some of the rural districts of England. In the northwest provinces of India, cholera had swept over extensive tracts of country with appalling force. Preceded by a desolating famine, the pestilence found in the starving population an easy prey to its ravages; and even amongst the European soldiery the percentage of deaths to attacks had been almost unprecedentedly great.

The West Indies, more especially the island of Cuba, had been visited by yellow fever in the course of the year, with more than usual virulence. Several of her Majesty's ships had been infected with yellow fever at Havanna, and merchant ships had not only suffered from the disease while in that port, but some of them had lost part of their crews in the passage thence to England and other ports of Europe. Yellow fever had been actually introduced into St. Nazaire, at the mouth of the Loire, in the month of September last, by a ship from the Havanna; and within the past week cases of the same disorder were reported on board of a ship at Bordeaux. These facts were justly considered as highly important, and suggestive of the desirability of some authorized declaration of opinion, by a society like the Epidemiological, as to the vexed question of the infectious or non-infectious character of this terrible malady, which has on several occasions of late years extended beyond its usual recognized limits, and attained elevations and latitudes long considered incapable of maintaining its existence.

Rear-Admiral Sir Alexander Milne, K. C. B., Commander-in-Chief on the West India and North American Station, who is fully alive to the infectious character of yellow fever, and duly appreciates the value of preventive measures, had issued an order, to the effect that the ships of the squadron under his command were, unless under urgent necessity, to avoid anchorage in ports where yellow fever was known to prevail, and were not to remain in close harbors for more than ten days at a time; and, moreover, that in the event of a ship being invaded by yellow fever, she was at once to proceed to the northward for change of climate.

Small-pox had continued to prevail in many parts of England, and in some districts, from the previous neglect of vaccination, had proved very fatal, more especially in the southwestern counties, in parts of Derbyshire and in Northamptonshire. The whole circumstances of the present epidemy of small-pox, which, since its commencement in 1857, had destroyed in England little short of 20,000 persons, had abundantly borne out the allegation as to the neglect and imperfection of vaccination, made by the Small-pox and Vaccination Committee of the Epidemiological Society in their Report of 1853 and Memorial of 1855.

Sanitary reform had made very satisfactory progress, not only at home, but also in the colonies, and in some foreign countries which had long been remarkable for a disregard of the laws of health. In the colony of Victoria, Australia, at Alexandria, in Egypt, and in the empire of Brazil, sanitary improvement had considerably advanced, as well by private exertion as by legislative enactments.

The census of the population of Jamaica had been taken in the course of last summer, the previous census having been taken in 1844. There had been an increase during the last seventeen years of 63,000 inhabitants, the population in 1844 having been 377,433, and in 1861, 441,264. Amongst the population there were 5,986 cripples, 1,294 blind persons, 1,512 persons afflicted with yaws, 776 with leprosy, 650 dumb, and 461 insane; or altogether between 10,000 and 12,000 permanent, and, to a large extent, incurable invalids in a population much under 500,000.

A representation had been made in the early part of the year by Dr. Armstrong, Deputy Inspector-General, in charge of the Royal Naval Hospital at Malta, to Sir W. F. Martin, K. C. B., the Naval Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean, submitting that, in consequence of the

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large number of men in the fleet suffering from syphilis, it was desirable he should use his influence with the Government at Malta to establish a system of periodical examination of the prostitutes of that city. A large number of prostitutes were found diseased, and being sent to the hospital, were cured. The examinations were rigorously continued by the police authorities, and the beneficial influence of the system had been most marked. The average daily number of primary syphilitic cases in the hospital had formerly been from 40 to 50, to say nothing of the numbers on the sick lists of the ships with the same disease, or of the large amount of secondary cases always under treatment afloat, as well as in the hospital. But during the last three months there had not been a single case of venereal disease that was contracted in the island received into the Naval Hospital.

* A memorial with a scheme for making the sickness and mortality amongst the pauper population of Great Britain available for the purposes of statistical and general inquiry, drawn up by Dr. Milroy, had been forwarded by Dr. Babington to the President of the Poor-law Board.

Late accounts stated that the epizootic disease, known as "*Steppe murrain*" or "*pestis boum*," had been making great ravages in the western provinces of Russia. Pleuro-pneumonia had also prevailed in the early part of the year amongst the cattle in the colony of Victoria, Australia, and measures had been taken against its introduction into the adjacent colony of New South Wales. An epizooty amongst the hogs of Providence, Rhode Island, had also proved very fatal.

2. *Indian Remedy for Small-pox.*—Early in the last winter, a small coasting vessel landed a portion of her crew at an extreme seaboard village, a few miles from Halifax. The persons landed were sick of small-pox, and the disease soon spread, first among the cottagers with whom the fishermen mixed, and subsequently amongst those from the capital who resorted to the village for the purposes of trade. Through the early weeks of spring, rumor constantly asserted that vast numbers of the seafaring population were attacked with the complaint; but it was not until early in March that the large civil hospital of Halifax, by the number of its weekly admissions for variola, began to corroborate rumor, and to authenticate the justice of the public anxiety. The disease in process of time extended to the troops in the garrison, but the proportion of attacks to those amongst the civil population was singularly small. While certain portions of the inhabitants of Halifax were suffering from the epidemic, alarming accounts reached that place relative to the terrible ravages of the scourge amongst the Indians and colored people generally. Variola is the special plague amongst the Indians, and when they are invaded by this pestilence it sweeps them off by scores. Like the fire of the prairies, it passes over their encamping grounds, destroying all of human kind in its path. On this occasion, the most painful details were given of whole families being carried off by this loathsome disease. After some time, however, it was said that the pestilence had been stayed. One of the Indian race, it was asserted, had come into the disease-stricken camp, possessed of a preparation which had the extraordinary power of curing the kind of cases that had hitherto proved so fatal. This remedy was believed by the Indians to be so efficacious, that, if given to them when attacked with small-pox, they looked forward with confidence to a speedy and effectual cure. An old weird Indian woman was the fortunate possessor of the remedy in question. She had always been known as the doctress of her tribe, and had enjoyed celebrity for many years in consequence of her reputed knowledge of medicine and wonderful acquaintance with the herbs and roots of the woods. So well established was her fame among the Indians, that, when sick, they resorted to her rather than to the white doctors, whom they considered to be "no good." Captain Hardy, of the Royal Artillery, an able and intelligent officer, who has been for years amongst the Indians, says that "the old squaw's remedy has long been known amongst them as an infallible cure for small-pox," and that "the Indians believed it to be successful in every case."

From the information gathered from the Indians, the following observations have been carefully sifted:

1. In the case of an individual suspected to be under the influence of small-pox, but with no distinct eruption upon him, a large wine-glassful of an infusion of the root of the plant "*Sarracenia purpurea*,"* or pitcher plant, (several specimens of which, including the root, were exhibited on the table,) is to be taken. The effect of this dose is to bring out the eruption. After a second and third dose, given at intervals of from four to six hours, the pustules subside, apparently losing their vitality. The patient feels better at the end of each dose, and, in the graphic expression of the Micmac, "knows there is great change within him at once."

2. In a subject already covered with the eruption of small-pox in the early stage, a dose or two will dissipate the pustules and subdue the febrile symptoms; the urine, from being scanty and high colored, becomes pale and abundant; whilst from the first dose the feelings of the patient assure him that "the medicine is killing the disease." Under the influence of the remedy, in three or four days the prominent features of the constitutional dis-

* This is the plant commonly known as the side-saddle flower, and huntsman's cup. It grows in the swamps and peat bogs over all the Northern States, and to the South near the Alleghany Mountains. It is distinguished by its curious hood-shaped hollow leaves, lined with bristles pointed downward, and usually half filled with water and drowned insects. The flower is globose and purple, upon the top of a straight flower-stalk a foot high. There is no resemblance whatever to a side-saddle, but the plant is well named a pitcher, or cup.

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turbance subside, although, as a precautionary measure, the sick person is kept in camp until the ninth day. No marks of the eruption (as regards pitting, &c.,) have been left in cases examined that were treated by the remedy.

3. With regard to the medicine acting (as is believed by the Indians) in the way of a preventive in those exposed to the infection, it is curious to note, that in the camps where the remedy has been used, the people keep a weak infusion of the plant constantly prepared, and take a dose occasionally during the day, so as to "keep the antidote in the blood."

In the discussion which followed the reading of this paper, all the speakers concurred in the desirability of requesting Mr. Miles to procure a further supply of the root of the *Sarracenia purpurea*, with the view of having its anti-varioloid powers tested.

ERICSSON'S BATTERY. (*See* NAVY.)

EVANS, JOHN, M. D., an American geologist, born in Portsmouth, N. H., Feb. 14, 1812, son of Hon. Richard E., Judge of the Supreme Court of N. H., died April 13, 1861. He graduated at the St. Louis Medical College, and was engaged, soon after taking his degree, as assistant in the geological survey of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and Nebraska, under the charge of Dr. David Dale Owen. While engaged in this survey he first attracted the notice of scientific men by his discovery and description of a large deposit of fossil bones of extinct species of mammalia in the "Mauvaises Terres" of Nebraska. This discovery was deemed of such importance by European geologists, that one of the most eminent of their number was immediately sent to examine the collections as well as the locality from which they had been taken. The U. S. Government soon after commissioned him to carry on the geological survey of Washington and Oregon territories. He had, after several years of severe labor, completed this survey, and after acting for a short time as geologist of the Chiriqui commission, proceeded to Washington to prepare and superintend the publication of an elaborate report of his surveys of Oregon and Washington, where he was attacked with typhoid pneumonia, which speedily proved fatal.

EXPEDITIONS, MILITARY AND NAVAL. At the commencement of the war the paucity of available vessels in the navy, and the large number required to maintain an efficient blockade over an extended coast line, rendered it difficult to spare a naval force sufficient for enterprises, the importance of which was fully understood by the Government; but as soon as a moderate blockading force was supplied, attention was turned to the organization of a series of expeditions, having for their object the capture of the best harbors on the coast, and the taking possession of extended tracts of country in their vicinity. The moral effect of these movements, in dividing the attention of the Confederate army, and exciting their alarm for their homes, as many of their regiments were from the seaboard and Gulf States, was a matter of quite as much importance as the actual territory seized.

Six of these expeditions have been undertaken; all of them planned and two of them wholly executed in 1861, while some of the others have not yet completed their work. The order of their departure was as follows:

1. *The Hatteras Expedition.*—On the 13th of August, when General Wool took command at Fortress Monroe, he found that preparations had already been made for an expedition to the North Carolina coast. Hatteras Inlet, the point of destination, was a gap in the sandy barrier which lines the coast of North Carolina, about 18 miles S. W. of Cape Hatteras, and 160 miles below Fortress Monroe. Its channel was intricate but accessible without difficulty to those who were accustomed to it, provided the weather was good. This and Ocracoke Inlet were the principal entrances to Pamlico Sound, a large body of water lying between this sandy beach and the mainland of North Carolina, in which there was good anchorage, smooth water, and fine harbors. Hatteras Inlet would admit vessels drawing 7 feet water, but its tortuous channel, from which the Confederate authorities had removed all the buoys, made it difficult to enter in rough weather, without danger of grounding. On the sandy beach, commanding the inlet, the Confederate forces had erected, during the summer, two forts—the larger, named Fort Hatteras, being intended for 15 guns, though only 10 had been mounted; the smaller for 7 guns, of which 5 had been mounted. These forts were built of sand, and were 20 feet wide at top, and turfed. They had each a bomb-proof, the one at the larger fort capable of protecting about 400 men; that at the smaller 300. The guns were mounted *en barbette*, (that is, on the top of the earthworks.) The guns on both forts were thirty-two pounders, except one eight-inch shell gun on Fort Hatteras. Most of these particulars had been communicated to the Federal authorities about the 1st of August by Mr. Daniel Campbell, master of the schooner Lydia Frances, which had been wrecked about the 1st of May on the coast near Hatteras Inlet, who had been detained as a prisoner at the inlet for three months. The expedition intended for the capture of these forts consisted of the United States steamers Minnesota, Capt. Van Brunt; Wabash, Capt. Mercer; Monticello, Commander Gillis; Pawnee, Commander Rowan, and Harriet Lane, Capt. Faunce; the U. S. chartered steamers Adelaide, Commander Stellwagen, and George Peabody, Lieut. Leroy, and the steamtug Fanny as transports, together with schooners towed by the steamers having surf-boats on them. The steam frigate Susquehanna and the sailing frigate Cumberland were ordered also to join the expedition. The naval portion of the expedition was under the command of Commodore S. H. Stringham, whose broad pennant was hoisted on the Minnesota. To this naval force was added a body of about 880 troops, consisting of 500 of the

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20th Regiment N. Y. Volunteers, under command of Col. Max Weber; 220 of the 9th N. Y. Volunteers, (Hawkins' Zouaves,) under command of Col. R. C. Hawkins; 100 of the Union Coast Guard, Capt. Nixon commanding, and 60 of the 2d U. S. Artillery, Lieut. Larned commanding, who were embarked on the transports George Peabody and Adelaide, and were under the command of Maj.-General Benj. F. Butler. The expedition left Fortress Monroe on the afternoon of Monday, Aug. 26th, and arrived off Hatteras Inlet about 4 o'clock P. M., Tuesday. At daylight the next morning arrangements were made for landing the troops, and for an attack upon the forts by the fleet. The swell upon the beach was so heavy that after landing 315 men, including the regular troops and 55 marines, with two guns, one a 12-pound rifled boat gun, the other a howitzer of the same calibre, the boats were stove and swamped, and no more could be landed that day. Meantime the fleet had opened fire on the smaller fort, which was nearest the inlet, and continued it till about half-past 1 P. M., when both forts hauled down their flags, and the garrison of the smaller escaped to the larger. A small detachment of the troops already landed immediately proceeded to take possession of Fort Clark, and raised the Union flag. The fleet ceased firing, and the Monticello was sent in to the inlet to discover what the hauling down of the flags meant. She entered and proceeded within about 600 yards of Fort Hatteras, when the occupants of that fort commenced firing upon her, and inflicted serious injury to her hull; whereupon the Wabash, Susquehanna, and Minnesota came to her assistance, and the Confederates took themselves to their bomb-proof, and ceased firing. The little force which had landed now withdrew from Fort Clark to a safer position, where they threw up a slight intrenchment, and mounted their two cannon on it, together with one they had taken from the enemy. The General and the force on board the fleet felt much anxiety in regard to this little company, as it was supposed that the Confederates, who were known to have a considerable body of troops on board steamers in the Sound, would be largely reënforced in the night, and would take them prisoners. At 7 o'clock next morning, however, the Union troops were seen advancing in good order upon Fort Clark, and it appeared that Capt. Nixon of the coastguard with his company had occupied that fort during the night, and had hoisted the Stars and Stripes there. As a reënforcement from the fleet approached the shore, they heard firing, which they afterwards found proceeded from the temporary battery erected by the Union troops, and was directed at the Confederate steamer Winslow, which had come down the sound loaded with reënforcements, but which, on meeting with this reception, made the best of its way out of range. The fleet renewed its fire upon Fort Hatteras at a little past 8 o'clock, and, substituting 15-second for 10 second fuzes, dropped almost every shell from their heavy guns inside the fort. At ten minutes past 11, a white flag was displayed from the fort. Gen. Butler went at once on board the steamtug Fanny, and, entering the inlet, sent Lieut. Crosby on shore to demand the meaning of the white flag. He soon returned with the following memorandum from the commander of the fort, who proved to be a former commodore of the U. S. Navy.

FORT HATTERAS, *Aug. 29th*, 1861.

Flag-officer Samuel Barron, C. S. Navy, offers to surrender Fort Hatteras with all the arms and munitions of war. The officers allowed to go out with side-arms, and the men without arms to retire.

S. BARRON,
Commanding Naval Division, Va. and N. Car.

Accompanying this was a verbal communication stating that he had in the fort six hundred and fifteen men, and a thousand more within an hour's call, but that he was anxious to spare the effusion of blood. Gen. Butler sent in reply the following memorandum:

Aug. 29th, 1861.

Benjamin F. Butler, Major-General United States Army, commanding, in reply to the communication of Samuel Barron, commanding forces at Fort Hatteras, cannot admit the terms proposed. The terms offered are these: Full capitulation, the officers and men to be treated as prisoners of war. No other terms admissible. Commanding officers to meet on board flagship Minnesota to arrange details.

After waiting three-fourths of an hour, Lieut. Crosby returned, bringing with him Capt. Barron, Major Andrews, and Col. Martin, the commanding officers of the Confederate force, who informed Gen. Butler that they had accepted the terms of capitulation he had proposed, and had come to surrender themselves and their command prisoners of war. General Butler informed them that, as the expedition was a combined one from the army and navy, the surrender must be made on board the flagship and to Com. Stringham, as well as himself. The party then proceeded to the flagship Minnesota, and the following articles of capitulation were there signed:

OFF HATTERAS INLET, U. S. FLAGSHIP MINNESOTA, Aug. 29th, A. D. 1861.

Articles of Capitulation between Flag-officer Stringham, commanding the Atlantic Blockading Squadron, and Benjamin F. Butler, U. S. Army, commanding on behalf of the Government, and Samuel Barron, commanding the naval force for the defence of North Carolina and Virginia, and Col. Martin, commanding the forces, and Major Andrews, commanding the same forces at Hatteras.

It is stipulated and agreed between the contracting parties, that the forces under command of the said Barron, Martin, and Andrews, and all munitions of war, arms, men, and property under the command of said Barron, Martin, and Andrews, be unconditionally surrendered to the Government of the United States in terms of full capitulation.

And it is stipulated and agreed by the contracting parties, on the part of the United States Government, that the officers and men shall receive the treatment due to prisoners of war.

In witness whereof, we, the said Stringham and Butler, on behalf of the United States, and the said Barron, Martin, and Andrews, representing the forces at Hatteras Inlet, hereunto interchangeably set our

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hands, this twenty-ninth day of August, A. D. 1861, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-fifth year.

S. H. STRINGHAM,
Flag-Officer Atlantic Blockading Squadron.
BENJAMIN F. BUTLER,
Major-General U. S. A., Commanding.
S. BARRON,
Flag-Officer C. S. N., Com'g Naval Forces Va. & N. C.
WILLIAM F. MARTIN,
Col. Seventh Light Infantry N. C. Volunteers.
W. L. G. ANDREWS,
Major Com'g Forts Hatteras and Clark.

The results of this capitulation were the capture of 715 men, including the commander, Com. Barron, who was at the time Acting Secretary of the Navy of the Confederate States, and Major Bradford, Chief of the Ordnance Department of the Confederate States army, 2 forts, 1,000 stand of arms, 75 kegs of powder, 5 stand of colors, 31 pieces of cannon, including one 10-inch columbiad, a brig loaded with cotton, a sloop loaded with provisions and stores, 2 light boats, 150 bags of coffee, &c. The forts were held and garrisoned by U. S. troops, and the Fanny and Monticello retained at the inlet to keep off the Confederate gunboats, and capture vessels attempting to run the blockade. On the 30th Sept. a fortification called Fort Oregon at Ocracoke Inlet, about 15 miles below Hatteras Inlet, was abandoned by the Confederate forces, and on the 16th of September, an expedition from Hatteras Inlet visited and destroyed it. On the 7th of September, four Confederate vessels, and on the 8th a fifth, attempted to enter Hatteras Inlet, and were all captured by the steamtug Fanny. On the 2d of October, the Fanny was captured by a party of Confederates in armed steamtugs; her two brass cannon and 35 men belonging to the 9th N. Y. Volunteers (Hawkins' Zouaves) were taken, and a considerable quantity of stores. On the 4th of October, the Confederate troops attacked the 20th Indiana Regiment at Chicamacomico, about 30 miles above Hatteras Inlet, and took a considerable number of them prisoners. The next day the Monticello and Susquehanna came down and shelled the Confederate troops, killing a large number, and driving the remainder to their boats. The U. S. Government authorized the enlistment of loyal citizens of North Carolina in the army, and a considerable number availed themselves of the opportunity.

2. *The Expedition to Port Royal.*—The Hatteras expedition having proved successful, the U. S. Government was encouraged to prosecute with all diligence a much greater and more formidable undertaking, which it had already projected. The finest harbor on the Southern Atlantic coast was that of Port Royal in South Carolina—a broad estuary, formed by the junction of Broad and Port Royal rivers, and Archer's Creek and their debouchure into the Atlantic. The interlacing of these and other rivers in the vicinity has formed a large group of islands, of which Hilton Head, Hunting, St. Helena, Paris, and Port Royal are the principal. This harbor is situated about half-way between Charleston and Savannah, with both which cities it has an interior water communication. The parish, of which these islands form the greater part, was the richest agricultural district in South Carolina. It was the most important seat of the production of the fine long-stapled Sea Island cotton, and was also largely engaged in the rice culture. It was the largest slaveholding parish in South Carolina, having 32,000 slaves to less than 7,000 whites. The village of Beaufort and the adjacent country on Port Royal and the other interior islands was the summer residence of the wealthy planters of South Carolina.

The Government at first seems to have purposed sending the expedition to some other point (perhaps Savannah) on the coast, but wisely referred the final decision of the point to be first attacked, to the thorough professional knowledge and skill of the flag-officer of the expedition, Com. S. F. Dupont, who, after much deliberation and consultation with the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Fox, fixed upon Port Royal, as being the best point from which to move either northward or southward. The preparations for the expedition were on an extensive scale, and required a longer period for the completion of all its equipments than was at first expected. It finally set sail from Hampton Roads on the 29th of October, consisting of fifty vessels, including transports. A fleet of twenty-five coal vessels, to supply the necessary fuel, had been despatched the previous day.

The naval vessels connected with the expedition were the Wabash, (the flag-ship,) the Susquehanna, and the gunboats Mohican, Seminole, Pawnee, Unadilla, Ottawa, Pembina, Isaac Smith, Bienville, Seneca, Curlew, Penguin, Augusta, R. B. Forbes, and Pocahontas, the steam-tug Mercury, the frigate Vandalia, and the little steam-cutter Vixen. There were also thirty-three transports, many of them of the first class, such as the Baltic, Ocean Queen, Vanderbilt, Illinois, Cahawba, Empire City, Ariel, Daniel Webster, Coatzacoalcos, Ericsson, Oriental, Philadelphia, S. R. Spaulding, Winfield Scott, Atlantic, &c., &c.; and such sailing vessels as the Great Republic, Ocean Express, Golden Eagle, &c. The naval command was, as has already been said, assigned to Com. S. F. Dupont, but the transports carried out an army of about 15,000 troops, under the command of Acting Major-General Thomas W. Sherman. This force was divided into three brigades, commanded respectively by Brigadier-Generals Egbert S. Viele, Isaac J. Stevens, and Horatio G. Wright. The first brigade consisted of the Third New Hampshire, Eighth Maine, Forty-sixth, Forty-seventh, and Forty-eighth New York regiments; the second brigade of the Eighth Michigan, Fiftieth Pennsylvania, Roundhead Pennsylvania, and Seventy-ninth New York, (Highlanders;) the third brigade, of the Sixth and Seventh Connecticut, the Ninth Maine, the Fourth New Hampshire, and the Third Rhode Island, with Hamilton's (late

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Sherman's) battery of six rifled cannon, and a battalion of Serrell's volunteer engineers.

The weather, which was unsettled when the fleet left Hampton Roads, soon changed into a storm of wind of great violence, which, increasing on the 31st October, became on Friday, Nov. 1, a hurricane from the southeast, and scattered the ships so widely that, on Saturday morning, but one of the whole fleet was in sight from the deck of the Wabash. On Sunday the wind had moderated, and the steamers and ships began to reappear. The Isaac Smith had been compelled to throw her battery overboard to keep from foundering; the Governor and the Peerless, two of the transports, sank; but the soldiers and crews were saved except seven of the marines on the Governor, who were drowned by their own imprudence. On the morning of the 4th, Com. Dupont anchored off the bar of Port Royal harbor, with twenty-five of his vessels in company. The channel of the harbor was that day found, sounded out, and buoyed under the direction of Commander Davis, the fleet captain. The gunboats and lighter transports were, before dark of the same day, anchored inside of the bar, in the secure roadstead, and Com. Tatnall's (Confederate) fleet chased under their own batteries. The next day a reconnoissance in force was made by the Ottawa, Seneca, Curlew, and Isaac Smith, which drew the fire of the Confederate forts, and showed which was the strongest. On the 5th, the Wabash and Susquehanna, and the large transports crossed the bar, and the buoys which marked the shoal lines were planted. A storm postponed the attack until the 7th, when it was commenced at about half-past nine o'clock A. M., and continued for four hours, closing with the complete rout and flight of the Confederate force from both forts. The Confederate fortifications were Fort Walker, on Hilton's Head Island, at the right of the channel—a strong earthwork mounting 23 guns, all of the heaviest calibre and most approved pattern for sea-coast defence, some of them rifled, and several imported from England since the war commenced. A small outwork, mounting a single rifled gun, had been erected near the fort and beyond it on the sea front. Fort Beauregard, at Bay Point, on Phillips or Hunting Island, on the left bank of the channel, 2½ miles from Fort Walker, was also a strong work, though not as formidable as Fort Walker. It mounted 20 guns of the same general character as those in the other fort, and was supported by an outwork nearly a half mile distant, mounting 5 guns. About 2 miles above the forts, where the Port Royal or Beaufort River joins the Broad, Com. Tatnall's (Confederate) fleet of six or seven gunboats was stationed.

The circumstances thus detailed influenced Com. Dupont in deciding upon his plan of attack. He first stationed his transports at anchor, beyond the range of the guns of the forts; then leading the way with the Wabash, followed immediately by the Susquehanna, Mohican, Seminole, Pawnee, Unadilla, Ottawa, Pembina, and Vandalia towed by the Isaac Smith, he passed up the centre of the channel, delivering his fire at the forts on each side, and, sailing in an ellipse, passed down within 600 yards of Fort Walker, firing slowly and deliberately, but never losing the range. Meanwhile the Bienville, Seneca, Curlew, Penguin, and Augusta had passed up on the left side of the channel, pouring their broadsides into Fort Beauregard, and then taking a station where they could cut off Tatnall's fleet from any participation in the fight, and at the same time maintain a destructive flanking fire upon the weak left flank of Fort Walker. Three times the line of vessels traversed their elliptical circuit, the last time aided by the fire of the Pocahontas, the R. B. Forbes, and the Mercury tug, which came up about twelve o'clock M. At the completion of the third circuit, the guns of the forts were mostly disabled, and the garrisons, consisting in Fort Walker of two South Carolina regiments, and in Fort Beauregard of one, had fled in a terrible panic, leaving their weapons, overcoats, and even their watches and papers behind them. The Federal loss was: killed, 8; wounded seriously, 6; wounded slightly, 17. Total killed and wounded, 31. Confederate loss not known, but considerably larger than this. With these forts were captured 48 cannon, 43 of them of excellent quality, and mostly of large calibre, and large quantities of ammunitions and stores. On the 9th of November, the Seneca, Lieut. Ammen commanding, proceeded to Beaufort, and found the town in possession of the negroes, the whites having fled. The other islands were successively occupied, and on the 25th Nov., Com. Dupont reported to the Navy Department, that he had taken possession of Tybee Island, commanding the entrance of the Savannah River. Meantime the troops under Gen. Sherman, though debarred by the circumstances from any active participation in the capture of the two forts, had not been idle. Having landed on Hilton Head, they occupied and strengthened the fortifications, and made that point the base of further operations on Savannah, Charleston, and other places, the record of which belongs to the year 1862.

3. *The Ship Island Expedition.*—Ship Island is a small island, about 7 miles in length, and from ¼ to ¾ of a mile wide, lying a little north of the 30th parallel of north latitude and near the 89th meridian of west longitude. It is about 60 miles from New Orleans, and with Horn, Pelet, Bois, and Dauphine Islands on the east and Cat Island on the west, forms the southern barrier of Mississippi Sound, a body of water extending from Mobile Bay to Lake Borgne, in Louisiana, and forming an interior communication between Mobile and New Orleans. This sound is 10 or 12 miles wide, and opposite Ship Island, which is south of the coast of Mississippi, are the towns of Biloxi, Mississippi City, and Pascagoula. The island itself is mostly a bank of clear white sand, without trees or

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shrubs. On the east end, however, there are live oak and other trees and grass. Excellent water can be obtained in abundance by sinking a barrel anywhere on the island. On the west end is a fort and light-house. The fort was commenced by the U. S. Government in 1859, and in May or June, 1861, was burned by the Confederates, who also destroyed the woodwork of the light-house. The U. S. steamer Massachusetts visited the island on the 28th of June, and found it unoccupied, and captured five Confederate schooners in its vicinity. Between this date and the 4th of July the Massachusetts was absent at Fort Pickens, but on her return from that it had been visited by a Confederate force, who, however, were not then on the island. On the 8th July the Massachusetts found a considerable force there, who were throwing up intrenchments and had mounted some heavy guns. An attempt was made to dislodge them, but unsuccessfully, and they were allowed to remain in possession till the 16th of September when, under the apprehension that a large naval expedition was coming to attack them, they abandoned the island and escaped to the shore, taking most of their ordnance with them. During the two months of their occupation they had re-built the fort, constructing eleven fine bomb-proof casemates and a magazine, and had mounted 20 guns. They named it Fort Twiggs. On the 17th Sept. the Massachusetts landed a force on the island, who took possession, and having been reënforced, have continued to hold it. They mounted cannon on the fort and strengthened it still further by the addition of two more bomb-proof casemates, and a formidable armament of Dahlgren 9-inch shell guns and rifled cannon. They also erected barracks for troops, with brick; left on the island by the Confederates, and lumber captured from them. On the 19th October, Com. Hollins, in command of the Confederate gunboat Florida, appeared in Mississippi Sound, and challenged the U. S. gunboat Massachusetts to a naval battle. The challenge was accepted, and after a sharp engagement of forty-five minutes the Florida retired, seriously disabled, and put into Pass Christian, apparently in a sinking condition. Four of her crew were killed. The Massachusetts was injured, but not seriously, by a 100-lb. shell, which struck her 5 feet above her water line, but was repaired in a few days. None of her crew were killed, and only one slightly wounded. On the 21st Nov. the gunboat New London arrived in the sound, and in the course of a fortnight captured five Confederate vessels.

The expedition to Ship Island was projected in September, almost immediately after Gen. Butler's return from the expedition to Hatteras Inlet, and he was authorized to enlist troops for it in New England. Coming into collision with Gov. Andrew of Massachusetts, in relation to the appointment of persons as field-officers for the regiments he raised in Massachusetts, whom the Governor regarded as unfit for their posts, and refused to commission, the expedition was delayed for a time. The first instalment of troops for it were embarked at Boston, on the 19th of November, on the U. S. transport Constitution, and sailed at first for Portland, Me., and thence for Fortress Monroe, which they reached on the 26th Nov., and sailed the next day for Ship Island, where they arrived on the 3d Dec. They consisted of the Twenty-sixth Massachusetts Regiment, Col. Jones, the Ninth Connecticut, Col. Cahill, and the Fourth battery of Massachusetts artillery, Capt. Manning, and were under the command of Brig.-Gen. John W. Phelps, a native of Vermont, and graduate of West Point, in 1836. He served for 23 years in the army, but resigned in 1859, and was living at Brattleboro, Vt., at the commencement of the war, when he was called to the command of the First Regiment of Vermont Volunteers, (three-months men,) and in July was appointed brigadier-general.

Having completed the debarkation of his command, Gen. Phelps issued a proclamation to the loyal citizens of the southwest, for which there seemed no occasion, as his superior in command, Maj.-Gen. Butler, had not arrived, and there were on the island none but U. S. troops, and no invasion had been made upon the territory claimed by the Confederate Government. The tone of the address was also injudicious, and Gen. Phelps was stated to have been reprimanded by the U. S. Government for issuing it. He announced in his proclamation as among the principles by which his command would be governed, that every slave State which had been admitted into the Union, since the adoption of the Constitution, had been so admitted in direct violation of that Constitution; that the slave States which existed as such, at the formation of the Constitution were, by becoming parties to that compact, under the highest obligations of honor and morality to abolish slavery; urged the claims of free, and especially of free foreign labor, to a share in the occupancy and cultivation of the soil of the Southern States, and the importance and absolute necessity of the domination of free institutions to the prosperity of the Caucasian race on the continent. He then proceeded to discuss the position and claims of slavery as a social and political evil, and the necessity of its overthrow. In illustration of this necessity, growing, as he avowed, out of its want of adaptation to modern times and free institutions, he drew a parallel between slavery and the condition of the Catholic Church in France before the Revolution, and asked whether they ought not and could not revolutionize slavery out of existence. In conclusion he bestowed a high eulogium on free labor, as the basis of free institutions; as the right, the capital, the inheritance, the hope of the poor man everywhere; that it was especially the right of five millions of our fellow-countrymen in the slave States, as well as of the four millions of Africans there, and declared that

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all the efforts of his command, whether directed against the interference of governments abroad or rebellious combinations at home, should be for free labor; that their motto and their standard should be there, and everywhere, and on all occasions, "Free labor and working-men's rights." The proclamation was not circulated upon the mainland to any considerable extent; but it created much dissatisfaction among Gen. Phelps' own command. The Constitution left Ship Island on the 7th of Dec. on her return to the North, and arrived at Fortress Monroe on the 15th; in Jan. 1862, she returned with another considerable body of troops. During the month of December the gunboats Montgomery and New London had two engagements with Confederate gunboats in Mississippi Sound, but without decisive result.

4. *The Burnside Expedition.*—The preparations for this expedition were commenced early in September, and in October about 11,000 troops had been concentrated at Annapolis, to prepare for the enterprise, and to be perfected in drill. Just before the departure of the expedition, an addition of several regiments was made to this force. At the commencement it was resolved to place it in charge of Brig.-Gen. Ambrose E. Burnside, a native of Indiana, born May 23, 1824, who graduated at West Point in 1847, distinguished himself as a lieutenant in the Mexican war, and in 1849, and several succeeding years, was engaged in frontier service in New Mexico, during which he manifested great bravery in an engagement with the Apache Indians. He was quartermaster of the boundary commission with Mexico; and in 1851, with an escort of three men, he travelled 1,200 miles through the Indian Territory in seventeen days. He was next stationed at Fort Adams, Newport, but soon resigned, to enter upon the manufacture of a breech-loading rifle. This proving unprofitable, he entered the service of the Illinois Central Railroad Company as cashier and subsequently as treasurer. Gov. Sprague, of Rhode Island, tendered him an appointment as colonel of one of the Rhode Island regiments, in April, and he immediately accepted and took a prominent and honorable part in the battle of Bull Run, where he was acting brigadier-general. On the 6th of Aug. he was appointed brigadier-general, and soon after detailed for this expedition. The naval commander was Flag-officer L. M. Goldsborough, of the Atlantic Squadron, and Commander Samuel F. Hazard of the U. S. Navy had charge of the transport fleet. The army corps consisted of three brigades: the first under command of Brig.-Gen. John G. Foster, (the Capt. Foster of Fort Sumter,) and consisting of the Twenty-third, Twenty-fourth, Twenty-fifth, and Twenty-seventh Massachusetts, and the Tenth Connecticut regiments; the second under command of Brig.-Gen. Jesse L. Reno, comprising the Fifty-first New York, the Fifty-first Pennsylvania, the Twenty-first Massachusetts, the Sixth New Hampshire, and the Ninth New Jersey; the third under the command of Brig.-Gen. John G. Parke, and consisting of the Eighth and Eleventh Connecticut, the Fifty-third and Eighty-ninth New York, and a battalion of the Fifth Rhode Island Regiment, together with Battery F. of the Rhode Island artillery. These three brigades numbered about 16,000 men, and required not far from 30 transports to take them to their destination, 5 vessels to transport the horses, 8 or 10 to carry the supplies, a siege train, and 2 pontoon-bridge schooners, a division hospital, and one for the signal corps; and the naval portion of the expedition, when it left Annapolis, consisted of 9 gunboats, and 5 floating batteries. The expedition did not sail from Fortress Monroe till the middle of January, 1862, and its movements, therefore, belong to the record of that year rather than 1861.

5. *The Mortar Fleet of Com. Porter.*—This fleet, of which not more than, perhaps, two or three of the vessels composing it sailed until January, was fitted out at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, and was for some months in preparation. It consisted of one gunboat, the Octorara, mounting 18 guns, and serving as Com. Porter's flag-ship, but subsequently diverted from the expedition to Fortress Monroe, and 20 schooners, of from 200 to 300 tons each, of great strength and solidity, and carrying each a mortar, weighing 8½ tons, of thirty-nine inches length of bore, forty-three inches external and fifteen inches internal diameter, and intended to throw a 15-inch shell, weighing, when unfilled, 212 lbs. They are elevated or depressed by means of projections on the breech. Each vessel also carried two 32-pounders, rifled.

This class of vessels has been selected because they are stronger in proportion to their size than larger ones, at the same time that their light draft enables them to go into shallow water; and from their small tonnage they can be handled by a small number of men.

To fit them to receive the mortars, a bed has been prepared, which is supported by an almost solid mass of wood, built from the keel to the deck. This consists of timbers over one foot square and twelve feet in length, interlaced and firmly fastened. The bed rises two or three inches above the deck, and consists of a solid horizontal surface, circular in form, with a truck near its edge, upon which run rollers bearing a revolving platform. The bed itself is carefully braced and supported by the entire strength of the vessel, so as to sustain the recoil of the mortar.

The circular platform surmounting the bed and bearing the mortar carriage, is constructed of heavy timbers, and is one foot in depth, and nearly twelve feet in diameter. When in position for a discharge, it lies flat and firmly on the bed, but by ingenious mechanism it may be made to revolve, in order to aim the mortar in any direction, or to re-sight it if the vessel shifts its position. The change of direction is easily and quickly accomplished. By means of four eccentric axles in the platform, to which levers

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are fitted, the mortar and machinery (weighing altogether over ten tons) may be raised, and the weight transferred by the same movement to a great number of metallic rollers attached to a framework of immense strength under the platform. Then, by means of tackle, already arranged, the whole mass may be moved to its desired position, and instantly, by a reverse movement, replaced on the bed. In the centre of the platform, and extending into the solid mass beneath, is an iron cylinder or spindle which prevents any side movement.

The mortar carriage is constructed almost exclusively of wrought iron. Its length is about nine feet, and its height and width each four feet. In form it bears the slightest possible resemblance to a land carriage—gradually sloping at the point where the mortar rests, in the direction of the breech; and having wheels, yet not resting on them when the mortar is discharged. The carriage is composed principally of plate iron, riveted together, braced and bolted. It is a framework of excellent design, and though weighing probably not more than two tons, is capable of resisting a pressure of one to two hundred tons.

Two wheels are set close to the framework, directly under the mortars; and connected with them are eccentric axles, so arranged as to permit so large a part of the weight to be thrown on the wheels, that the carriage may be moved on them.

It is not intended, however, that the recoil of the mortar shall in any degree be taken up or lessened in its effect by the moving of the wheels. The carriage lies firmly on the platform when the mortar is discharged, and the only possible motion will be that of the vessel in the water.

The bombs are the most formidable ordnance missile known, except those used in the Rodman columbiad of 15-inch bore. In addition to the two 32-pounder guns, the vessels are provided with pikes, cutlasses, and other necessary weapons.

The mortars cannot be fired directly over the sides of the vessels, and therefore the latter must be partially headed towards the point of attack. The vessels will therefore be anchored, and a part of the rigging removed. The extraordinary weight and strength of the mortars, the unprecedentedly large charge of powder, the long range and high velocity of the projectiles, with their destructive character, combine to render this novel expedition one of the most important undertaken during the war. The vessels made their first rendezvous at Key West and subsequently proceeded to Ship Island, Mississippi.

6. *The Mississippi River Expedition.*—Soon after taking command of the Western Department, Maj.-Gen. Fremont became convinced of the necessity of preparing a fleet of gunboats and mortar-boats, for the purpose of commanding the Mississippi and other navigable waters of the West, and decided upon the plans and ordered the construction of the number of each he deemed necessary. Their completion, and the furnishing of them with their armament and crew, and the collection of the requisite land force to accompany them, so delayed the expedition, that it did not move till February, 1862; but it was almost entirely prepared during the year 1861.

The fleet consisted of twelve gunboats, carrying an armament in all of 126 guns, viz.:

Benton	16 guns.
Essex	9 "
Mound City	13 "
Cincinnati	13 "
Louisville	13 "
Carondelet	13 "
St. Louis	13 "
Cairo	13 "
Pittsburgh	13 "
Lexington	9 "
Conestoga	9 "
Tyler	9 "

None of these guns are less than 32-pounders—some are 42-pounders, some 64-pounders, and one (on the Essex) throws a shell weighing 128 lbs. In addition to these, each boat carries a Dahlgren rifled 12-pounder boat howitzer on the upper deck. Several of the larger guns on each boat are rifled. Naval officers regarded the 10-inch Dahlgren shell guns as their most efficient weapons. The Benton carries two of these guns in her forward battery; the others carry one each.

Seven of the gunboats were iron-clad, and able to resist all except the heaviest solid-shot. These boats cost on an average $89,000 each. The other five were of wood, but strongly and substantially built; all were fast sailers.

Beside these, thirty-eight mortar-boats were ordered; each about sixty feet long and twenty-five feet wide, surrounded on all sides by iron-plate bulwarks, six or seven feet high. The mortar itself weighs 17,200 lbs.; has a bore easily admitting a 13-inch shell, and from the edge of the bore to the outer rim is seventeen inches. The mortar bed weighs 4,500 lbs.

The mortar-boats were thoroughly tested before being used in actual service, and were found to produce but slight recoil, and the concussion caused by the iron bulwarks was remedied. With a charge of 11 lbs. of powder the mortars threw a shell, weighing 215 lbs., a distance of 2½ miles; and with a charge of 15 to 23 lbs. the same shell was thrown from 3 to 3½ miles.

There was also a sufficient number of steamboats and tugs provided for towing and transport service. The fleet was under the command of Flag-officer Andrew H. Foote, an experienced and able commander in the navy; and each boat was in charge of a lieutenant-commanding, who had already seen service. Very efficient service was subsequently performed by this fleet.

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FAIRFAX COURT HOUSE is a small town and the capital of Fairfax County, in Virginia. It is 120 miles north of Richmond, 21 miles west of Washington, and 14 from Alexandria. After the United States forces had taken possession of the south bank of the Potomac opposite Washington, and the Confederate forces had concentrated at Manassas Junction, near the end of the month of May—Fairfax, thus situated between the two armies, became the scene of many skirmishes. On the 1st of June a dash was made through the village by a company of regular cavalry, consisting of forty-seven men, under command of Lieut. Tompkins. The Confederate troops, in some force, were in possession of the village, and made a vigorous and determined resistance.

The cavalry charged through the principal street, and, upon their return, were met by two Confederate detachments of troops with a field-piece. Again wheeling about, they found themselves assailed in the rear by another detachment, through which the cavalry fought their way and escaped, bringing off with them five prisoners.

The cavalry lost nine horses, six shot down in the engagement, and three so badly wounded as to render it necessary to kill them shortly after leaving the village. They captured, however, with their five prisoners, three good horses with their saddles and bridles. The loss on the other side was estimated to be larger. This was the first skirmish of any interest between the Federal and Confederate forces in Northeastern Virginia.

FAST DAYS are periods of time, usually a day, in which abstinence from food is maintained as a religious observance. They are designated in the institutions of religion, and, in the United States, they are often appointed by the highest civil officer. In some of the New England States, the Governor has usually fixed by proclamation a day in the spring to be observed "by fasting, humiliation, and prayer," when religious services have generally been conducted in the churches. A few times the President of the United States has, since the existence of the Government, issued a proclamation inviting all the people thus to observe a particular day. During the year 1861, this occasion was made more frequent than ever before. On the 14th of December, President Buchanan issued the following proclamation:

A PROCLAMATION.

Numerous appeals have been made to me by pious and patriotic associations and citizens, in view of the present distracted and dangerous condition of our country, to recommend that a day be set apart for humiliation, fasting, and prayer throughout the Union. In compliance with their request, and my own sense of duty, I designate

FRIDAY, THE 4TH DAY OF JANUARY, 1861,

for this purpose, and recommend that the people assemble on that day, according to their several forms of worship, to keep it as a solemn fast.

The Union of the States is at the present moment threatened with alarming and immediate danger—panic and distress of a fearful character prevail throughout the land—our laboring population are without employment, and consequently deprived of the means of earning their bread—indeed, hope seems to have deserted the minds of men. All classes are in a state of confusion and dismay; and the wisest counsels of our best and purest men are wholly disregarded.

In this, the hour of our calamity and peril, to whom shall we resort for relief but to the God of our Fathers? His omnipotent arm only can save us from the awful effects of our own crimes and follies—our own ingratitude and guilt towards our Heavenly Father.

Let us, then, with deep contrition and penitent sorrow, unite in humbling ourselves before the Most High, in confessing our individual and national sins, and in acknowledging the justice of our punishment. Let us implore Him to remove from our hearts that false pride of opinion which would impel us to persevere in wrong for the sake of consistency, rather than yield a just submission to the unforeseen exigencies by which we are now surrounded. Let us, with deep reverence, beseech Him to restore the friendship and good will which prevailed in former days among the people of the several States, and, above all, to save us from the horrors of civil war and "blood guiltiness." Let our fervent prayers ascend to His throne, that He would not desert us in this hour of extreme peril, but remember us as He did our fathers in the darkest days of the Revolution, and preserve our Constitution and our Union—the work of their hands—for ages yet to come. An Omnipotent Providence may overrule existing evils for permanent good. He can make the wrath of man to praise Him, and the remainder of wrath He can restrain. Let me invoke every individual, in whatever sphere of life he may be placed, to feel a personal responsibility to God and his country for keeping this day holy, and for contributing all in his power to remove our actual and impending difficulties. JAMES BUCHANAN.

WASHINGTON, *Dec* 14, 1861.

On the 14th of May, the Confederate Congress passed a resolution as follows:

Resolved by the Congress of the Confederate States, That the President be requested to issue his proclamation, appointing a day of fasting and prayer in the observance of which all shall be invited to join, who recognize our dependence upon God, and who desire the happiness and security of that people "whose God is the Lord."

In compliance with this resolution, President Davis issued the following proclamation:

A PROCLAMATION.

When a people who recognize their dependence upon God feel themselves surrounded by peril and difficulty, it becomes them to humble themselves under the dispensation of Divine Providence, to recognize His righteous government, to acknowledge His goodness in times past, and supplicate his merciful protection for the future.

The manifest proofs of the Divine blessings hitherto extended to the efforts of the people of the Confederate States of America to maintain and perpetuate public liberty, individual rights, and national independence, demand their devout and heartful gratitude. It becomes them to give public manifestation of this gratitude, and of their dependence upon the Judge of all

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the earth, and to invoke the continuance of His favor. Knowing that none but a just and righteous cause can gain the Divine favor, we would implore the Lord of Hosts to guide and direct our policy in the paths of right, duty, justice, and mercy, to unite our hearts and our efforts for the defence of our dearest rights; to strengthen our weakness; crown our arms with success, and enable us to secure a speedy, just, and honorable peace.

To these ends, and in conformity with the request of Congress, I invite the people of the Confederate States to the observance of a day of fasting and prayer, by such religious services as may be suitable for the occasion, and I recommend Thursday, the 13th day of June next, for that purpose; and that we may all on that day, with one accord, join in humble and reverential approach to Him in whose hands we are, invoking Him to inspire us with a proper spirit and temper of heart and mind to bear our evils, to bless us with His favor and protection, and to bestow His gracious benedictions upon our Government and country.

On the 12th of August, President Lincoln issued the following proclamation, appointing the last Thursday in September ensuing as a day of fasting:

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, A joint Committee of both Houses of Congress has waited on the President of the United States, and requested him to "recommend a day of public humiliation, prayer, and fasting, to be observed by the people of the United States with religious solemnities, and the offering of fervent supplications to Almighty God for the safety and welfare of these States, His blessings on their arms, and a speedy restoration of peace;"

And whereas, It is fit and becoming in all people, at all times, to acknowledge and revere the Supreme Government of God; to bow in humble submission to His chastisements; to confess and deplore their sins and transgressions, in the full conviction that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and to pray, with all fervency and contrition, for the pardon of their past offences, and for a blessing upon their present and prospective action;

And whereas, When our own beloved country, once, by the blessing of God, united, prosperous, and happy, is now afflicted with faction and civil war, it is peculiarly fit for us to recognize the hand of God in this terrible visitation, and in sorrowful remembrance of our own faults and crimes as a nation, and as individuals, to humble ourselves before Him, and to pray for His mercy—to pray that we may be spared further punishment, though most justly deserved; that our arms may be blessed and made effectual for the re-establishment of law, order, and peace, throughout the wide extent of our country; and that the inestimable boon of civil and religious liberty, earned under His guidance and blessing by the labors and sufferings of our fathers, may be restored in all its original excellence;

Therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do appoint the last Thursday in September next as a day of humiliation, prayer, and fasting for all the people of the nation. And I do earnestly recommend to all the people, and especially to all ministers and teachers of religion, of all denominations, and to all heads of families, to observe and keep that day, according to their several creeds and modes of worship, in all humility, and with all religious solemnity, to the end that the united prayer of the Nation may ascend to the Throne of Grace, and bring down plentiful blessings upon our country.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be [L. S.] affixed, this 12th day of August, A. D. 1861, and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty-sixth. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

On the 31st of October President Davis issued another proclamation, appointing the 15th of November as a fast day. The proclamation was as follows:

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, It hath pleased Almighty God, the Sovereign Disposer of events, to protect and defend the Confederate States hitherto, in their conflict with their enemies, and to be unto them a shield; and, whereas, with grateful thanks we recognize His hand and acknowledge that not unto us, but unto Him belongeth the victory; and in humble dependence upon His Almighty strength, and trusting in the justness of our cause, we appeal to Him that He may set at naught the efforts of our enemies, and put them to confusion and shame;

Now, therefore, I, Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States, in view of the impending conflict, do hereby set apart Friday, the 15th day of November, as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer; and I do hereby invite the reverend clergy and the people of these Confederate States to repair on that day to their usual places of public worship, and to implore the blessing of Almighty God upon our arms; that He may give us victory over our enemies, preserve our homes and altars from pollution, and secure to us the restoration of peace and prosperity.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Confederate States, at Richmond, this 31st day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one. JEFFERSON DAVIS.

FINANCES OF THE UNITED STATES. The finances of the Federal Government for the year 1861 underwent a very important and radical change, both in respect to the policy of a national debt, and in relation to the mode of raising revenue. The Constitution of the Federal Government provides for raising revenue as well by direct taxes as by indirect duties upon consumable articles. It has been the case, however, that the former have been unpopular, while the latter have not only had the merit of being easily collected, but, while they have sufficed to meet all the ordinary wants of the Government, and sometimes greatly to exceed them, as in 1836, when a surplus revenue of $28,000,000 was distributed among the States, they have served to give incidental protection to the nascent manufactures of the Union. The revenue derived from the sales of land was also a resource which did not bear directly upon the industry of the people. In times of unforeseen difficulty, like commercial revulsion or war, the Government has always been able to borrow sufficient to meet the exigency, and returning prosperity has always afforded the means of paying off the debt. During the war of 1812 an attempt at direct taxation was made without very satisfactory results, and the taxes were soon repealed. The aggregate resources and payments of the Federal Government, from its origin down to the close of the fiscal year 1861, were as follows:

Customs revenue.....	$1,575,152,579.92	
Land	175,817,961.00	
Taxes and other receipts....	95,305,322.56	
Total ordinary revenue, March 4, 1789, to July 1, 1861,		$1,846,275,863.48
Total ordinary expenditure, March 4, 1789, to July 1, 1861,		1,453,790,786.00
Total excess revenue.....		$392,485,077.48
Total amount received for loans 1789 to 1861.....	$462,935,644.64	
Total amount paid for loans 1789 to 1861.....	781,886,375.00	
Excess payments for loans..		$318,950,730.36

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Thus by far the largest portion of all the expenses of the Government during its existence, including war expenses, purchase of territories, indemnities to Mexico, Texas, &c., was discharged by the customs revenues. If we deduct from the debt $90,867,828, that existed July 1, 1861, the amount of $28,101,644 deposited among the States under the law of 1836 and never returned, and also the debt made necessary by the troubles in the latter part of the fiscal year 1861, there will remain very little, thus showing that all the expenses of the Federal Government from its origin have been paid by customs revenues, leaving in the hands of the Government an immense amount of property acquired in land, and still at its disposal, also vast military resources and public buildings, in the whole Union.

The magnitude of the civil war caused, however, a complete change in the finances, involving as it did an amount of expenditure within the year, never before undertaken by any nation. The capital of the country seemed, however, equal to the exigency, although the public mind was at first somewhat startled by events. In June, 1860, Congress had authorized a loan of $20,000,000; of this, $10,000,000 was offered in the month of October in a 5 per cent. stock, which was taken at a small premium. Inasmuch, however, as the Presidential election of Nov. 6, 1860, intervened before the instalments were paid up, the resulting inquietude caused some of the bidders to decline the stock, and $7,022,000 only was issued. The same circumstances caused a great decline in the customs revenues, and the means of the Government in December were greatly cramped. The Secretary of the Treasury, Howell Cobb, resigned December 10. On the 14th of that month Congress passed a law, approved on the 17th, permitting the issue of $10,000,000 treasury notes, payable in a year, at the lowest rates of interest offered. The Secretary offered $5,000,000 of the notes, bids to be opened Dec. 28. When the time expired, however, but $500,000 had been bid, at 12 per cent. There were some offers at 24 per ct., and some as high as 36 per cent. The Secretary rejected all over 12 per cent. It was highly necessary that the money should be had to meet the interest on the Federal stocks due Jan. 1, and a number of banks and bankers offered for $1,500,000 at 12 per cent., on condition that the money should be applied to the interest. On the 31st the remainder was taken by the same association at the same rate. It may be here stated that the State of New York had offered for $1,200,000 in a 7 per cent. stock, 3½ years to run, and it was taken at 101.12 to102.71, average 101½, on the 26th December.

General Dix was appointed Secretary of the Treasury in January, and he offered the remaining $5,000,000 of the loan authorized.

The bids were opened on the 19th, and the notes awarded as follows:

$10,000	at	8¾ per cent
30,000	at	9 "
10,000	at	9¼ "
140,000	at	9½ "
67,000	at	9¾ "
721,000	at	10 "
265,000	at	10½ "
548,000	at	10¾ "
1,267,000	at	10¾ "
1,947,000	at	11 "

$5,000,000 Average rate, 10¼ per cent.

The condition of the finances now seriously engaged the attention of Congress. The apparent discredit of the Government made some vigorous means necessary to replenish the treasury. The necessity of revising the tariff, so that it would produce a larger revenue, was obvious, and a bill to that effect was introduced. Meantime a bill was passed, February 8, authorizing a loan of $25,000,000, to bear 6 per cent. interest, to run not less than ten nor more than twenty years; the stock to be sold to the highest bidder. The Secretary offered $8,000,000 of this stock. The bids were opened Feb. 27, and the whole amount offered was $14,355,000, ranging from 75 to 96 per cent. All bids below 90 were refused, and the stock, as awarded, ranged at 90½ to 96 per cent.

The tariff bill reported by the Committee of Ways and Means under such circumstances had been passed with little debate. It restored the highest protective character to the tariff, replaced ad valorem duties with complicated specific duties, and gave but 30 days' notice before going into operation. It was passed March 2, to go into operation April 1, and it authorized a loan of $10,000,000. The immediate effect of the tariff was to produce larger entries at the custom-house, in order to avoid the new tax. The consequently improved customs revenue supported the Government credit, and this, with renewed hopes of continued peace, caused the Government stock to advance in the market. The new Secretary of the Treasury, S. P. Chase, offered $8,000,000 more of the stock, for which bids were opened April 2. It was found that for $3,000,000, 94 to 100 per cent. was offered, and 93½, or 3½ per cent. higher than the bids in February, for an amount equal to the balance of the loan. The department thought proper to reject all bids below 94, consequently only that part of the loan was placed, $3,099,000, average 94.01, netting $2,913,395. This decision was unfortunately made at the moment when the expedition was about to sail from New York to reënforce Fort Sumter, a fact not known to the public. When it became known, much uneasiness was created, and in the midst of it the department offered $5,000,000 of the balance of the loan in 6 per cent. treasury notes, payable in two years, and convertible into twenty-years stock. These bids were opened on the 11th April, when only $1,000,000 had been offered. Parties interested then procured a delay, in order that further effort in favor of the stock might be made. The price

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of money at call was then in the market 4 per cent., and could with difficulty be placed at that rate, and the United States 6 per cent. 20-years stock was selling at 83. Finally the bids amounted to $2,500,000, and the leading banks and bankers with great exertion made up the remainder, completing the $5,000,000 6 per cent. treasury notes at par. These being receivable for customs-duties, while money in the open market was only 4 per cent., large importers who had funds lying idle to meet duties, could invest them in these notes, where they would earn 6 per cent., and be available for the duties.

The department was now comparatively easy for the moment, but the immense expenses rapidly absorbed means. Congress was not to meet until July 4, and the Government credit, as apparent from the price of its 6 per cent. stock being 84, when money was only worth 4 per cent., for the same description for which the Government a few years before had itself paid 22 per cent. premium, was shaken. The resources of the Treasury now consisted of $14,000,000, that had been authorized by the act of June, 1860, but which could not be sold under par for a 6 per cent. stock. There was the balance, $9,000,000, of the $25,000,000 authorized by the law of February, 1861, which might be sold to the best advantage, and there was also the $10,000,000, authorized by the tariff law of March 2, 1861; but this could not be used until after June 30, or the close of the fiscal year 1861. The difficulty was to raise means upon these stocks. The banks and capitalists began to feel the necessity of aiding the Government and sustaining its credit as a matter of self-defence. Under these circumstances the New York Chamber of Commerce, with various sub-committees, and the New York and Boston banks, took the matter in hand, and after much difficulty issued the following card, May 16:

"The undersigned, a committee of the Chamber of Commerce, having, by a sub-committee, recently visited Washington to confer with the Secretary of the Treasury on the subject of the loans, which he is authorized by law to issue, they beg to call the attention of the public to the particulars of these loans, as follows:

"1. A loan of about nine million dollars, which will be issued in bonds or stock having twenty years to run, and at six per cent. interest. For this proposals are invited, and it will be awarded to the highest bidder, at Washington, on Tuesday, the 21st inst.

"2. A loan of fourteen million dollars, ($14,000,000,) which is limited by the law of June, 1860, at par. This loan is now advertised to be awarded on the 30th instant, but from its limitation it will probably have to be issued in treasury notes having two years to run, and convertible into twenty-years stock or bonds, as above, at the pleasure of the holder; which notes the Secretary is by law authorized to substitute, and which are also restricted to par.

"And the committee invite all capitalists and moneyed institutions to avail of these opportunities for investment.

"Committee.--Pelatiah Perit, Stewart Brown, William H. Aspinwall, J. J. Astor, jr., August Belmont, James Gallatin, A. T. Stewart, J. M. Morrison, Moses Taylor, George S. Coe, F. A. Palmer, John Q. Jones, D. R. Martin, Jacob Campbell, jr."

When the time expired for the proposals, the bids were not completed, and Mr. Chase postponed the opening of the bids until May 25. The intermediate time was employed by influential parties in endeavoring to make up the loan. Finally, on opening the bids, the offers for the $9,000,000 reached 84 to 93 for the stocks, of which $6,396,000 were awarded at 85 to 93, a large portion to the New York banks, and $2,241,000 in 6 per cent. treasury notes at par.

The proposals for the $14,000,000 were to be opened on the 30th of May. That, however, was only a formality, since no one would bid par for stocks that he could buy in the market at 84. The compliance with the law, however, enabled the Secretary to issue the amount in treasury notes. Some of these were taken, and the remainder was paid out gradually to creditors.

While the Federal Government was thus struggling for money, the various States were also in the market with war loans. New York City procured $1,000,000 at the close of April; Pennsylvania sold $3,000,000 of a 5 per cent. loan, Ohio $1,000,000, Indiana offered $1,500,000 in a 6 per cent. stock, Illinois $1,000,000, Michigan, $500,000 at 7 per cent., Iowa $400,000 at 7 per cent., Connecticut $2,000,000 at 6 per cent. The State of New York obtained $700,000 7 per cent. loan at 101.38 to 101.65, Maine $1,000,000 in a 5 per cent. stock at a premium.

Towards the close of June the Government wants were again attracting attention, and the banking interest was urging the adoption of the loan or stock system, rather than the treasury note plan which the Secretary seemed to favor. There were no measures adopted, however, until the meeting of Congress. The Secretary then required $5,000,000 to carry him along until Congress should devise means. The two-years treasury notes that had been issued at par were at 2½ per cent. discount, and were therefore not directly available. It was finally decided to borrow of the banks the required amount at 60 days on pledge of the 6 per cent. notes as collateral security. The amount of $5,000,000 was promptly made up on these terms.

At the meeting of Congress, July 4, the Secretary of the Treasury, in his report, set forth the financial difficulties that beset the Government, and stated the probable expenditure for the year at $318,519,581.97.

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Civil list	$831,496.90
Interior department	431,525.75
War "	180,296,397.19
Navy "	30,609,930.29
Public debt	12,639,861.64
Total extra	$224,808,801.77
Ordinary expenses	93,710,780.30
Total for 1862	$318,519,582.07

This was the sum Congress was called upon to meet. According to the Secretary $80,000,000 might be raised by import duties and taxation, and $240,000,000 by loans. Taxes on coffee and tea were proposed, and higher rates upon most other articles of consumption. Congress immediately took the matter into consideration, and, July 17, passed a law authorizing a loan of $250,000,000 in form as follows:

Stock, 7 per cent., redeemable after 20 years	$250,000,000
" 6 " " " 20 " equal to par for 7 per cent	100,000,000
Stock, 7 per cent., redeemable after 20 years, payable in Europe	
Treasury notes, 7 3/10 per cent., redeemable at 3 years, convertible into 6 per cent. stock	
Treasury notes, 3 44/100, redeemable at 1 year, convertible into 3-years bonds	
Demand notes, issued as money, not less than $5, nor more than	50,000,000
Treasury notes, 6 per cent., payable within 12 months	20,000,000

The whole amount of stock, treasury notes, and demand notes was not to exceed $250,000,000, except the 6 per cent. notes left, which were to be used as collaterals for temporary loans, and were meant to legalize what the Secretary had already negotiated in that shape. The permission to issue $100,000,000 in foreign stock was in the hope that a portion of it might be placed abroad. The act, as it passed the House, pledged the customs revenues for the payment of the interest, but the clause was subsequently stricken out. The law of July 17 limited the rate at which the 7 per cent. stock might be sold, to par; but a supplemental act of Aug. 5 allowed the sale of a 6 per cent. at a rate equal to par for a 7 per cent. stock.

Having given this authority to borrow, Congress proceeded to pass such laws as might improve the revenues. A direct tax, an income tax, and higher duties, were imposed. The direct tax act provided for the levy of $20,000,000 upon all the States, which would give from the loyal States $12,000,000, from which the expenses of collection were to be deducted. The income tax provided for the payment of 3 per cent. on incomes over $800, to be levied in April, 1862, on the incomes of 1861. The increase of duties embraced taxes on cocoa, coffee, tea, sugar, which it was supposed would yield $22,500,000. The Secretary remarked "that the total revenue from imports during the present year may be $57,000,000, to which may be added the sum of $3,000,000, to be derived from the sales of the public lands and miscellaneous sources, making the total revenue for the year $60,000,000. While, therefore, there is every reason to believe that under a modified tariff, when the prosperity of the country shall be fully restored, an annual revenue of not less than $80,000,000, and probably more, may be realized, it will be necessary, in order to sustain fully the public credit, to provide for raising the sum of $20,000,000 for the current year, at least, by direct taxes, or from internal duties or excises, or from both."

With these provisions the Secretary had now to come into the market to raise the money, and his prospect was not promising. The law limited the sale of the stocks to a price equal to par for a 7 per cent. stock, which was 89.32, and the 6 per cent. had been at 83½ in June, and were at the passage of this act, Aug. 5, 86¾. The disaster at Bull Run had placed the whole country in peril. Washington was in immediate danger of capture; Baltimore was of doubtful loyalty, and several large States now held by the armies, were then ready to cast their influence into the preponderating scale. Congress had adjourned after binding the Secretary of the Treasury by law, to obtain money at a minimum rate, and there was no resort left but the issue of paper money, based upon the faith and future resources of a country discouraged, distracted, and whose future was shrouded in gloom. It was under these circumstances that the Secretary visited New York, and after an interview with the bank officers, it was agreed that the banks of Boston, Philadelphia, and New York should take the 7 3/10 notes of $50 and upwards, three years to run, in the proportions as follows:

Banks of	Capital.	Subscribed.	Sold to the Public.	Balance in Bank, Dec. 31.
New York.	$69,907,000	$102,056,885	$35,000,000	$67,056,885
Boston....	88,231,700	29,159,095	10,000,000	19,159,095
Philadel'a..	11,811,485	14,579,548	5,000,000	9,579,548
Total...	$119,950,185	$145,795,478	$50,000,000	$95,795,478

The Secretary to draw the money no faster than he required it for his weekly expenses. Hence as the notes all drew interest from the date they were taken, the banks had the use of the money a part of the time.

The amounts taken were as follows:

Aug. 19. Notes to draw interest from date	$50,000,000
Oct. 1. " " " " "	50,000,000
Dec. 1. Stock " " " "	50,000,000

This was a supply of $150,000,000 for three months, in addition to which the Secretary had the right to issue $50,000,000 of paper money; but to the exercise of this power the banks strongly objected, since the notes being made redeemable in coin in New York, and paid out in the interim, might cause a drain of specie from New York, which the department would be compelled to meet under the law, by drawing the coin from the banks, thus jeopardizing their solvency. The Secretary, therefore, used them very sparingly. It was also agreed that the Secretary should make an appeal to the public for the sale of the 7 3/10 per cent. notes, and that he should appoint agents for the sale in all prominent places; but that all sales so made should be supplied from those taken by the banks, until the amount should be exhaust-

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ed. The Secretary made an address to the people in accordance with this understanding, and some 500 agents were appointed. The appeal was, however, without the anticipated success. The public responded but to a comparatively small extent. The Secretary continued to draw upon the credit in his favor opened by the banks, which thus found their means passing from them, without much prospect of getting them back, since the notes they had taken would no longer sell at par in the open market. Hence, as the 1st December approached, they decided to take $50,000,000 in the 6 per cent. 20-years stock at a rate equal to par for the 7 per ct. This was 89.322, or in amount $44,661,231 91 for the fifty millions, to which was added the interest from July, making $45,795,478.

Congress was now again in session. The report of the Secretary, that had been looked for with the greatest interest, was at last made, and it contained the following statement of the money that had been raised since the adjournment of Congress in August:

There were paid to creditors, or exchanged for coin at par, at different dates in July and August, six per cent. two-years notes, to the amount of	$14,019,034.66
There was borrowed, at par, in the same months, upon sixty-days six per cent. notes, the sum of	12,877,750.00
There was borrowed, at par, on the 19th of August, upon three-years 7.30 bonds, issued for the most part to subscribers to the National Loan	50,000,000.00
There was borrowed, on the 1st of October, upon like securities	50,000,000.00
There was borrowed, at par for seven per cent., on the 10th of November, upon twenty-years six per cent. bonds, reduced to the equivalent of sevens, including interest	45,795,478.48
There have been issued, and were in circulation and on deposit with the Treasurer, on the 30th of November, of United States notes, payable on demand	24,550,325.00
Making an aggregate, realized from loans in various forms, of	$197,242,588.14

It will be observed that in the whole of this borrowing very little was really subscribed by capitalists for investment. About $38,000,000 of the 3-years notes only had been taken, mostly by small investors, and they were already again offering them in the market to an extent which reduced the price to 96 for those that were endorsed, and 98 for clean notes. The banks had invested the idle capital accumulated in their vaults, belonging to depositors, and the securities were still hanging over the market in prospective competition with the future loans of the Government. The department, nevertheless, had obtained the money.

While thus successful in borrowing, the revenues had been far less than the estimates, and the expenses far greater—the former, by reason of the stagnation of trade, and the latter in consequence of the great increase in the army. The Secretary, therefore, revised his estimates for the year as seen in the following table:

The Secretary advised a resort to taxation as a means of raising $50,000,000 in excess of the customs for the service of the year 1863, in which year he estimated the expenses at $475,-334,245. This result was very unsatisfactory, and the public credit did not revive on the exposition, and the year closed with the suspension of the banks, amid gloomy prospects.

On emitting the demand notes, the Secretary of the Treasury addressed a circular to the various Assistant Treasurers, to the following effect:

Under the acts of July 19th and August 5th last, Treasury notes of the denomination of $5, $10, and $20, have been, and will continue to be issued, redeemable in coin on demand at the offices of the Assistant Treasurer at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis, and at the Depository of Cincinnati. These notes are intended to furnish a current medium of payment, exchange, and remittance, being at all times convertible into coin at the option of the holder, at the place where made payable, and everywhere receivable for public dues. They must be always equivalent to gold, and often and for many purposes more convenient and valuable.

A sufficient amount of coin to redeem these notes promptly on demand will be kept with the depositaries, by whom they are respectively made payable. And all depositors and collecting officers will receive them, enter them on their books, and pay them to public creditors as money. Large amounts of the notes of small denominations are rapidly being issued and distributed.

General Scott issued the following order:

HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
WASHINGTON, *Sept.* 3, 1861.

The General-in-Chief is happy to announce that the Treasury Department, to meet future payments to the troops, is about to supply, besides coin, as heretofore, Treasury notes in fives, tens, and twenties—as good as gold at all banks and Government offices throughout the United States, and most convenient for transmission by mail from the officers and men to their families at home. Good husbands, fathers, sons, and brothers, serving under the Stars and Stripes, will thus soon have the ready and safe means of relieving an immense amount of suffering, which could not be reached with coin. In making up such packages, every officer may be relied upon, no doubt, for such assistance as may be needed by his men.

By command of Lieutenant-General SCOTT.
E. D. TOWNSEND, Assistant Adjutant-General.

Of these, the Secretary had issued about

ESTIMATES OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR 1862.

REVENUE.	August estimate.	December estimate.	Decrease.	Increase.
Customs	$57,000,000	$32,198,602	$24,801,398	
Lands	3,000,000	2,354,062	645,938	
Direct tax	20,000,000	20,000,000		
Total revenue	$80,000,000	$54,552,664	$25,447,336	
Total expenditure	318,519,582	543,406,422	....	$224,886,840

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$24,500,000 up to the 11th December. There then remained to him for resources the remainder of the demand notes, $25,500,000, to be issued; also, the instalments due from the banks on the $50,000,000 of stock, taken December 1st; and also, $50,000,000 balance of the $250,000,000 loan. These resources, he said, would carry him to the 15th January, when new legislation would become necessary.

The suspension of the banks involved the suspension of the Government on its demand notes, and, notwithstanding the circular of the Secretary and the law of Congress, no one of them was paid in coin. The last instalments of coin due from the banks on the loan was applied to the interest on the public debt, which, at the close of the year, as compared with the previous year, was as follows:

UNITED STATES DEBT—CLOSE OF 1860 & 1861.

	Rate.	Jan. 1861.	Jan. 1862.	
Loan 1842	6..	$2,883,364.11	2,883,364.11	
" 1847	6..	9,415,250.00	9,415,250.00	
" 1848	6..	8,908,341.80	8,908,341.80	
" 1858	6..	20,000,000.00	20,000,000.00	
" 1860	5..	7,022,000.00	7,022,000.00	
" 1861	6..		18,415,000.00	
Texan Indemnity	5..	3,461,000.00	3,461,000.00	
Texas debt		181,863.17	112,092.59	
Oregon War debt			307,900.00	
				$70,524,948.50
Treasury notes issued under acts prior to 1857		105,111.64	$105,111.64	
Treasury notes issued under act of December 23d, 1857		7,281,900.00	664,200.00	
Treasury notes issued under act of December 17th, 1860		10,000,000.00	9,933,950.00	
Treasury notes issued under acts of June 22d, 1860, and February and March, 1861—two years		....	7,767,600.00	
Treasury notes issued under acts of March 2d, July 17th and August 5th, 1861, for 60 days—temporary loan		....	3,993,900.00	
				22,464,761.64
Three-years bonds, dated August 19th, 1861, issued under act of July 17th, 1861		....	50,000,000.00	
Three-years bonds, dated October 1st, 1861, issued under acts of July 17th, 1861		....	50,000,000.00	
Three-years bonds under act of July, 1861		....	50,000,000.00	
Twenty-years six per cent. bonds, dated July 1st, 1861		....	50,000,000.00	
				200,000,000.00
United States notes, issued under act of July 17th, 1861		....	50,000,000.00	
United States notes, issued under act of February, 1862		....	10,000,000.00	
				60,000,000.00
Total		$69,213,830.72		$352,989,710.14

There were subsequently authorized the following amounts:

Stock, six per cent., payable after ten years	$500,000,000
Notes on demand, legal tender, may be funded	150,000,000
Certificates of indebtedness, six per cent., one year	unlimited.
Deposit certificates, five per cent., ten days' notice	50,000,000

Of the demand notes, $50,000,000 in lieu of the $50,000,000 issued in August, which are to be called in, may be funded in the six per cent. stock; but, if they are not, the whole may be issued, which would make the debt $1,002,989,710, besides the certificates of indebtedness, about $100,000,000, but not limited in amount.

Most of the Northern States had also advanced considerable sums to the Federal Government, of which 40 per cent. had been returned by the close of the year.

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States.	Advanced.	Paid back.
Indiana	$1,125,000	$450,000
Ohio	2,250,000	950,000
New Hampshire	185,000	74,000
Massachusetts	1,937,500	775,000
Illinois	1,000,000	400,000
Michigan	230,000	92,000
Vermont	307,500	123,000
Iowa	200,000	80,000
Maine	500,000	200,000
Wisconsin	512,500	205,000
Pennsylvania	1,515,000	606,000
New Hampshire	500,000	200,000
Total	$10,255,500	$4,105,000

Taxation.—The levying of a direct tax for the support of the Federal Government involved the apportionment of the tax among the States, according to their Federal representation, since direct taxes, or taxes upon property, are by the Constitution so ordered. Hence, the proportion of the whole tax which each State is required to pay depends, not upon its ability, but upon its numbers. The following table gives the population of each State, the amount of its debt in 1861, the amount of the State valuation on which local taxes are levied, and the portion which each State must pay of the Federal tax of $20,000,000:

Locality.	Population.	Debt.	Valuation.	Tax apportionment.
Alabama	964,296	$5,098,000	$362,427,212	$523,313
Arkansas	435,427	3,092,622	120,475,236	261,886
California	380,016	3,885,000	131,060,279	254,538
Connecticut	460,151	....	224,962,514	308,214
Delaware	112,218	....	23,117,264	74,681
Florida	140,439	158,000	49,461,466	77,522
Georgia	1,057,329	3,170,750	672,322,777	584,367
Illinois	1,711,753	11,138,454	407,477,367	1,146,551
Indiana	1,350,941	10,286,856	435,367,862	904,875
Iowa	674,948	322,295	197,823,250	452,088
Kansas	107,110	....	33,719,813	71,743
Kentucky	1,155,713	5,574,244	493,409,363	713,695
Louisiana	709,290	10,028,903	400,450,747	385,886
Maine	628,276	1,037,387	141,229,716	420,826
Maryland	687,034	14,854,204	255,447,588	436,823
Massachusetts	1,231,065	6,363,184	897,795,326	824,581
Mississippi	791,396	7,271,707	386,712,918	413,084
Missouri	1,182,317	19,038,000	335,900,760	761,127
Michigan	749,112	2,337,630	275,762,771	501,763
Minnesota	162,022	2,563,653	35,564,493	108,524
New Hampshire	326,072	....	127,398,722	218,406
New Jersey	672,031	95,000	213,591,666	450,134
New York	3,887,542	32,441,944	1,416,298,837	2,603,918
North Carolina	992,667	13,978,505	301,722,618	376,190
Ohio	2,339,599	17,223,153	845,899,951	1,567,089
Oregon	52,464	....	24,181,669	35,140
Pennsylvania	2,906,370	38,638,961	568,770,234	1,946,719
Rhode Island	174,621	386,311	111,175,174	116,963
South Carolina	703,812	6,192,743	367,922,715	363,570
Tennessee	1,109,847	16,643,607	377,208,641	669,498
Texas	602,432	....	288,833,884	355,106
Vermont	315,116	....	86,871,851	211,068
Virginia	1,596,079	33,005,159	501,829,722	937,550
Wisconsin	775,873	100,000	184,062,536	519,688
Grand Total	31,145,378	$264,918,272	$11,296,306,942	$19,637,126

The imposition of this tax falls very unequally. Thus, Missouri must pay nearly as much as Massachusetts, although the latter has more than double the taxable wealth, and quite five times the actual wealth of Missouri, which has been impoverished by the war operations, while the industry of Massachusetts has been less interrupted by hostilities. The tax in Missouri is two dollars on the thousand of valuation; in Massachusetts, it is less than one dollar. Illinois, with less than half the taxable property, must pay 40 per cent. more tax as compared with Massachusetts; and taxes on articles of consumption will, of course, fall heaviest on the largest population. The aggregate valuation here given is that on which the State taxes are levied. The census gave another estimate of valuation which carried the amount to $16,000,000,000.

The following shows the Federal representative numbers and the census valuation, distinguishing real and personal property. The aggregate of real and personal property is given at $17,088,417,-635, or $5,792,110,693 in excess of the amount on which the State taxes are levied. Yet in New York and Massachusetts the State valuation is the highest.

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TABLE SHOWING THE FEDERAL POPULATION, AND THE ASSESSED VALUE OF REAL AND PERSONAL PROPERTY OF THE SEVERAL STATES OF THE UNION. CENSUS, 1860.

States.	Federal Population.	Value of Real Estate.	Value of Personal Property.	States.	Federal Population.	Value of Real Estate.	Value of Personal Property.
Alabama	790,243	$155,034,089	$277,164,673	Mississippi	616,717	$157,836,737	$351,686,175
Arkansas	390,985	63,254,740	116,956,590	Missouri	1,182,331	158,450,377	118,485,374
California	380,016	66,906,631	72,748,096	New Hampshire	326,073	59,658,846	64,171,743
Connecticut	460,151	191,478,842	149,778,181	New Jersey	672,081	151,161,942	145,520,550
Delaware	111,498	26,278,803	18,403,489	New York	3,880,727	1,069,658,060	320,806,558
Florida	115,137	21,722,810	47,206,375	North Carolina	860,234	116,856,573	175,981,029
Georgia	872,486	179,801,441	498,430,946	Ohio	2,339,599	687,518,121	272,348,980
Illinois	1,711,753	287,219,940	101,987,433	Oregon	52,464	6,279,602	12,745,313
Indiana	1,350,941	201,829,992	119,212,432	Pennsylvania	2,906,370	561,192,980	158,060,335
Iowa	674,948	149,433,423	55,783,560	Rhode Island	174,621	88,778,204	41,826,161
Kansas	107,110	16,088,602	6,429,630	South Carolina	542,795	129,772,684	359,546,444
Kentucky	1,065,517	277,923,054	250,287,639	Tennessee	999,533	210,091,180	162,504,029
Louisiana	576,086	280,704,988	155,082,277	Texas	530,159	112,416,018	135,816,622
Maine	628,276	86,717,716	67,662,672	Vermont	315,116	65,689,978	19,118,646
Maryland	652,158	65,441,538	231,798,800	Virginia	1,399,781	417,952,228	289,069,108
Massachusetts	1,231,065	475,418,165	301,744,651	Wisconsin	775,873	148,288,766	37,706,723
Michigan	749,113	123,606,084	39,927,921				
Minnesota	172,022	25,391,771	6,727,002	Total	29,568,427	$12,006,756,565	$5,081,661,650

TRUE VALUE OF REAL AND PERSONAL ESTATE,

According to the Seventh Census, 1850, and the Eighth Census, 1860, respectively.

States.	1850. Real and Personal Estate.	1860. Real and Personal Estate.	Increase.	Increase per cent. for 10 years.
Alabama	$228,204,332	$495,237,078	$267,032,746	117.01
Arkansas	39,841,025	219,256,473	179,415,448	450.32
California	22,161,872	207,874,613	185,712,741	837.98
Connecticut	155,707,980	444,274,114	288,566,134	185.32
Delaware	21,062,556	46,212,131	25,179,625	119.54
Florida	22,862,270	73,101,500	50,239,230	219.74
Georgia	335,425,714	645,895,237	310,469,523	92.56
Illinois	156,265,006	871,860,282	715,595,276	457.93
Indiana	202,650,264	528,835,371	326,185,107	160.95
Iowa	23,714,638	247,338,265	223,623,627	912.97
Kansas	....	31,327,895	....	..
Kentucky	301,628,458	666,043,112	364,414,656	120.81
Louisiana	233,998,764	602,118,568	368,119,804	157.30
Maine	122,777,571	190,211,600	67,434,029	54.92
Maryland	219,217,364	376,919,944	157,702,580	71.93
Massachusetts	573,342,286	815,237,433	241,805,147	43.19
Michigan	59,787,255	257,163,983	197,376,728	330.18
Minnesota	(not ret'd in full)	52,294,413	....	165.26
Mississippi	228,951,130	607,324,911	378,373,781	165.25
Missouri	137,247,707	501,214,393	363,966,691	265.18
New Hampshire	103,652,835	156,310,860	52,658,025	50.80
New Jersey	200,000,000	467,918,324	267,918,324	133.95
New York	1,080,309,216	1,843,338,517	763,029,301	70.63
North Carolina	226,800,472	358,739,399	131,938,927	58.17
Ohio	504,726,120	1,193,808,422	689,172,302	136.54
Oregon	5,063,474	28,930,637	23,867,163	471.35
Pennsylvania	722,486,120	1,416,501,818	694,015,698	96.05
Rhode Island	80,508,794	135,337,588	54,828,794	68.10
South Carolina	288,257,694	548,138,754	259,881,060	90.15
Tennessee	201,246,686	493,903,892	292,657,206	145.42
Texas	52,740,473	365,200,614	312,460,141	592.44
Vermont	92,205,049	122,477,170	30,272,121	33.83
Virginia	430,701,082	793,249,681	362,548,599	84.17
Wisconsin	42,056,595	273,671,668	231,615,073	550.72
District of Columbia	14,018,874	41,084,945	27,066,071	193.06
Nebraska	....	9,131,056	....	..
New Mexico	5,174,471	20,813,768	15,639,298	302.24
Utah	986,083	5,596,118	4,610,035	467.50
Washington	....	5,601,466	....	..
Total	$7,115,790,180	$16,159,616,068	$9,043,825,888	126.45

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The State valuation is, however, the practical one. In addition to the aggregate debt of the States, there are the city, town, and county debts, which swell the amount to fully $300,000,000, and make the whole public debt, actual and authorized, $1,400,000,000, bearing an annual average charge of $84,000,000, or, in round numbers, $100,000,000, with a one per cent. sinking fund. The $781,000,000 that have been paid in the past eighty years of the Government, were met by the duties levied on the goods purchased abroad with the proceeds of cotton sold. That resource is, for the present, at all events, cut off, and the general exports of the country will not sustain an import revenue more than equal to the ordinary expenses of the Government; hence, the whole burden of the debt must fall upon taxation, direct and indirect. These taxes, which are now new in the country, will be systematized, so as hereafter to yield the largest portion of the Government revenue made necessary by the debt.

The currency necessities of the Government have produced also another radical change. Heretofore, under the Constitution, gold and silver have been the only legal currency, and the powers of Government have been repeatedly directed to its increase as the basis of the circulating medium. The Government has, however, resorted to paper money as a resource, by which $150,000,000 are obtained by the use of notes, where bank notes have previously circulated to the extent of $200,000,000. This paper, competing with that of the banks, as a matter of course, would depreciate in the proportion in which it is emitted to the amount of taxes collected. If the taxing is sufficient to meet the wants of the Government, there will be no depreciation of paper, whether the notes are paid in coin or not. The banks issue, in the United States, some $200,000,000 of paper for circulation, payable in coin; yet, in ordinary times, they are never really paid in coin, because they are carried back to the issuer through the cancelment of the credits on which they were issued. If that did not take place, redemption in coin would be impossible; as it does take place, redemption in coin is not asked. The case is not different with the Government. No possible form or device of paper issue can save its credit, unless it makes available, by taxation, the vast property in the country. The payment of these taxes will carry the paper money back to the Treasury, and $200,000,000 might easily float at par. The question is, how to make the notes float until the taxes are available, and this object is sought by making them a legal tender for all debts. It is to be borne in mind, that a certain amount of currency is requisite for the transaction of business. Hitherto specie has supplied a considerable portion of the circulating medium. The disappearance of the metals on the suspension of the banks, left a vacuum which the Government notes could supply to some extent. The amount of the metals in the country may be approximated as follows:

In the country in 1821.....		$37,000,000
United States mines, 1821 to 1849..	$13,811,206	
Net import, 1821 to 1849.....	61,642,397	75,453,603
On hand, 1849.....		$112,453,603
United States mines, 1849 to 1861..$481,380,963		
Net export, 1849 to 1861.....	481,552,145	49,828,818
On hand, January, 1861.....		$162,282,421
United States mines in 1861.....	$84,879,547	
Net import, 1861.....	40,848,180	75,227,727
In the country, January, 1862...		$237,510,148

The amount in the country in 1821 was the estimate of the Secretary of the Treasury. The result is the amount in the whole country, including about $60,000,000 which is in banks, &c., at the South. It has been estimated that there is $50,000,000 in plate, jewelry, &c. There would then remain about $127,000,000 in Northern banks and circulation. Of this amount, $50,000,000 are gold dollars and silver fractions. A considerable portion of the whole has gone out of circulation, leaving an opening for an equal quantity of paper, which, for denominations above $5, will be well supplied with Government notes, and bank issues for small notes.

The large increase which took place in the imports of specie in 1861 grew out of the balance due the United States from the foreign trade, which brought large sums of specie into the country, and caused the retention of the California supplies. The general state of the trade, as manifest in the rates of bills and money, and the amount of specie in the city of New York monthly during the year, are expressed in the following tables:

Months.	Money.		Sterling.	Specie.		Total, N. Y. City.
	At call.	60 days.		In Bank.	Ass. Treasury.	
January.....	5 - 6	10 - 12	2½ - 6½	$24,839,475	$3,645,737	$28,485,212
February.....	5 - 6	6½ - 7	5½ - 7	38,044,229	3,336,700	41,380,929
March.....	5 - 5½	5½ - 6	7½ - 7¾	41,408,308	6,092,841	47,501,149
April.....	5½ - 7	6 - 7	5½ - 6½	38,991,683	10,773,106	49,764,789
May.....	5½ - 7	7 - 10	5 - 6	37,502,402	7,614,058	45,116,460
June.....	5 - 6	6 - 7	4½ - 5	42,078,011	6,093,283	48,172,294
July.....	5 - 6	6 - 7	5½ - 7¾	46,906,181	8,579,688	55,480,409
August.....	4 - 5	6 - 7	7 - 7⅞	49,733,990	4,576,814	54,310,804
September.....	5½ - 6	6 - 6½	7½ - 9	36,805,177	15,541,307	52,346,484
October.....	5 - 6	6¼ - 6½	7½ - 8	42,260,616	7,330,763	49,591,379
November.....	5 - 6	6 - 6½	7¼ - 10	41,609,063	7,945,939	49,555,002
December.....	6 - 7½	6 - 6½	10 - 12	26,182,235	1,598,100	27,780,335

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Specie Movement for 1861, at New York.

Months.	Gold rec'd from California.	Foreign Imports.	Drawn in Island.	Foreign Exports.
January	$4,185,105	$7,202,229	$1,488,440	$58,894
February	3,622,593	2,274,067	94,664	1,102,926
March	2,370,897	5,546,406	15,501	301,902
April	2,951,258	1,958,001	3,391,560	1,412,674
May	1,977,827	3,486,812	135,739	128,900
June	2,012,062	5,887,153	9,054,978	244,343
July	2,055,368	6,996,498	3,240,846	11,029
August	4,245,755	1,049,552	8,891,707	3,000
September	2,815,243	1,231,012	8,530,498	15,756
October	2,980,815	639,328	6,305,005	15,038
November	2,584,342	998,825	692,754	48,835
December	2,654,389	859,530	26,567,085	826,013
	$34,485,949	$37,088,413	$68,408,112	$4,236,250

In December, the amount drawn from the banks was very large, and involved their suspension. It is to be regarded as a matter of course, that the stagnation of trade which caused specie to arrive from abroad in place of goods, and which caused money to accumulate in the banks, also produced unusually low prices for money. Few people wished to employ it, and the lenders were fain to accept low rates. The table on page 303 shows the highest and lowest rates of sterling bills in each month, the highest and lowest rates for money, and the amount of specie in the banks and subtreasury, forming the total in mints.

The year opened with a very low rate for sterling bills, being nearly seven per cent. under the nominal par, and several per cent. below the cost of importing specie. The arrivals consequently were large; and none of the California receipts being shipped, the amount in the city rose nearly $20,000,000 to March. The metals continued to fluctuate between the banks and the Treasury in proportion as the banks paid it over for loans and gradually re-collected it from the Government disbursements. The supply of gold from California was indeed less in the year 1861 than for previous years. The State has of late supplied more of its own wants, and has therefore exported less gold, while of that diminished export a larger quantity has gone direct to Europe.

California Gold Receipts, Exports, and Coinage.

GOLD RECEIVED.

	1859.	1860.	1861.
Uncoined	$40,907,996	$37,802,539	$32,325,863
Coined	5,965,163	7,409,154	9,363,214
Total receipts	$46,873,159	$45,211,693	$41,689,077
Imports, Foreign	2,516,152	1,809,061	1,702,683
Total supply	$49,389,311	$47,020,754	$43,391,760
Exports	47,640,462	42,325,916	40,676,758
Gain for the year	$1,748,849	$4,694,838	$2,715,002

These results show a successive decline of $5,184,082 in three years from the mines at San Francisco; but it appears that the decline in exports in the same time has been greater, reaching $6,963,704; thus indicating that other industries in California are encroaching upon the mining, which may have become comparatively less profitable.

GOLD SHIPPED.

Locality.	1859.	1860.	1861.
New York	$39,831,937 32	$35,661,500 37	$32,628,010 60
New Orleans	314,500 00	57,795 88	....
England	5,910,930 37	2,672,856 20	4,061,779 46
China	3,100,755 68	3,374,680 27	3,541,279 17
Japan	34,000 00	94,200 00	60,220 00
Manilla	26,000 00	75,659 94	9,000 00
Panama	279,949 28	300,519 00	349,769 17
Sandwich Isl.	142,190 00	40,679 57	7,700 00
Mexico	....	19,400 00	7,100 00
Other countries	....	28,245 00	11,900 00
Total	$47,640,462 65	$42,325,916 28	$40,676,758 40

The following is the proportion of shipments from California to New York:

Years.	To New York.	Total Shipments.
1854	$46,289,000	$51,328,000
1855	38,730,000	43,080,000
1856	39,765,000	48,887,000
1857	35,287,000	48,592,000
1858	35,578,000	47,543,000
1859	39,831,000	47,640,000
1860	35,661,000	42,325,000
1861	32,628,016	40,676,758

The shipments have declined since 1854, when they were, at the highest, $10,700,000 per annum; but the proportion sent to New York has, it appears, fallen off more than $13,000,000, by reason of the greater quantities sent to China and to England direct. The gold exported from California to New York is in refined bars mostly. These are stamped with the value according to the fineness. The bars, on being lodged at the New York Assay Office for coinage, are charged five cents per ounce for parting the silver, one-half per cent. for coinage. The silver required for coinage is $\frac{1}{16}$ of the standard. This is taken from the parted silver, and the remaining silver is coined at a charge of one-half per cent. The calculation is simple. Thus, a bar stamped 840 fine, $17 36.4341, will be worth, when coined, $17 42.5951. Thus, 387 oz. of gold, 1,000 fine, are worth $8,000; and 99 oz. of silver, 1,000 fine, are worth $128. Hence, 387 : 8,000 :: 840 : 1736.4341. From $17 36.4341 is deducted ½ per cent. for coinage, leaving $17 27.7519. In a bar, 840 fine, the silver is 155; hence, 99 : 128 :: 155 : 20.0404.

From this deduct the $\frac{1}{310}$ of alloy required, and the result is		18.9434
Charge for parting	5.0000	
Charge ½ per cent. for coinage	.0947	
		5.0947
		13.8487
Adding the 5½ premium for silver, on cents 18.9434		.9945
		14.8432
Net value of gold, as above		17 27.7519
Value in coin, gold bar, 840 fine		$17 42.5951

The invoices of gold received from California range from 675 to 950 fine. The average of the bars governs the deposit. We have annexed a carefully prepared table, showing at a glance the value of any bar deposited.

No allowance for silver is made, unless the bars deposited yield $5 above the expense of parting.

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Fineness of Gold.	Stamped Gold, value of bar.	Fineness of Silver.	Value of Silver, (without prem.)	Value in Coin, including Silver at 4½ per cent. prem.
800	$16.537468	195	$0.252121	$16.657933
804½	16.547804	194½	0.251475	16.667533
801	16.558140	194	0.250828	16.677133
802	16.578812	193	0.249535	16.696334
805	16.640827	190	0.245656	16.753936
810	16.744186	185	0.239192	16.840938
815	16.847545	180	0.232727	16.945940
820	16.950904	175	0.226262	17.041942
825	17.054263	170	0.219798	17.137944
830	17.157622	165	0.213333	17.233946
835	17.260982	160	0.206868	17.329948
840	17.364341	155	0.200404	17.425951
845	17.467700	150	0.193939	17.521953
850	17.571059	145	0.187474	17.617955
855	17.674419	140	0.181010	17.713957
860	17.777778	135	0.174545	17.809960
865	17.881137	130	0.168080	17.905963
870	17.984496	125	0.161616	18.001965
875	18.087855	120	0.155151	18.097967
880	18.191214	115	0.148686	18.193970
885	18.294574	110	0.142222	18.289972
890	18.397933	105	0.135757	18.385974
895	18.501292	100	0.129292	18.481976
900	18.604651	95	0.122828	18.577978
905	18.708010	90	0.116363	18.673981
910	18.811369	85	0.109899	18.769983
913	18.914728	80	0.103434	18.865985
920	19.018087	75	0.096969	18.961988
925	19.121447	70	0.090505	19.057990
930	19.224806	65	0.084040	19.153992
935	19.328165	60	0.077575	19.249994
940	19.431524	55	0.071111	19.345997
945	19.534883	50	0.064646	19.441998
950*	19.638243	45	0.058181	19.538000

* 950 fine will not give sufficient silver for alloy—the difference is shown by lessened proceeds in column for coin.

The Assay Office in New York was established in 1854, as a kind of compromise for a mint. Since that time the bullion deposits at the New York Assay Office by individuals for coinage or for conversion into fine bars, to the 1st October, 1861, have exceeded one hundred and eighty millions of dollars—of which was in

Gold about.....95.70 per cent.
In silver.....4 30 "

Of this large sum nearly thirty per cent. was deposited in the last year, (October 1, 1860, to October 1, 1861,) viz.:

Bullion Deposited at the New York Assay Office.

	Gold.	Silver.	Total.
5 years, 1854–'59	$99,256,633	$5,046,601	$104,303,234
1 year, to Oct. 1, 1860	17,882,426	452,118	18,334,544
1 year, to Oct. 1, 1861	55,969,553	2,263,765	58,233,318
Total	$173,108,612	$7,762,484	$180,871,096
Annual average	27,586,944	1,108,926	28,695,870

Thus in the past year the deposits have increased from a previous annual average of less than twenty millions (1854–1860) to the sum of fifty-eight millions of dollars.

The Assay Office has furnished to depositors in the same period of seven years, fine bars to the value of one hundred and twenty-one millions of dollars, viz.:

Gold.....$119,656,621
Silver.....1,725,320

Total.....$121,381,541

an annual average exceeding seventeen millions of dollars.

And during the same period of seven years the Assay Office has forwarded to the mint at Philadelphia, for coinage, a sum of over one hundred and seven millions of dollars, viz.:

Bullion sent to the Mint at Philadelphia from New York, for Coinage.

	Gold.	Silver.	Total.
First five years	$81,670,049	$6,525,483	$86,695,532
Sixth year	11,854,835	278,196	12,133,030
Seventh year	56,082,721	2,198,139	58,280,860
Total	$99,607,604	$7,501,818	$107,109,422
Annual average	14,229,658	1,071,688	15,301,346

Thus the amount of gold and silver forwarded to Philadelphia for coinage has increased from a previous annual average of eight millions for the first six years (1854–'60) to more than fifty-eight millions in the past year. The estimated expense for mere transportation of this large sum for the year past (Oct. 1860 to Oct. 1861) was $71,755, viz.:

For gold, $1 per thousand.....$64,855
For silver, $3 per thousand.....6,900

Total.....$71,755

When to the consideration of this unavoidable expense, under the present law, is added the loss of time to the depositor, (say from twenty to thirty days,) equivalent to about one-half of one per cent., the annual loss may be estimated at about one hundred thousand dollars.

The operations of the Assay Office monthly for the past year were as follows. It will be observed to how great an extent the imports of gold from abroad have swollen the operations of the office.

NEW YORK ASSAY OFFICE, 1861.

Months.	Gold.			Silver.			Payments.	
	Foreign.	U. S.	Total.	Foreign.	U. S.	Total.	In Bars.	In Coin.
January	$3,500,000	$2,589,000	$6,039,000	$99,000	$77,000	$176,000	$2,000	$3,218,000
February	3,840,000	1,563,000	4,903,000	95,000	51,000	146,000	15,000	5,034,000
March	3,200,000	1,860,000	5,060,000	125,000	40,000	165,000	260,000	4,945,000
April	4,400,000	2,650,000	7,050,000	172,000	43,000	215,000	..	7,085,000
May	4,400,000	1,885,000	6,285,000	207,000	68,000	275,000	1,000	6,559,000
June	7,100,000	1,560,000	8,660,000	231,500	152,500	384,000	..	9,000,000
July	7,400,000	1,100,000	8,150,000	401,000	49,000	450,000	370,000	8,280,000
August	1,850,500	3,100,000	4,950,500	285,000	158,000	393,000	..	5,343,500
September	1,066,000	1,962,000	3,028,000	138,500	37,500	176,000	59,000	3,145,000
October	520,000	2,145,000	2,625,000	34,200	31,800	66,000	71,000	2,620,000
November	365,000	1,947,000	2,312,000	129,490	33,510	163,000	410,000	2,065,000
December	70,000	1,895,000	1,965,000	107,500	27,500	135,000	1,180,000	920,000
Total	$39,211,500	$24,206,000	$63,417,500	$1,995,490	$818,000	$2,704,000	$2,268,000	$62,879,500
Total 1860	4,735,160	12,275,100	17,010,260	333,200	306,620	639,820	3,381,000	15,822,000
Total 1859	272,000	4,005,600	4,277,600	511,480	118,720	630,200	3,971,000	1,629,100

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In the past two years, when the demand for bars to export had ceased, nearly the whole of the deposits were ordered payable in coin, and nearly forty millions of those deposits were foreign coin imported. The whole amount, nearly, was sent to Philadelphia for coinage, and the operations of the mint were as follows:

Months.	Gold.		Silver.		Cents.
	Deposits.	Coinage.	Deposits.	Coinage.	
January	$8,209,669	$8,052,321	$156,413	$91,100	5,000
February	5,344,816	7,438,016	153,361	121,700	12,000
March	6,967,387	5,049,827	242,273	287,540	9,000
April	3,284,952	4,489,751	219,502	179,020	13,000
May	4,910,207	5,125,415	257,205	269,270	11,000
June	8,778,101	9,267,000	368,104	377,100	3,000
July	9,585,572	8,492,212	215,926	279,100	12,000
August	5,040,018	7,261,335	601,316	444,720	9,000
September	3,023,240	4,789,524	186,699	375,000	6,000
October	3,431,341	3,233,629	165,573	240,340	6,000
November	2,688,808	2,980,545	189,164	152,050	8,000
December	812,830	1,452,281	197,805	291,000	8,000
Total	$62,077,041	$67,631,356	$2,952,341	$3,107,740	102,000
Total 1860	15,063,365	11,851,711	549,218	687,119	214,660
Total 1859	1,555,252	1,455,678	910,560	1,043,646	345,000

The operations of the California mint show similar results.

The following table exhibits in detail the operations of the mint during the year 1861:

GOLD DEPOSITED AND COINED.

Months.	Gold Bullion deposited.	Gold Coinage.				Silver Coinage.			Total Coinage.
	Weight after melting.	Double Eagles.	Eag'es.	Half Eagles.	Quarter Eagles.	Half Dols.	Quarter Dols.	Dimes.	
	oz.								
January	32,315.56	$405,000	..	..	..	$24,000	..	..	$429,000
February	47,205.71	780,000	..	..	..	5,000	..	..	785,000
March	65,086.00	1,165,000	..	..	..	10,000	..	..	1,175,000
April	56,284.20	1,080,000	..	..	..	30,000	..	..	1,110,000
May	145,741.51	2,260,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,260,000
June	82,592.58	1,175,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,175,000
July	126,879.06	1,655,000	..	..	..	19,000	..	..	1,674,000
August	73,526.02	1,495,000	$50,000	$40,000	..	45,000	$5,000	$3,700	1,578,750
September	56,199.37	1,180,000	..	..	$40,000	68,000	..	5,000	1,288,000
October	66,217.40	1,130,000	..	..	..	102,000	7,000	..	1,239,000
November	56,561.98	1,210,000	45,000	50,000	..	129,000	..	..	1,434,000
December	84,402.68	1,210,000	..	..	20,000	32,750	7,000	8,500	1,278,250
Total	820,512.04	$15,385,000	$95,000	$90,000	$60,000	$459,750	$19,000	$17,250	$16,126,000

The California and Philadelphia mints were in the past year nearly the chief sources of supply of coin, since the Southern mints early in the year passed into the hands of the Confederates. The two mints, it appears, supplied the following quantities of American coin:

	Silver.	Gold.	Total.
California	$496,000	$15,630,000	$16,126,000
Philadelphia	3,107,740	67,631,356	70,739,096
Total	$3,603,740	$83,261,356	$86,865,096

This immense supply of coin has been poured into the markets in a year of war panic, and has probably been hoarded to a very considerable extent, since the banks held but very little more at the close of 1861 than at its commencement. In fact, during the eleven years in which California and Australia have poured their supplies upon the markets of the world, the specie currency of Europe has scarcely been increased.

The London circular of Mr. James Low states the amount of specie shipped from England to the East by the steamers of the Peninsular and Oriental Company during the last eleven years. The aggregate in that period is nearly ninety millions sterling, of which scarcely even the smallest portion has ever returned:

Years.	Gold.	Silver.
1851	£102,280	£1,716,160
1852	921,739	2,630,238
1853	880,962	4,710,665
1854	1,174,299	3,192,063
1855	948,272	6,409,889
1856	404,749	12,118,985
1857	269,275	16,793,232
1858	168,805	4,781,928
1859	788,269	14,828,221
1860	1,669,746	8,068,276
1861	781,043	6,586,747
Total, 11 years	£8,108,179	£81,748,579

This is an amount very nearly equal to the whole California product in that period. The only effect, therefore, has been to substitute gold for silver, and without increasing the aggregate metallic currency of Europe.

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In the year 1861 the amount exported to the East was, it appears, $36,800,000, mostly silver, and from Europe to the United States $34,400,000, mostly gold, making $71,200,000, without producing any other effect than adverse exchanges in France, which usually draws some sixty millions in bills on England for goods, silks, wines, &c., sold to the United States. This year those sales did not take place, and she was obliged to remit an equivalent in specie to England, and to rectify it, loans of specie were made in the London market for account of the Bank of France.

Stocks.—The range of the leading stock securities in the past year, as compared with former years, is as follows, the highest, lowest, and average quotations for 1859, 1860, and 1861, at the New York Stock Exchange for the stocks most largely dealt in. The fluctuations have been very great, and being produced by causes bearing unequally upon different portions of the country, show extraordinary changes in relative prices. Bonds of Southern and Border States have suffered a very great decline; on the other hand, railroad shares in the Northern States have shown a great improvement over 1859, and under the influence of the confidence in the Union cause, have reached extraordinary high figures, which may be regarded as excessive for peace prices, and higher than can be maintained.

AVERAGE OF STOCK SALES.

Stock.	1859.			1860.			1861.			1859 to 1861.
	Lowest.	Highest.	Average.	Lowest.	Highest.	Average.	Lowest.	Highest.	Average.	Average.
United States 6's, 20 years	109	112	110	95	109½	98	80	100	94	..
" " " Treasury notes	..	..	..	98	101	100	95	100	97	..
" " 5's	98	98	91	85	104½	91	75	97	92	..
Indiana 5 per cent	85	93	89	86	93	89½	75	93	84	87½
Tennessee 6 "	86½	93¾	90	64	93	78½	34½	77	55½	74½
Virginia 6 "	92½	99½	95¾	73	95	84	26	80	58	79½
N. Carol'a 6 "	94½	101½	97½	77½	100	88½	44	82½	63½	83½
Missouri 6 "	80½	87½	83½	61	84¾	72½	35	72	56½	70½
Louisiana 6 "	90	96	93	94	99½	96½	45	77½	61½	83½
California 7 "	80	86½	83½	82	95	88½	71½	88	79½	83½
Canton Company	16½	20	18½	14	29½	19½	8	15	11½	16½
Pennsylvania Coal Company	79½	85½	80½	73½	88½	80½	72	81	76½	80
Delaware and Hudson Company	87	101	94	80	101½	90½	79	92	85½	90
Cumberland Preferred	11	24½	17½	8	17½	12½	4	9½	8½	13
Pacific Mail Steamship Company	67½	95½	80½	70	107½	88½	50	100	75	81½
New York Central R. R. Company	69	86	77½	69	92½	80½	68	82½	75½	77½
New York and Erie R. R. Company	4	17½	10½	8½	43	25½	17	40½	28½	21½
Hudson River R. R.	30	42½	36½	36	66	56	31½	49½	40½	44½
Harlem Railroad	9	14½	11½	8	22½	15½	8½	17	12½	13½
Harlem Preferred	33	44½	38½	27	55	41	20½	43	31½	37½
Reading	35½	54½	45½	29½	49½	39½	29½	47½	38½	41
Michigan Central	38	54½	46½	35	78½	54½	39½	61½	50½	50½
Michigan Southern	4	21½	12½	5	25	15	10½	20½	15½	14½
" " guaranteed	14	49½	31½	12½	50½	30½	22½	41½	32½	31½
Panama	118½	137½	125½	106	146½	126½	97½	121	109½	120½
Illinois Central scrip stock	53	73	65	51½	89½	70½	55½	88½	72	69½
Cleveland and Pittsburg	6	10	8	5	15½	10½	6½	17	11½	10
Cleveland, Columbus, and Cincinnati	91	100	95½	86	99½	92½	90	102	96	94½
Galena and Chicago	60½	77½	69	55	82½	68½	55	74½	64½	67½
Cleveland and Toledo	16½	33½	24½	15½	40½	34	20½	38½	29½	29½
Chicago and Rock Island	55½	71	63½	42½	84½	63½	30½	62	46½	57½
Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy	48½	61	54½	40	92½	66½	51	78½	64½	61½
Milwaukee and Prairie du Chien	3	13½	8½	1½	16½	8½	9	23	16	11

State War Loans.—Indiana passed a loan of $2,000,000. It was made pursuant to one of the very few provisions of the amended Constitution of Indiana in regard to the creation of new debt, viz.: For the public defence against threatened hostilities. The only other contingencies authorizing the exercise of this power are to pay the annual interest on the preëxisting debt, and to repel invasion and insurrection. The old or preëxisting public debt of Indiana is:

In 5 per cents	$5,322,000
In 2½ per cents	2,055,000
Together	$7,377,000
Involving an annual charge of only	$307,225

These new bonds bear interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum, payable semi-annually in New York, and the principal reimbursable in twenty years from date. For the payment of this interest, and the ultimate liquidation of the principal, a special tax has been levied of five cents on each hundred dollars in value of the taxable property of the State, which is to be collected annually, until the bonds are paid or redeemed. In addition, a regular tax of two cents, and in 1863 and thereafter of five cents is levied for reducing the State debt, making in all, for the years 1861 and 1862, seven cents, and for the year 1863 and thereafter, 10 cents on each one hundred dollars' valuation of taxables in the State applicable to the reduction of this loan. The Legislature also, at its last session, pledged for the redemption of this loan, in addition to the tax levy, whatever may be received from the General Government in the way of reimbursement of the moneys advanced by the State for war purposes—this fund, it is expected, will be

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nearly sufficient to pay the debt. The same Legislature refused unanimously to pass any stay or stop laws interfering with the collection of debts.

The taxables of the State are of the value of four hundred and fifty millions. Under the amended general banking law of the State, the basis of circulation is confined to the Indiana State and Federal stocks.

The State of New Jersey at its session in May passed lhws for raising a six per cent. loan of $2,000,000, the bonds to be redeemable after 1865, at the rate of $100,000 per annum; and a State tax of $100,000, to raise four new regiments, to purchase arms, artillery, and munitions of war; to pay the families of volunteers $6, and to volunteers without families $4 a month extra; to authorize the cities of Trenton, Newark, Camden, New Brunswick, Jersey City, and Bordentown, to borrow money to aid the volunteers, were passed. New Jersey had previously no military.

The State of Massachusetts issued a loan for $1,000,000, six per cent. per annum, and issued in denominations and redeemable as follows:

$200,000 in pieces of $100 each	July 1, 1871.
200,000 in pieces of $500 each	July 1, 1872.
200,000 in pieces of $100 each	July 1, 1873.
200,000 in pieces of $1,000 each	July 1, 1874.
200,000 in pieces of $1,000 each	July 1, 1875.

The bids ranged from 98 to 101½ per cent. All below par were rejected, amounting to $66,-500. At par the bids reached to $598,000. Between par and 100.50 they reached $577,-000. Above 100.50 they reached $16,000.

The Connecticut Legislature authorized a war loan of two millions of dollars, bearing 6 per cent. interest. The State had before no debts. The bids were opened for a portion of it July 21. A large share of the bids were at par, although many were given at an eighth premium, and in rare instances more. The banks offered a quarter of a million at par. The bidding would have commanded premiums, had it not been that the United States loan was pending, and with such rates of interest that the men who had the money at hand, were holding up for that which would give them a cent and a fraction additional every year. For the $800,000 offered July 24, $1,279,900 were offered at par to 5 per cent. premium.

The loan of the State of Maine was opened July 28, and the average rate was 1 per cent. premium.

The State of Illinois offered $1,000,000, interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum, payable semi-annually in New York, and the principal reimbursable after 1879. The bonds have coupons attached for $3 each, for each half year during which they have to run, and will of course be receivable for taxes and all other State dues at the Treasury. The bids in Wall street did not meet the views of the commissioner, and it was withdrawn. A considerable number of these small bonds were, however, subscribed for by citizens of Illinois, and the whole amount was thus taken at par.

The State of Michigan offered a war loan of $500,000, 7 per cent., redeemable after twenty-five years.

The State of Iowa also created a loan. The Constitution of that State provides:

Article 7, Sec. 4. In addition to the above limited power to contract debts, ($250,000 altogether,) the State may contract debts to repel invasion, suppress insurrection, or defend the State in war, &c.

Sec. 5. Except the debts hereinbefore specified in this article, no debt shall be hereafter contracted by, or on behalf of this State, unless such debt shall be authorized by some law for some single work or object, to be distinctly specified therein, &c. . . . But no such law shall take effect until, at a general election, it shall have been submitted to the people, and have received a majority of all the votes cast for and against it at such election, &c.

The General Assembly, at its extra session, recognizing, probably, the existence of "insurrection"—the State having been called upon by the President to furnish its quota of troops to meet such a crisis—considered that the provisions in Sec. 4, above cited, warranted an increase of indebtedness without the sanction of a popular vote as required by Sec. 5, the contingency contemplated in Sec. 4 having arisen. A new issue of bonds was therefore authorized, amounting to $800,000, which, when sold, would make the entire bonded debt of the State about $1,000,000.

Objections seem to have been made to the legality of these new bonds; it was contended that the law should have been submitted to a popular vote, pursuant to Sec. 5; that Sec. 4 applies only when the State is invaded, or in case of insurrection within the State against its authority.

The negotiation did not succeed. But the same difficulty applies to some other State bonds which were successfully placed upon the market.

The State of Ohio, April 26, authorized a loan of $2,000,000 for war purposes, at 6 per cent., 7 years to run, and not subject to State taxes. The bids for the loan in New York were not satisfactory to the State, and as the General Government reimbursed the State at about the same time $1,000,000 for its advances, the low offers were not accepted. The loan was subsequently placed in Ohio.

The State of New York made a loan of $3,-000,000, 7 per cent., which was negotiated 1.38 to 4.50 premium.

The State of Pennsylvania made a loan of $3,000,000, which was promptly taken. The bonds bear six per cent. interest, payable in specie—are payable after ten years—are not subject to taxation—of denominations not less than $25. Those less than $100 have coupons attached.

Pennsylvania also passed a State law, granting one year's stay upon all judgments, and all that might be obtained within six months from the passage of the act.

The contributions that were made by various public bodies up to the close of May were as follows:

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Connecticut.	
State	$2,000,000
Bridgeport	31,000
Hartford	64,000
Mystic	7,000
New Haven	30,000
Norwich	13,000
New London	10,000
Woodbury	5,000
Total	$2,160,000

Indiana.	
State	$1,000,000
Cass County	6,000
Elkhart	8,000
Evansville	15,000
Greensburg	2,000
Indianapolis	5,000
Noblesville	10,000
Madison	6,000
Total	$1,052,000

Illinois.	
State	$3,500,000
Chicago	23,000
Clinton	5,000
Galena	1,000
Ottawa	18,000
Sycamore	4,000
Total	$3,558,000

Iowa.	
State	$100,000

Maine.	
State	$1,300,000
Bath	10,000
Brunswick	1,000
Damariscotta	3,000
Portland	31,000
Rockland	10,000
Total	$1,355,000

Massachusetts.	
State	$3,000,000
Abington	5,000
Amesbury	5,000
Acton	5,000
Andover	17,000
Advanced to United States	7,000,000
Boston	209,000
Bedford	2,000
Becket	2,000
Barre	2,000
Braintree	2,000
Charlestown	10,000
Conway	2,000
Concord	4,000
Cohasset	1,000
Canton	5,000
Coleraine	2,000
Douglas	4,000
Deerfield	6,000
Dorchester	20,000
Dedham	10,000
Fall River	10,000
Framingham	10,000
Franklin	3,000
Fair Haven	$3,000
Gloucester	10,000
Georgetown	5,000
Hatfield	5,000
Ipswich	5,000
Lynn	10,000
Lowell	8,000
Lawrence	5,000
Lexington	4,000
Ludlow	2,000
Marblehead	6,000
Malden	12,000
Melrose	3,000
Middleboro	7,000
Marlboro	10,000
Marshfield	5,000
Mansfield	5,000
Millbury	2,000
Needham	3,000
Newton	3,000
North Andover	3,000
Newbury	3,000
Newburyport	4,000
Plymouth	2,000
Quincy	10,000
Salem	17,000
Southbridge	8,000
Somerset	3,000
Stowe	2,000
Southboro	2,000
Salsbury	5,000
Sutton	6,000
Shrewsbury	2,000
Stockbridge	3,000
Taunton	40,000
West Cambridge	10,000
Weymouth	5,000
Williamsburg	2,000
Waltham	5,000
Watertown	2,000
Westboro	8,000
Woburn	5,000
Webster	4,000
Wrentham	10,000
Worcester	12,000
Whately	2,000
Total	$10,625,000

Michigan.	
State	$1,000,000
Detroit	50,000
Other places	50,000
Total	$1,100,000

New York.	
New York State	$3,000,000
New York City	2,178,000
Albany	46,000
Auburn	4,000
Attica	10,000
Brooklyn	75,000
Bedford	1,000
Batavia	5,000
Buffalo	110,000
Binghamton	10,000
Cambridge	3,000
Canandaigua	7,000
Clinton	1,000
Dunkirk	20,000
Glen's Falls	10,000
Hudson	4,000
Hornellsville	$1,000
Hempstead	2,000
Ithaca	10,000
Lockport	2,000
Madrid	5,000
Oswego	13,000
Poughkeepsie	10,000
Palmyra	6,000
Peterboro	10,000
Rochester	62,000
Schenectady	2,000
Seneca Falls	3,000
Stockholm	3,000
Sag Harbor	3,000
Saratoga Springs	2,000
Syracuse	34,000
Shushan	2,000
Troy	48,000
Utica	14,000
Valatie	4,000
Watertown	3,000
Warsaw	6,000
Waterford	8,000
West Troy	7,000
Total	$5,747,000

New Hampshire.	
Concord	$10,000
Dover	10,000
Great Falls	10,000
Keene	10,000
Total	$40,000

New Jersey.	
State	$2,000,000
Burlington	4,000
Bordentown	3,000
Bridgeton	1,000
Camden and Amboy Railroad	10,000
Elizabeth	11,000
Flemington	5,000
Hoboken	2,000
Jersey City	32,000
Mount Holly	3,000
Morristown	3,000
Newark	136,000
New Brunswick	2,000
Paterson	10,000
Princeton	2,000
Total	$2,224,000

Ohio.	
State	$3,000,000
Cincinnati	280,000
Circleville	2,000
Cleveland	10,000
Hamilton	1,000
Kenton	2,000
London	1,000
Piqua	20,000
Toledo	5,000
Upper Sandusky	5,000
Wilmington	3,000
Waynesville	2,000
Xenia	14,000
Zanesville	3,000
Total	$3,348,000

Pennsylvania.	
State	$3,500,000
Erie	25,000
Harrisburg	5,000
Lancaster	30,000
Lebanon Co.	10,000
Philadelphia	330,000
Schuylkill	30,000
Total	$3,930,000

Rhode Island.	
State	$500,000

Vermont.	
State	$1,000,000
Burlington	3,000
Bradford	2,000
Bennington	10,000
St. Albans	10,000
Shelburne	1,000
Woodstock	1,000
Total	$1,027,000

Wisconsin.	
State	$225,000
Beaver Dam	3,000
Berlin	2,000
Clinton	3,000
Edgerton	1,000
Fond du Lac	4,000
Green Bay	1,000
Hebron	2,000
Janesville	6,000
Jefferson	4,000
Kenosha	4,000
La Crosse	4,000
Milwaukee	32,000
Madison	10,000
Manitowoc	2,000
Monroe	1,000
Ozaukee	1,000
Omro	1,000
Prescott	1,000
Racine	8,000
Randolph	3,000
Richmond	1,000
Sparta	1,000
Shapiere	4,000
Washington Co.	30,000
Whitewater	8,000
Total	$362,000

Recapitulation.	
Connecticut	$2,160,000
Indiana	1,052,000
Illinois	3,558,000
Iowa	100,000
Maine	1,355,000
Massachusetts	10,625,000
Michigan	1,100,000
New York	5,747,000
New Hampshire	40,000
New Jersey	2,224,000
Ohio	3,348,000
Pennsylvania	3,930,000
Rhode Island	500,000
Vermont	1,027,000
Wisconsin	362,000
Total	$37,128,000

Confederate Finances.—When the war broke out, the currency of the South was sound. The mints at New Orleans, Charlotte, and Dahlonega supplied a fair share of the coinage. Its banks held $36,000,000 in coin, and had emitted $82,000,000 of circulation. The merchants of the section were largely indebted to the North for goods sold in the usual course of trade on credit, and the supplies of produce were generally good. The moment that hostilities commenced, discredit overtook the currency, and a disposition to hoard manifested itself. The currency of the suspended banks began to depreciate, and it was manifest that the new Government would encounter great difficulty in its financial movements. The debts of the Southern merchants were due at the North in specie, and foreseeing the depreciation in the current funds, many had hoarded specie, which soon disappeared almost entirely from circulation. If all those funds were sent North in the discharge of debts, estimated to reach $200,000,000, it was clear that it would greatly enhance the financial difficulty of the Confederate Government at a time when, by reason of the blockade, the produce of the country, that in

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ordinary times would realize $400,000,000 per annum, was no longer available. Hence it was determined that the Northern debts should not be paid. The following is the text of the act on this subject, passed by the Confederate Congress:

An Act to authorize certain Debtors to pay the Amount due by them into the Treasury of the Confederate States.

Section 1. The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact, that all persons in any manner indebted to individuals, or corporations, in the United States of America, (except the States of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, and the District of Columbia,) be and are hereby prohibited from paying the same to their respective creditors, or their agents or assignees, pending the existing war waged by that Government against the Confederate States, or any of the slaveholding States before named.

Sec. 2. Any person indebted as aforesaid shall be, and is hereby authorized to pay the amount of his indebtedness into the Treasury of the Confederate States, in specie or treasury notes, and shall receive from the Treasurer a certificate, countersigned by the Register, showing the amount paid, and on what account, and the rate of interest which the same was bearing.

Sec. 3. Such certificate shall bear like interest with the original contract, and shall be redeemable at the close of the war and the restoration of peace, in specie or its equivalent, on presentation of the original certificate.

Sec. 4. All laws and parts of laws militating against this act, be and the same are hereby repealed.

HOWELL COBB, President of the Congress.
Approved May 21, 1861.
JEFFERSON DAVIS.

The Confederate Congress passed a law authorizing $100,000,000 treasury notes, payable six months after the ratification of a treaty of peace between the Confederate States and the United States. The notes not less than five dollars, to be reissuable at pleasure, to be received in payment of all public dues, except the export duty on cotton, and the whole issue outstanding at one time is not to exceed one hundred millions of dollars.

There were also issued bonds payable within twenty years, 8 per cent. interest, to the amount of $100,000,000, for the purpose of funding the treasury notes, or for the purchase of specie, military stores, etc. The bonds are not less than $100, except when the subscription is for a less amount, when they may be issued as low as $50.

Many of the banks had come forward with efforts to give the bonds currency, and the banks of Charleston adopted the following:

Resolved, That this bank will credit the Secretary of the Treasury with the sum of $1,000,000, at the rate of six per cent. per annum, secured by large treasury notes, and to be convertible into eight per cent. bonds of the Confederate States, at the option of the holders.

There was, for the special purpose of paying the principal and interest of the public debt, and of supporting the Government, a war tax of fifty cents upon each one hundred dollars in value of the following property in the Confederate States, namely: real estate of all kinds; slaves; merchandise; bank stocks; railroad and other corporation stocks; money at interest, or invested by individuals in the purchase of bills, notes, and other securities for money, except the bonds of the Confederate States of America, and cash on hand, or on deposit in bank or elsewhere; cattle, horses and mules; gold watches, gold and silver plate; pianos and pleasure carriages: the taxable property of a family, of value less than five hundred dollars, shall be exempt from taxation.

On the 3d of June the banks held a convention at Atlanta, Ga. Delegates were in attendance from Tennessee, Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, and Florida, representing some twenty-six banking institutions.

Mr. G. B. Lamar, of Georgia, was chosen President, and Mr. James S. Gibbs, of South Carolina, Secretary.

After full discussion, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That this Convention do recommend to all the banks of the Southern Confederacy to receive in payment of all dues to them the treasury notes of the same on deposit, and pay them out again to customers.

That, until the said treasury notes can be prepared and issued, it be recommended that all the banks agree to advance to the Government, in current notes, such sums severally as may be agreed upon between them and the Secretary of the Treasury—the said advance to be made on the deposit with the banks of treasury notes of large denomination, on eight per cent. stock bonds.

That all the banks in the Southern Confederacy are earnestly urged to take immediate action on the foregoing resolutions, as a measure of the greatest importance to the Government and the people, and communicate the same without delay to the Secretary of the Treasury, at Richmond.

That it be recommended to all the railroad companies in the Southern Confederacy to receive the treasury notes in payment of fares and freights.

That the Legislatures of the several States do make it lawful for their tax-collectors and other officers to receive the treasury notes in payment of all taxes and all other public dues.

That all the States, cities, and corporations having coupons payable in the city of New York or elsewhere in the enemy's country be requested, during the continuance of the war, to appoint some place of payment in the Confederate States, and to give their creditors notice of the same.

The convention adjourned to meet at Richmond simultaneously with the Confederate Congress, July 24.

On that day the convention again assembled, and it embraced representatives from all the principal banking institutions of the Southern States. It was resolved to take treasury notes in payment of dues, and to advance money for the use of the Government, until the treasury notes could be issued. Resolutions were also adopted approving of the course of the Confederate Government in vigorously prosecuting the war. The following resolutions were also adopted:

Resolved, unanimously, That it is the duty of the banks, capitalists, and property holders generally to give the Government all the support in money and other means demanded by the war.

Resolved, unanimously, That it is the opinion of this meeting that the capital resources of this country are abundantly adequate to supply all the demands created by the war, and that this Convention will cheerfully contribute its aid to render those resources available to the people and the Government.

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The Confederate Congress enacted some of the recommendations of the banks, particularly that one requiring all of the interest on Southern securities to be made payable in the Southern States. The nature of these provisions is best illustrated by an example.

A prominent private banking house in New York, doing a large business as agent of foreign capitalists, on application to draw the interest on some Virginia inscriptions, owned abroad, were refused payment direct by the State authorities, with an announcement that the payment could only be made through some house in the Confederate States. Having some coupons belonging to the same foreign parties, which they proposed to collect through a correspondent in Richmond, they were furnished with the following list of interrogatories, as necessary to be answered before any collection could be made:

Interrogatories to be propounded to ——, who is claiming to draw interest on the certificates of State debt.

Are you the bona fide owner of the bond on which interest is now due, or from which this coupon was taken?

Were you such owner before the 26th day of June, 1861?

If not the owner of the bond, are you the bona fide owner of the coupon?

If you are, were you such owner before the end of 26th of June, 1861?

If the owner of the bond or of the coupon, of what State or nation are you a citizen?

If not the owner of the bond or of the coupon, in what right do you claim the interest?

Give the name of the person or persons from whom you received the coupon, his residence, and business.

If you are the owner of bond and coupon, or of the coupon only, are you such by transfer, verbal or written?

If written, produce the written transfer.

If not a citizen of Virginia, are you a citizen of either of the States of the Confederate States of America?

If not a citizen of the Confederate States, or either of them, are you a citizen of the United States as it now exists, or of any State adhering to the United States?

If claiming to collect for another, of what State or nation is that other person a citizen?

And now give a full, just, true, and perfect account and discovery of the right, title, and interest you have, and of the right, title, and interest held by the person or persons under whom you claim, and in like manner state whether such person or persons has or have any right, title, or interest therein in possession, reversion, or remainder, or whether the same is held by you or them in any manner to evade or circumvent the ordinance passed on the 26th day of June, 1861, in relation to the interest of the State bonds.

I do hereby solemnly swear (or affirm, as the case may be) that I have truly answered all the questions propounded to me in the preceding interrogatories. So help me God.

Sworn to before me this —— day of ——, 1861.

These are in some respects similar to the restrictions imposed by the Union Treasury Department on the coupons of the State of Texas, but which were not enforced, because opposed to public opinion.

The difficulty of obtaining means was, however, very great on the part of the Confederate Congress, and a scheme of loans in kind was projected, called the cotton and produce loan.

An issue of treasury bonds was authorized to be made in exchange for the proceeds of the sales of crops and other industry, and these are to draw interest at the rate of eight per cent. per annum.

The Government proposed to every planter and farmer to receive from him a subscription in advance of his crop of any portion thereof exceeding one hundred dollars in value, and to pay him in Confederate bonds when the crop should be gathered and sold. The illustration is simple: If there be subscribed 1,000 bushels wheat, 1,000 bushels corn, 1,000 bales of cotton, &c., or less, and the place of delivery specified, the proceeds when sold are received in Confederate 8 per cent. bonds.

The form of subscription is as follows:

Form of Subscription.

We, the subscribers, agree to contribute to the defence of the Confederate States the portion of our crops set down to our respective names; the same to be placed in warehouse or in our factor's hands, and sold on or before the first day of —— next; and the net proceeds of sale we direct to be paid over to the Treasurer of the Confederate States, for bonds for the same amount, bearing eight per cent. interest.

N. B.—The agent in charge of this subscription will fill the blank as to date of sale, with the month best suited to the locality of the subscriber, in all cases selecting the earliest practicable date.

[Here follow name, post-office, and State, quantity subscribed, place of delivery, and name of factor or warehouse.]

The issues of paper by the Confederate Congress were received and paid out everywhere by the banks and people. As, however, gold was hoarded, and paper money was issued by States, towns, and cities in profusion, while there was little or no sale for the produce, all being blockaded, the paper frightfully depreciated. In August gold and silver were already 10 to 15 per cent. premium for current bills, and at New Orleans trade nearly came to a stand for want of change, until a state of barter threatened, and all dealers were forced to issue checks receivable in trade, as was the case in New York during the suspension of 1837. Towards the close of the year the depreciation of the paper reached nearly 50 cents on the dollar, and neither the taxes, the cotton loan, nor the investments of Northern debts sufficed to stay the downward tendency. Nothing but raising the blockade, and permitting the realization of the vast wealth of the section in produce could restore the finances.

Failures.—The political events of the year could not but produce the most disastrous influences upon the outstanding credits which represent the commercial business of the country. But this influence was modified by two leading circumstances. One was that the panic of 1857 had weeded out, so to speak, the weakest of the houses, while in November, 1860, when affairs became threatening, the fall trade was passed, stocks of goods on hand were light, and there was little effort to prepare for a large spring business. Hence the payments due in the spring were, to a considerable extent, realized before

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FAILURES IN THE UNITED STATES FROM 1857 TO 1861.

STATES.	1857.		1858.		1859.		1860.		1861.		No. of Stoppages per Record, in 1861.
	No.	Liabilities.	No.	Liabilities.	No.	Liabilities.	No.	Liabilities.	No.	Liabilities.	
New York.											
New York City and Brooklyn	915	$135,129,000	406	$17,778,462	299	$18,218,000	428	$22,127,297	980	$69,067,114	19,187
Albany	35	838,000	22	345,708	11	115,000	83	1,685,000	47	2,848,500	1,145
Buffalo	72	4,224,000	36	599,940	24	330,000	29	596,000	26	300,000	300
Oswego	13	161,000	8	73,600	11	403,000	19	149,000	13	130,000	374
Rochester	31	850,000	15	345,000	17	187,000	21	227,000	57	319,000	683
Syracuse	29	436,000	19	408,500	17	244,000	16	126,000	36	549,000	625
Troy	24	1,607,000	10	278,570	7	124,000	12	120,000	33	580,000	501
Utica	20	585,000	10	212,220	8	90,000	12	135,000	35	359,000	501
Remainder of the State	447	6,789,000	340	4,315,620	282	2,829,000	251	2,805,500	660	7,700,100	19,644
Massachusetts.											
Boston	273	41,010,000	128	4,178,925	123	4,759,000	172	4,956,750	480	18,317,161	5,472
Remainder of the State	230	2,611,000	128	1,937,792	160	1,927,000	157	2,423,700	363	6,796,000	12,023
Pennsylvania.											
Philadelphia	260	32,954,000	109	10,002,385	105	2,589,000	144	6,107,386	389	21,294,363	8,736
Pittsburg	28	1,183,000	22	610,742	20	197,000	29	226,648	49	747,397	1,351
Remainder of the State	226	2,288,000	232	4,647,656	356	3,846,000	166	1,970,300	327	2,948,500	18,959
Illinois.											
Chicago	117	6,572,000	87	3,590,664	83	2,651,000	56	1,288,589	91	5,117,170	1,754
Remainder of the State	199	2,766,000	305	4,978,210	221	2,772,000	198	2,759,416	350	4,911,300	10,987
Ohio.											
Cincinnati	96	3,898,000	51	1,345,533	72	1,688,000	63	1,926,950	163	6,992,071	2,595
Cleveland	30	613,000	17	255,000	36	1,289,000	21	619,300	22	604,000	917
Remainder of the State	220	2,357,000	214	1,672,888	246	1,268,000	195	1,629,400	397	5,879,500	15,341
Rhode Island.											
Providence	35	4,564,000	17	374,000	20	246,000	21	798,000	54	1,098,000	1,111
Remainder of the State	4	105,000	13	277,923	10	359,000	16	261,500	14	168,000	1,254
Michigan.											
Detroit	34	1,514,000	27	1,047,924	27	1,051,000	28	397,475	50	1,119,200	683
Remainder of the State	98	1,004,000	120	1,731,480	95	504,000	70	833,500	169	1,820,200	4,694
Iowa.											
Dubuque	36	735,000	26	825,058	21	580,000	7	105,000	10	370,000	321
Remainder of the State	108	1,333,000	94	2,196,122	127	1,374,000	82	1,209,482	93	1,295,000	4,390
Indiana	139	1,636,000	127	1,154,684	135	859,000	96	1,004,000	253	2,562,000	7,904
Wisconsin.											
Milwaukee	19	380,000	21	314,475	22	603,000	21	753,521	17	537,294	533
Remainder of the State	101	1,244,000	137	2,435,123	102	1,051,000	90	1,298,700	113	2,137,500	3,208
New Jersey	56	1,142,000	60	775,500	53	463,000	41	438,500	146	2,234,300	6,014
Connecticut	61	1,129,000	89	2,213,430	50	379,000	54	401,500	181	2,594,000	5,266
Maine	81	1,060,000	61	646,051	61	1,159,000	69	598,500	76	710,000	5,346
New Hampshire	70	928,000	37	403,152	25	307,000	40	318,000	90	840,000	3,175
Vermont	57	473,000	40	278,720	36	536,000	30	254,000	116	1,458,000	2,491
Minnesota, Kansas, and Territories	63	1,705,000	90	1,865,840	75	1,867,000	46	1,273,000	53	4,913,500	2,570
Total Northern States	4,257	$265,818,000	3,113	$73,608,747	2,959	$51,314,000	2,733	$61,739,474	5,935	$178,682,170	172,237
Louisiana.											
New Orleans	58	$6,285,000	45	$3,465,000	27	$809,000	24	$1,468,000	33	$5,635,000	2,856
Remainder of the State	5	246,000	13	341,900	17	272,000	12	175,000	18	325,000	2,258
Missouri.											
St. Louis	49	5,522,000	22	782,980	42	1,528,000	56	2,024,500	100	2,560,374	1,520
Remainder of the State	29	433,000	29	609,000	79	1,054,000	77	986,500	143	1,484,000	5,478
Maryland.											
Baltimore	58	3,206,000	76	2,442,640	50	1,392,000	82	2,881,500	121	4,057,000	2,887
Remainder of the State	41	725,000	92	520,996	61	357,000	82	183,000	14	104,000	2,806
Kentucky.											
Louisville	19	757,000	18	555,462	20	309,000	26	807,706	56	1,257,483	1,188
Remainder of the State	31	1,007,000	62	682,000	42	611,000	61	483,900	183	5,654,100	5,975
South Carolina.											
Charleston	31	922,000	20	578,180	16	327,000	25	649,000	11	1,105,000	887
Remainder of the State	24	305,000	21	249,900	28	469,000	22	225,000	21	269,000	2,677
Virginia.											
Richmond	36	781,000	25	499,125	28	411,000	30	411,665	27	398,800	1,290
Remainder of the State	90	982,000	244	2,183,800	125	928,000	90	1,789,600	84	1,186,200	9,292
North Carolina	62	1,171,000	90	1,499,400	78	849,000	43	423,000	42	466,000	4,193
Georgia	32	925,000	71	1,415,243	70	734,000	81	852,100	51	1,667,500	5,726
Delaware and District of Columbia	20	261,000	46	277,150	31	195,000	26	318,000	38	188,000	2,971
Arkansas	7	309,000	17	729,500	28	428,000	24	347,000	26	227,000	1,187
Alabama	16	295,000	48	2,038,752	46	607,000	34	498,500	21	190,000	3,683
Mississippi	11	445,000	36	1,053,000	39	394,000	37	571,700	31	790,500	3,067
Tennessee	40	712,000	103	1,597,015	81	714,000	98	1,705,500	68	620,500	5,426
Florida	7	250,000	6	142,440	15	115,000	11	158,200	4	46,000	956
Texas	15	393,000	28	467,482	31	577,000	52	1,221,000	36	417,000	3,695
Total Southern States	675	$25,982,000	1,112	$22,140,915	954	$13,080,000	943	$18,068,871	1,068	$28,578,257	70,968
Total United States	4,932	$291,750,000	4,225	$95,749,662	3,913	$64,394,000	3,676	$79,807,845	6,993	$207,210,427	243,205

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non-intercourse took place. The number of persons doing business is pretty accurately recorded by the mercantile agency of Dun & Co., whose agencies extend all over the Union. [In the foregoing table the failures in the Southern States (with the exception of the cities of Baltimore, Louisville, and St. Louis, the State of Delaware and District of Columbia, which embrace the entire year) are shown to 1st May only.]

The comparative aggregates show as follows:

Years.	No. Stores.	No. Failed.	Liabilities.
1857	204,061	4,932	$291,750,000
1858	...	4,225	95,749,662
1859	229,734	3,913	64,394,000
1860	...	3,676	79,807,845
1861	248,205	6,993	207,210,427

In the Southern States, the number of failures for the entire year of 1857 was 675, with an indebtedness of $25,932,000, while the partial returns for the year 1861 reveal 1,058 failures, with liabilities amounting to $28,578,257, although the returns from the seceded States embrace a period of only four months, or up to May 1st, when the regular facilities were interrupted. The unusual amount of failures in that section during these four months, is to be accounted for mainly on the ground that many were intentional, in order to evade obligations due at the North. Subsequent State action, annulling all Northern claims; the entire cessation of trade; and the impoverished condition of the South, led to the fear that the entire indebtedness of that section would be swallowed up in carrying on the war: involving a general mercantile bankruptcy there.

The amount of the mercantile indebtedness of the South to Northern merchants, by a very close examination of the books, confirmed by other sources of information, appears to be to the four cities of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, about $211,000,000, divided as follows:

New York	$159,800,000
Philadelphia	24,600,000
Baltimore	19,000,000
Boston	7,600,000

In the dry goods interest alone in these cities estimates show that New York loses $75,000,000; Philadelphia, $14,000,000; Baltimore, $6,500,000, and Boston $2,000,000; making a total indebtedness to the dry goods trade of $97,500,000. From this and other data, the total liabilities of the South to the Northern States are estimated at nearly $300,000,000.

The cutting off of such an amount of present means was a severe blow to Northern dealers, and it is matter of surprise that so few failures took place in proportion to the whole. The average liabilities of the Northern failed firms appear to have been about $30,000; if the liabilities of the whole number in business are as large, then the aggregate of Northern liabilities is $5,167,110,000, and it is quite probable that the sum of outstanding credits much exceeds this amount. In New York City, 980 firms failed, owing nearly $70,000 each, and there are 19,127 still in business that probably owe as much, which would give $1,338,890,000 of credits.

UNITED STATES REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE, FROM JAN. 1 TO DEC. 31, 1861.

Revenue.	1st Six Months.	3d Quarter.	4th Quarter.	Total.
Customs	$15,288,126 73	$7,198,602 55	$8,309,066 47	$30,795,795 75
Lands	258,602 68	35,967 03	39,658 46	334,228 17
Miscellaneous	425,904 57	318,095 86	172,316 22	915,716 65
Total orders	$15,972,033 98	$7,552,665 44	$8,521,041 15	$32,045,740 57
Three-years Bonds, 7 3-10		$50,125,885 57	$91,790,676 23	$141,916,062 10
Demand Notes		15,620,000 00	18,480,000 00	34,100,000 00
Treasury Notes, Act of March 2, 1861	$3,000,000 00	14,019,034 66		17,019,034 66
Sixty-days " " " "	5,000,000 00	12,577,750 00	18,000 00	17,596,850 00
Loan Act, February 8, 1861	16,000,000 00	55,257 50		16,055,257 50
Oregon War Loan		21,850 00	483,000 00	504,850 00
Treasury Notes, Act of February 8, 1861	9,309,009 74	3,500 00		9,312,509 74
Six per cent. Stock, Act of July 17			24,294,129 17	24,294,129 17
Total Loans	$33,309,009 74	$92,722,778 03	$135,066,405 40	$261,098,193 17
Total Means	$49,281,043 72	$100,275,443 47	$143,587,446 55	$293,143,933 74
Expenses.				
Civil List	$10,829,367 22	$6,140,774 05	$4,733,406 70	$21,703,547 97
Interior	1,924,858 77	1,124,825 92	469,162 80	3,518,842 49
War	15,282,929 51	58,345,125 68	84,663,389 32	158,241,044 51
Navy	7,964,819 04	9,799,303 33	9,779,238 44	27,543,360 81
Total	$35,951,969 54	$75,410,028 98	$99,645,197 26	$211,006,295 78
Interest	$2,172,927 21	$202,052 61	$3,738,726 36	$6,112,906 18
Treasury Notes, Dec. 1857	2,104,308 00	1,836,151 50	203,300 00	4,143,759 50
" " " 1860	6,900,000 00	400 00	429,000 00	7,329,400 00
" " Mar. 1861	2,756,042 95	10,541,100 00	12,480,050 00	25,757,192 95
Short Loan, July 17, 1861		10,350,000 00	28,500,050 00	38,750,050 00
Total paid for debt	$13,962,678 16	$22,829,704 11	$45,300,926 36	$82,093,308 63
Total expenses and debt	49,918,747 70	98,239,733 09	144,946,123 62	293,099,604 41

Note.—The payments here stated were as far as they were actually made. Very large amounts were, however, thrown ahead, to be met out of future means, and to come into next year's accounts.

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FLORIDA, although one of the smallest States in population, yet in consequence of its location it is one of the most important to the Union. Situated south of Georgia and Alabama, it extends as a peninsula a distance of 385 miles; and is bounded on the east by the waters of the Atlantic, and on the south and west by the Gulf of Mexico and a small portion of Alabama. Between her shores and Cuba is the gulf channel, which is strictly the mouth of the gulf and the outlet for its commerce. Florida was purchased of Spain by the United States in 1820. Vast appropriations have been made by the United States, for the security of commerce, by erecting establishments which fringe her borders. Her series of light-houses embrace Cape Canaveral, Jupiter, Cape Florida, Carysfort, Sombrero, Sand Key, Key West, Tortugas, and Loggerhead. Fort Taylor at Key West and Fort Jefferson at Tortugas, an island west of Key West, the first nearly done and quite capable of defence and the second more than half complete, have each cost about a million and a quarter. At Key West are a naval coal depot and wharf, the marine hospital, army barracks, admiralty courts, and an extensive wrecking organization.

The population of the State, in 1860, was 77,778 whites, 908 free colored, and 61,753 slaves; total, 140,239. The ratio of increase during the preceding ten years was for whites 6,477; free colored, 258; slave, 5,709. The Governor is elected for four years. The Senate consists of nineteen members, elected for four years, and the House of forty members, elected annually. The term of the Governor, John Milton, expires in 1865. The public men of the State were enlisted in the secession at its earliest period. Her Senators in Congress assembled, in secret caucus, with those from other States to devise the plan of action. Prompt measures were also taken by the State authorities to secure success. At an early day a State Convention was called to meet on the 5th of January, to which delegates were at once elected. The Convention assembled at Tallahassee on the day appointed. It consisted of sixty-seven members, one-third of whom were regarded as in favor of coöperation. On the 7th, a resolution declaring the right and duty of Florida to secede was passed—ayes, 62; noes, 5.

On the 10th the ordinance of secession was passed by a vote of 62 ayes to 7 noes. The following is the ordinance:

Whereas, All hope of preserving the Union upon terms consistent with the safety and honor of the slaveholding States, has been fully dissipated by the recent indications of the strength of the anti-slavery sentiment of the free States; therefore,

Be it enacted by the people of Florida, in convention assembled, That it is undoubtedly the right of the several States of the Union, at such time and for such cause as in the opinion of the people of such States, acting in their sovereign capacity, may be just and proper, to withdraw from the Union, and, in the opinion of this Convention, the existing causes are such as to compel Florida to proceed to exercise this right.

We, the people of the State of Florida, in Convention assembled, do solemnly ordain, publish, and declare that the State of Florida hereby withdraws herself from the Confederacy of States existing under the name of the United States of America, and from the existing Government of the said States; and that all political connection between her and the Government of said States ought to be, and the same is hereby totally annulled, and said Union of States dissolved; and the State of Florida is hereby declared a sovereign and independent nation; and that all ordinances heretofore adopted, in so far as they create or recognize said Union, are rescinded; and all laws, or parts of laws, in force in this State, in so far as they recognize or assent to said Union, be and they are hereby repealed.

The Convention, at a subsequent date, was addressed by the Commissioner from South Carolina, L. W. Spratt. In his address he admits that, if the Southern people had been left to consult their own interests in the matter, apart from the complications superinduced by the action of South Carolina, they would never have felt it their duty to initiate the movement in which, for reasons partly long conceived and partly fortuitous, she had now, as she thinks, succeeded in involving them.

The other acts of the Convention completed the work commenced by the ordinance of secession. Delegates were appointed to the Confederate Congress, with instructions to coöperate with those from other States in the formation of a Government independent of the United States. A session of the Legislature was held at the same time, in order to pass such measures as would give strength to the executive officers in their new position. An act authorizing the issue of $500,000 dollars in treasury notes and another staying the issue of executions upon the judgments in cases of civil contract were passed. Another act, to define treason, was adopted, which declared that, "on the event of any actual collision between the troops of the late Federal Union and those in the employ of the State of Florida, it should be the duty of the Governor of the State to make public proclamation of the fact, and thereafter the act of holding office under the Federal Government should be declared treason, and the person convicted should suffer death." This act was approved by the Governor on the 14th of February. On the next day the Legislature adjourned.

The forts and arsenals of the United States and the U. S. schooner Dana were seized, under instructions from the Governor, at the same time those in Alabama were occupied by the troops of that State. At the most important forts, as Pickens, Jefferson, and Taylor, there were such garrisons as were able to defend them. The investment of the former was immediately made by the troops from Florida, with reënforcements from Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. The navy yard and forts on the mainland at Pensacola were thus occupied, but Pickens defied all the efforts of the besiegers. The entire force furnished from the State to the service of the Confederate Government has been estimated at 10,000 men. Those in the service for twelve months and longer were much less in number.

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FORTS AND ARSENALS, MINTS AND LIGHT-HOUSES, IN THE SECEDED STATES. All the property of the United States in the seceding States was taken possession of by the State authorities either immediately before or soon after the passage of their ordinances of secession. In all cases, this property was transferred to the Confederate Government, when the State in which it was located became a member of the Confederacy. The position assumed was, that the forts had been constructed by the United States with the public money for the defence of each State, consequently when the State became independent, or joined another Union, she had a title to the property, arising out of her interest, above all other parties. This seizure was therefore justified by the State authorities on the ground of self-defence, and promises were offered to account for the property in a general and final settlement with the United States. This argument was extended to justify the seizure of mints, arsenals, custom-houses, post-offices, and hospitals. The property thus taken possession of, is of national magnitude, and would constitute a splendid outfit to a new Confederacy. It is not proposed to enter into details, any further than to describe the forts, arsenals, mints, custom-houses, and light-houses. Every village had its post-office, with its outfit; ships were lying at the navy yards, plantations of live oak were growing, and much other valuable property was scattered through States, which came into the possession of the Confederate States.

FORTS.

Fort Caswell was erected as one of the defences of the harbor of Smithville, North Carolina. It was erected at a cost of $571,221. The fort was under the charge of Brigadier-General Foster, captain of Engineers until the 16th of April, when it was taken possession of by a military company from Wilmington. The fort was generally in good repair. The shot furnaces required rebuilding A few guns of inferior calibre were on hand, without carriages. The fronts of the work bearing upon the entrance were deficient in gun circles.

Fort Johnston was seized at the same time. It is two miles from the mouth of Cape Fear River, and forms one of the defences of Smithville harbor.

Fort Macon, in the harbor of Beaufort, N. Carolina, was seized about the middle of April. It had been under the supervision of General Foster. Its construction cost $463,790. At the time of its seizure a few guns were mounted on weak carriages, the shot furnace required rebuilding, and the wood work, drawbridge, and embankment of the causeway needed repairs.

Fort Sumter. See SUMTER.

Fort Johnston was constructed for the defence of Charleston harbor, South Carolina. The barracks and quarters were in such bad order as to be almost uninhabitable. The position was occupied on the 2d of January by the State troops. A small battery of three guns was soon after built adjoining the barracks.

Fort Pinckney, in Charleston harbor, was seized by the State troops on the 27th of December. The Lieutenant in charge was suffered to leave with the workmen; but all the public property was taken possession of, including the mess property and one month's provisions for the engineer force. The armament of the fort was all mounted, except two or three guns on the barbette tier, and one 42-pounder in the casemate tier. The carriages were in good order and pretty good. The magazine was well furnished with implements, and contained some powder. The fort was generally in excellent condition. Its cost was $53,809.

Fort Moultrie.—The work of preparing this fort, which is situated in Charleston harbor, for a vigorous defence, commenced in August, 1860, and was diligently prosecuted up to the day of its evacuation, December 26th, 1860. In this time, the large accumulation of sand which overtopped the scarp wall on the sea front was removed to the front, and formed into a glacis; a wet ditch, fifteen feet wide, dug around the fort; two planking caponnieres of brick, built to flank with their fire the three water fronts; a bastionet for musketry constructed at the northwest angle; a picket fence built around the fort, bordering the ditch, and protected by a small glacis; merlons constructed on the whole of the east front; communications opened through the quarters; a bridge built connecting them with the guard-house; and the latter loop-holed for musketry, so as to serve for a citadel.

The fort is an enclosed water battery, having a front on the south or water side, of three hundred feet. It is built with salient and re-entering angles on all sides, and is admirably adapted, in its plan, for defence, either from the attack of a storming party, or by regular approaches. The outer and inner walls are of brick, capped with stone, and filled in with earth, making a solid wall about fifteen feet in thickness. The height of the wall from the bottom of the ditch to the top of the parapet is twenty feet. The commandant of the fort for many years was Colonel Gardner, but on the 18th of November, 1860, Major Robert Anderson, of Kentucky, was ordered to that post. His position on the 24th of December, is thus described by himself:

"When I inform you that our garrison consists of only sixty effective men, and that we are in a very indifferent work, the walls of which are only about fourteen feet high, and that we have, within one hundred and fifty yards of our walls, sand hills which command our work, and which afford admirable sites for batteries, and the finest covers for sharpshooters, and that beside this, there are numerous houses, some of them within pistol-shot, you will at once see that, if attacked in force, headed by any one but a simpleton, there is scarce a possibility of our being able to hold out long enough to enable our friends to come to our succor."

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Meanwhile, although strengthening his own position, he urged forward the completion of Fort Sumter, and the mounting its heavy ordnance. When it was done he resolved to abandon Moultrie and occupy Sumter—to leave the weaker and hold the stronger position.

The evacuation took place on the night of the 26th of December, commencing about eight o'clock. The men were ordered to hold themselves in readiness, with knapsacks packed, but up to the moment of their leaving had no idea of abandoning the post. They were reviewed on parade, and were then ordered to two schooners, lying in the vicinity, where they embarked, taking with them all the necessaries, stores, &c., requisite in their evacuation. Several trips were made, and a great part of the provisions and camp furniture were transported under cover of night. By daylight the entire force was within the walls of Sumter except Captain Foster and eight men. Before evacuating the fort, the guns were spiked, the gun carriages on the front, looking towards Fort Sumter, burnt, and the flag staff cut down. The instructions under which Major Anderson acted were the following:

"*Memorandum of Verbal Instructions to Major Anderson, First Artillery, Commanding Fort Moultrie, S. C.*

"You are aware of the great anxiety of the Secretary of War that a collision of the troops with the people of the State shall be avoided, and of his studied determination to pursue a course with reference to the military force and forts in this harbor which shall guard against such a collision. He has, therefore, carefully abstained from increasing the force at this point, or taking any measures which might add to the present excited state of the public mind, or which would throw any doubt on the confidence he feels that South Carolina will not attempt by violence to obtain possession of the public works, or interfere with their occupancy.

"But as the counsel and acts of rash and impulsive persons may possibly disappoint these expectations of the Government, he deems it proper that you should be prepared with instructions to meet so unhappy a contingency. He has, therefore, directed me, verbally, to give you such instructions:

"You are carefully to avoid every act which would needlessly tend to provoke aggression, and for that reason, you are not, without necessity, to take up any position which could be construed into the assumption of a hostile attitude; but you are to hold possession of the forts in the harbor, and if attacked, you are to defend yourself to the last extremity. The smallness of your force will not permit you, perhaps, to occupy more than one of the three forts, but an attack on, or an attempt to take possession of either of them, will be regarded as an act of hostility, and you may then put your command into either of them which you may deem most proper to increase its power of resistance. You are also authorized to take similar steps wherever you have tangible evidence of a design to proceed to a hostile act.

D. P. BUTLER,
"Asst. Adjutant-General.

"FORT MOULTRIE, S. C., *Dec.* 11, 1860."

"This is in conformity to my instructions to Major Buell.

"JOHN B. FLOYD, Secretary of War."

The fort was soon taken possession of by South Carolina troops. The manner in which it was done is thus described by an eye-witness:

"About seven o'clock the tramp of detachments from the artillery regiments was heard, and the Washington Artillery, the German Artillery, the Lafayette Artillery, and the Marion Artillery, making a total of two hundred and twenty-five men, rank and file, under command of Colonel Wilmot G. DeSaussure, were soon embarked on board the Nina and General Clinch, and steamed away down the harbor towards Sullivan's Island. Among those on board were Colonel Charles Alston, Aid to the Governor, and Captain Humphreys, of the arsenal. On reaching the island these two last-named gentlemen approached the gate, and the sentinel, in accordance, it is said, with orders, surrendered on demand. The troops then quietly took possession, and the Palmetto flag was soon waving over the time-honored fortifications. Three rockets (the signal agreed upon) were then sent up, to notify the people in the city that the fort was in the hands of the State, and the newly-installed garrison betook themselves, as best they might, to devising the ways and means of comfort and protection."

The labor of placing the fort in a condition for an attack on Sumter was soon commenced.

Under the direction of Major Ripley, with a black brigade of picks and shovels, breastworks were thrown up, and heavy guns mounted, to such an extent that the whole appearance of the fort was changed, and almost attained its utmost state of efficiency. Huge heaps of sandbags surmounted the ramparts, faced with palmetto logs and covered with hides, from the embrasures of which the grim dogs of war protruded their muzzles, nine of them levelled direct at Fort Sumter. What is conceived to be the weakest point in the granite mass had been selected as the mark at which all these cannon were pointed. The interior of the fort also presented a most warlike aspect. The oven for hot shot was in readiness, like a steam fire-engine, for firing up at any moment, and all the equipments for carnage piled up around the gun carriages. The magazine was buried in a cavern of sand bags, and was believed to be beyond the reach of shot or shell. Every arrangement was made not only for the protection of the men, but for receiving the balls of Sumter with the least possible damage.

When the attack was made upon Fort Sumter, her raking fire against Fort Moultrie was

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very destructive of property. An intelligent eye-witness of the scene immediately afterwards, described it by stating that, upon entering, "the eye falls upon the battered walls of the archway, with openings in some places large enough for windows. In other places may be seen the hanging splinters of the rafters, large pieces of ceiling seemingly about to drop, while the holes in the roof throw a clear light over the scene of destruction. All of the officers' quarters were battered with seven, eight, or ten balls, which penetrated the whole depth of the building. The western wall on the upper balcony was entirely shot away. The barracks were almost entirely destroyed. The furnace for heating hot shot was struck four times; the flag of the Confederate States received three shots and the Palmetto flag four. The merlons of sand-bags, &c., remain unbroken. On the outside walls over one hundred shots were counted. Even the beds and bedding in the officers' quarters and the men's barracks were cut and torn. Had it not been for the bomb-proof shelter the loss of life would no doubt have been appalling." Nearly twenty houses in the neighborhood of the fort, were injured by the fire from Sumter.

Fort Pulaski.—This fort is erected on Cockspur Island, at the mouth of the Savannah River in Georgia. It was named in honor of Count Pulaski, the distinguished Polish general who espoused the cause of American freedom in the Revolution. It effectually guards the main entrance to the river. All vessels of any size have to pass under its guns. Cockspur Island is separated from Tybee Island by a narrow curve of the sea. It is an irregular pentagon, with the base line or curtain face inland, and the other faces casemated and bearing upon the approaches. The curtain, which is simply crenellated, is covered by a redan, surrounded by a deep ditch, inside the parapet of which are granite platforms ready for the reception of guns. The parapet is thick, and the counterscarp is faced with solid masonry. Sand-bag traverses guard the magazine door, and every thing is in as good trim. The walls are exceedingly solid, and well-built of hard gray brick, upwards of six feet in thickness, the casemates and bombproofs being lofty and capacious. A full garrison of the fort is 650 men. The work is intended for 128 guns. They are long 32's, with a few 42's and columbiads. The 10-inch columbiads are *en barbette*. There are three furnaces for heating red-hot shot.

This fort was seized by order of Governor Brown on the 3d of January. At the time, this was stated to have been done to prevent its seizure by a spontaneous uprising of the people. Subsequently, however, the apprehensions which led to this seizure proved to be groundless. They were excited by fabulous telegraphic despatches sent from the city of Washington. At the time of its seizure there were sixty guns mounted. It cost the Government $988,859. Previously it had been in the care of two men, who were employed in keeping the grassed surfaces free from weeds and in taking care of the property.

Fort Jackson was seized by order of Governor Brown, together with Fort Pulaski. Its cost of construction was $182,000. It is so situated as to serve as one of the defences of Savannah River. At the time of its seizure, it was under the charge of a fort-keeper employed to keep the grassed surfaces free from weeds and to take care of the public property.

Fort Clinch, situated on Amelia Island, Florida, was in process of construction until the time of its seizure by the Confederates in January. There had been expended then upwards of $170,000. The north bastion was about completed, the curtain connecting it with the northwest bastion completed, and the other bastions and curtains connecting were in a very forward state. Amelia Island is on the northeast of Florida. The town of Fernandina is situated upon it. The harbor is one of the best below Chesapeake Bay.

Fort Marion was erected by the Spaniards more than one hundred years ago, for the defence of the town of St. Augustine, and was formerly called the Castle of St. Mark. This fort and also the arsenal were seized by troops of St. Augustine on the 7th of January, under an order from the Governor of the State. This was some days before information of the secession of the State was received. The troops immediately commenced to mount the 32's and the 8-inch howitzers. The United States had expended over $51,000 upon the works.

Fort Barancas, situated in Pensacola harbor opposite its entrance, was built by the Spaniards and captured from them by General Jackson. It is a circular work and remained in a desolate condition many years. Subsequently it was put in repairs by the United States, and seized by Confederate troops on the 12th of January, who immediately mounted upon it three 8-inch Paixhans, two 8-inch columbiads, eleven 32's, eight 24's, four 18's, and ten 12 pounders. A full complement of the fort is forty-nine guns.

Fort McRae, one of the defences of Pensacola harbor, was seized on the 12th of January. This fort is built on a low sand spit of the mainland, and appears at a distance to rise out of the water. It is further seaward than Fort Pickens, situated on the opposite side of the channel. A detachment of about twenty men took possession of it without opposition. It cost the United States $444,426.

Fort Morgan is at the entrance of Mobile harbor, which it effectually guards. It was seized on the 4th of January by Alabama troops, and garrisoned by them, under orders from the Governor of the State. Preparation had been made to repair the wharf at the fort, and the work had been commenced. This structure had cost the United States $1,242,552.

Fort Gaines is on Dauphin Island, up the en-

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trance to Mobile harbor. The work of construction was in active progress at the time of its seizure by Alabama troops. There had then been expended $221,500.

Fort on Ship Island.—It was visited by an armed body of men on the 13th of January, and by a second party on the same afternoon, who left some of their number on the island. On the 20th, a third armed body took forcible possession of the work, when it was in the following condition: Four embrasures from the northeast angle built up, ready for covering arches. All the other embrasures, except one, had the irons in place and leaded. The land front, mostly at the reference, (13′ 4″,) the concrete of the south half not being all in. It was subsequently recovered by the United States without material injury. It was designed to be one of the strongest forts on the Southern coast.

Fort St. Philip, situated on the Mississippi River, and one of the defences to New Orleans, was under the supervision of Major Beauregard. Operations were in progress to repair the damages occasioned to the levees by a storm, and to protect the river shore by a wooden revetment, when the fort was seized by State troops. This took place on the 10th of January. The orders given to the commander of the expedition from New Orleans were to demand the surrender of the forts; to take possession of them, haul down the United States flag floating there, and hoist the Pelican flag forthwith. He was further instructed to hold said forts and defend them to the last extremity. Cost $258,734.

Fort Jackson, likewise under the supervision of Major Beauregard, was another of the defences of New Orleans, and situated on the Mississippi River. Materials had been collected at this fort for the construction of the lower battery, which was prevented by its seizure on the 10th of January. The cost of this fort had been $837,608.

Fort Livingston, on Grand Terre Island, Barrataria Bay, was seized about the 10th of January by State troops of Louisiana. The cost of this fort had been $362,379.

Fort Brown, situated at Brownsville, on the Rio Grande, was evacuated on the 5th of March. The troops were taken on board the steamship Daniel Webster, which had been sent from New York to receive and bring them to that city. The fort was then occupied by Texas troops.

Fort Smith is a village in Sebastian County, Arkansas. It is on the right bank of the Arkansas River, 163 miles west-northwest of Little Rock, and on the western boundary of the State. The United States post located there was occupied by State troops on the 21st of April. The expedition under the command of Colonel Solon Borland, ordered by Governor Rector, consisted of five companies, well armed, drilled, and in uniform. They arrived at twelve o'clock on the night of the 20th. The United States officer stationed there, Captain Sturgis, left about an hour before the arrival of the State troops, taking with him twenty-three wagons and one hundred and sixty horses and mules. He crossed the plateau without arousing any suspicions of his purpose, and placed himself in safety beyond the reach of his pursuers. The fruits of the expedition to the State comprised 6,000 bushels of corn, 500 tons of hay, 100 mules, a number of wagons, a large quantity of quartermaster's stores, and the possession of the buildings of the fort, which were very fine—constituting a property worth about three hundred thousand dollars.

ARSENALS.

Augusta is the second city in population in Georgia. It is situated on the Savannah River, 231 miles from its mouth, and at the head of navigation. An arsenal of the United States was established here which the State authorities determined to seize. On the 24th January seven hundred State troops assembled in the city for the purpose. Governor Brown being present demanded of the officer in charge its surrender, on the ground that the retention of foreign troops upon the soil of Georgia was an act of hostility. The commander of the arsenal, seeing that resistance was vain, capitulated. The contents of the arsenal were a fine battery of two 12-pound howitzers, two cannon about twenty thousand muskets and rifles, many of them of the best kind, and also large stores of powder, balls, &c.

Baton Rouge Arsenal.—The United States arsenal located at Baton Rouge, in Louisiana, was ordered to be seized by Governor Moore on the 8th of January. The military force from New Orleans was taken on the steamboat National, and arrived at Baton Rouge on the evening of the 10th. A demonstration of attack had been made on that day by the military of Baton Rouge, in consequence of there being no evidence of a disposition to surrender the arsenal by Major Haskins, who was in charge. There were three hundred of these troops under arms throughout the day, under command of Colonel Walton. It was determined to attack the post at twelve o'clock on the 11th, unless the garrison should decide to capitulate. Eight men were under arms in the arsenal. The next day, however, a surrender was made and the New Orleans troops took possession. On an examination of the arsenal there were found fifty thousand stand of small-arms, four howitzers, twenty heavy pieces of ordnance, one battery of six and another of twelve-pounders, three hundred barrels of powder, and a large amount of fixed ammunition, cannon balls, shells, military equipments, &c.

Charleston.—The arsenal located at Charleston was in charge of a few officers of the United States, sufficient to look after its safety in the most peaceful times. Soon after the excitement connected with the secession movement in the State began, a small body of militia were placed there as a guard, ostensibly to prevent

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any injury from an excited population. But when Major Anderson removed his small force from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, and Castle Pinckney and Fort Moultrie were occupied by State troops, this guard at the arsenal likewise took possession of it in the name of the State. The United States officers hitherto in command were of course respectfully relieved by them. The arsenal contained at the time seventy thousand stand of arms and other military stores, which were estimated in value at half a million of dollars. At the same time, the captain of the revenue cutter, Wm. Aiken, transferred the vessel to the State authorities.

Fayetteville.—The arsenal at Fayetteville, North Carolina, was surrendered on the 22d of April. A force of about eight hundred marched to attack it, although there were less than sixty men there for its defence. After the surrender thirty-five thousand stand of arms, seven thousand of which were of the very best kind, were found, besides considerable quantities of cannon, ball, powder, &c.

Little Rock, the capital of the State of Arkansas, is situated on the right or southern bank of the Arkansas River, three hundred miles from its mouth and one hundred and fifty miles west of Memphis, on the Mississippi. The United States arsenal located here was seized by the State forces on the 5th of February. A small body of troops from Helena came to Little Rock determined upon its capture, and requested the Government to assume the responsibility of the movement. Accordingly a demand was made, and after negotiation and some delay a surrender took place.

Mt. Vernon Arsenal.—It is located forty-five miles above Mobile, and was seized on the 4th of January, by order of Governor Moore of Alabama. It contained at the time of seizure twenty thousand stand of arms, and fifteen hundred barrels of powder.

There were also small arsenals at Appalachicola and St. Augustine in Florida.

Ordnance Depot at San Antonio, Texas, was the name given to certain public buildings belonging to the United States at that place. These were given up with their contents to the State of Texas by General Twiggs. The following is a list of the property:

1,800 mules, valued at $50 each,	$90,000
500 wagons, " $140 "	70,000
950 horses, " $150 "	142,500
500 harnesses, " $50 "	25,000
Tools, wagon materials, iron nails, horse and mule shoes,	250,000
Corn,	7,000
Clothing,	150,000
Commissary stores,	75,000
Ordnance stores,	400,000
Total,	$1,200,500

exclusive of the public buildings. The property was estimated to be worth to the State of Texas one and a half millions of dollars.

General Twiggs, a veteran officer of the army, and a native of the State of Georgia, was in command of the Department of Texas, at the time of the adoption of the secession ordinance by the convention of that State. The military force under his command was sufficient, with the coöperation of the friends of the Union in the State, to have controlled the State. Instead of taking this loyal course, he ordered every thing to be surrendered to the State authorities. Some of the officers under his command refused to obey, and were withdrawn with their men by the Federal Government. An order was also issued from the War Department dismissing General Twiggs, as follows:

"WAR DEPARTMENT, *March* 1, 1861.

"By the direction of the President of the United States, it is ordered that Brigadier-General David E. Twiggs be, and is hereby, dismissed from the army of the United States for his treachery to the flag of his country, in having surrendered on the 18th of February, 1861, on the demand of the authorities of Texas, the military posts and other property of the United States in his department and under his charge.

"J. HOLT, Secretary of War.

"By order of the Secretary of War:

"S. COOPER, Adjutant-General."

Navy Yard at Norfolk. See NORFOLK.
Navy Yard at Pensacola. See PENSACOLA.

MINTS.

Mint at New Orleans.—The amount of deposits received up to the 31st of January, 1861, was $1,243,449, of which the sum of $334,410,-77 was in gold, and $909,038 in silver. There was coined during the same period $244,000 in gold, and $809,000 in silver; silver bars, stamped value $16,818. Total coinage, $1,069,818. Subsequently to the 31st of January, the institution was taken possession of by the Confederate authorities of Louisiana. Its cost to the United States was $576,926.

Mint at Dahlonega, Georgia.—The deposits received up to the 28th of February, 1861, were $62,193; the coinage $60,946. It was then taken possession of by the Confederate authorities of Georgia. Its cost to the United States was $66,500.

Mint at Charlotte, North Carolina.—The deposits up to the 31st day of March, 1861, were $65,558; coinage, $70,580. The deposits were all in gold. Subsequently the institution was taken by the Confederate authorities of North Carolina. Its cost to the United States was $110,850.

The custom-houses, marine hospitals, post-offices, &c., at the following places were also occupied by the Confederate authorities on the secession of the respective States; in some instances the custom-house and post-office were in the same building.

CUSTOM-HOUSES.

Virginia—Norfolk, cost $228,505; Petersburg, cost $103,183; Richmond, cost $252,016.
North Corolina—Wilmington, cost $57,039.
South Carolina—Charleston, cost $2,068,570.

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Georgia—Savannah, cost $174,407.
Alabama—Mobile, cost $393,564.
Florida—Pensacola, cost $51,000.
Louisiana—New Orleans, cost $2,948,259.
Texas—Galveston, cost $114,359.
Tennessee—Knoxville, cost $231; Nashville, cost $20,284.

COURT HOUSES AND POST-OFFICES.

South Carolina—Columbia, $66.
North Carolina—Raleigh, cost $8,120.
Florida—Tallahassee, cost $84.
Tennessee—Memphis, cost $15,143.

MARINE HOSPITALS.

North Carolina—Wilmington, cost $43,897.
Alabama—Mobile, cost $54,540.
Florida—Pensacola, cost $3,052; St. Marks, cost $25,700.

Louisiana.—The Marine Hospital at New Orleans was in the United States barracks, as they were called. On the 14th of January, the Collector of the Port, Hatch, writes to Secretary Dix of the Treasury Department, that the barracks had been taken possession of by a company of Louisiana Infantry, in the name of the State, and he adds:—"I shall take steps to remove those invalids at an early day, if necessary, and with due respect to economy."

Secretary Dix sent by telegraph the following reply:

Apply to the Governor of Louisiana to revoke Captain Bradford's order. Remonstrate with the Governor against the inhumanity of turning the sick out of the hospital. If he refuses to interfere, have them removed under the care of the resident surgeon, and do all in your power to provide for their comfort.

On the next day, the 27th, he writes to the Collector denouncing this seizure in these emphatic terms:

I did not receive, until the 26th instant, yours of the 14th instant informing me that the United States barracks below the city of New Orleans, which have for several months been occupied as a Marine Hospital, have been taken possession of in the name of the State of Louisiana. I found enclosed a copy of the letter by Captain Bradford, of the First Louisiana Infantry, advising you that he had taken possession of the barracks, and that they would be required for the Louisiana troops now being enlisted, and requesting you to immediately remove those patients who are convalescent, and, as soon as, in the opinion of the resident surgeon, it may be practicable and humane, those also who are now confined to their beds. He also states that the barracks contained two hundred and sixteen invalids and convalescent patients.

Looking on this transaction as an outrage on the public authority, I have no comment to make; but I cannot believe that a proceeding so discordant with the character of the people of the United States, and so revolting to the civilization of the age, has had the sanction of the Governor of the State of Louisiana. I sent a telegraphic despatch to you yesterday, desiring you to remonstrate with him against the inhumanity of Captain Bradford's order, and to ask him to revoke it; but if he should decline to interfere, I instructed you in regard to the removal and treatment of the sick, and in that I trust that you will carry out my directions, not merely with economy, but with a careful regard to their helpless condition.

Subsequently on the same day, the Collector by telegraph said: "The Marine Hospital affair has been satisfactorily arranged. The barracks are retained."

Mississippi—Vicksburg, cost $67,525.
Arkansas—Napoleon, cost $59,250.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Louisiana—Boarding Station at Pass a l'Outre, cost $12,000; do. South West Pass, $3,500; Warehouses at Quarantine Station, New Orleans, cost $42,544.

The following are the light-houses of the United States which were seized by the authorities of the seceding States. The lights were immediately extinguished and not re-lighted during the year. In some instances they were partially or totally destroyed.

Name.	Location.	Light.	Distance Visible in Nautical Miles.	Height of Tower to Focal Plane.	Height of Light above Sea Level.	When Built.
VIRGINIA.						
Cape Henry	On south side of the main entrance to Chesapeake Bay.	Fixed.	17½	82	129	1791
Craney Island	On the west side of the channel, near the mouth of Elizabeth River.	"	13	59	51	1849
Naval Hospital	On wharf at Naval Hospital	"	6	..	..	1857
White Shoal	Below Sandy Point, on the lower end of the shoal, and on the starboard side of the main channel of the James River going up.	"	9	..	27	1854
Point of Shoals	On the point of shoals, about the centre of the curve of the James River forming Burwell's Bay, a little below Mulberry Island Point, and on the starboard side of the main channel going up.	"	9	..	27	1854
Deep Water Shoals	On the shoal, starboard side of channel going up James River, above Mulberry Island Point, and below Lyon's Creek.	"	9	..	27	1854
Jordan's Point	On the point, on the port side of the river going up James River.	"	10	85	85	1854
York Spit light-vessel	Off York Spit, York River, Chesapeake Bay	"	9	28	40	1855
New Point Comfort	On the north side of the entrance to Mobjack Bay, west side of Chesapeake Bay.	"	13	56	60	1804
Wolf Trap light-vessel	On the east side of the Wolf Trap Shoal, between the York and Rappahannock Rivers.	"	10	..	30	1821

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Name.	Location.	Light.	Distance Visible in Nautical Miles.	Height of Tower to Focal Plane.	Height of Light above Sea Level.	When Built.
Stingray Point	About one mile east of Stingray Point, south side of mouth of Rappahannock River, in six feet water.	Fixed.	7	36	36	1838
Windmill Point light-vessel	On the southeast point of the Windmill Point Shoals, N. side of the mouth of Rappahannock River.	"	10	..	34	1834
Bowler's Rock light-vessel	To guide clear of Bowler's Rock, Rappahannock River.	"	5	..	..	1835
NORTH CAROLINA.						
Body's Island	About 32 miles to the northward of Cape Hatteras light, and about 1½ to the south of an inlet.	Revolving.	15	86	90	1859
Cape Hatteras	About 2 miles north of the southern extremity of the point of the Cape.	Flashing.	20	140	150	1854
Cape Hatteras Beacon	One-fourth of a mile from the southern extremity of Cape Hatteras Point.	Fixed.	6	..	25	1857
Ocracoke	Near the entrance to Ocracoke Inlet, about 23½ nautical miles to the southward or westward of Cape Hatteras.	"	15	65	75	1828
Royal Shoal light-vessel	On southwest point of Royal Shoal, 9 miles from Ocracoke light, Pamlico Sound.	"	11	..	43	1826
N.W. point Royal Shoal	On the northwest point of Royal Shoal, in Pamlico Sound.	"	11	..	33	1857
Harbor Island light-vessel	On Harbor Island bar, between Pamlico and Core Sounds.	"	10	..	34	1836
Brant Island Shoal light-vessel	In southern part of Pamlico Sound	"	11	..	45	1851
Neuse River light-vessel	Off Marsh Point, at the mouth of Neuse River	"	11	..	38	1828
Pamlico Point	On south side of the entrance to Pamlico River	"	11	34	37	1828
Long Shoal light-vessel	Off east point of Long Shoal, Pamlico Sound	"	11	..	46	1825
Roanoke Marshes	On east side and about midway of the narrow channel connecting Pamlico and Croatan Sounds	"	11	..	33	1857
Croatan	Between Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds	"	10	..	37	1860
Wade's Point	On point of shoal, on the west side of Pasquotank River.	"	10	..	31	1855
Roanoke River light-vessel	Near the mouth of the river	"	11	..	41	1855
Cape Lookout	Near the extremity of the Cape	"	22	150	156	1859
Bogue Banks Beacon	At Fort Macon, Beaufort. Main light in rear, and beacon in front of fort.	"	10	..	50	1855
Federal Point	On the north side of the inlet, north entrance to Cape Fear River.	"	12	37	46	1816
Frying-Pan Shoals light-vessel	In 10 fathoms water, off the end of the Frying-Pan Shoals, off Cape Fear, one mile beyond the outer 18-foot shoal.	"	12	..	40	1854
Cape Fear	On Bald Head, near southern or main entrance to the Cape Fear River.	"	16	92	177	1818
Oak Island	On Oak Island, to the southward of the main channel of Cape Fear River.	"	9	20	37	1849
Price's Creek	On west bank of Cape Fear River, near Price's Creek, above Smithville.	"	9	16	25	1850
Horse-Shoe Shoal light-vessel	Placed to mark Horse-Shoe Shoal, between New Inlet and Price's Creek, Cape Fear River.	"	16	..	43	1851
Orton's Point	On the west bank of the Cape Fear River	"	9	22	25	1849
Campbell's Island	On the lower or southwest corner of Campbell's or Big Island, in the Cape Fear River.	"	9	22	25	1849
Upper Jetty Range	On the eastern side of Cape Fear River, 3 miles below Wilmington.	"	8	..	42	1855
SOUTH CAROLINA.						
Georgetown	On the south end of North Island, east side of the entrance to the Pedee River, and to the harbor of Georgetown, S. C.	"	14	82	85	1801
Fort Point	On Fort Point	"	..	36	34	1858
Cape Romain	On Raccoon Key, about six miles from the extremity of the shoals off the cape, and 10 miles southwest of the entrance to the Santee River, S. C.	Revolving.	23	150	150	1857
Bull's Bay	North end of Bull's Island, 25 miles northeast of Charleston, S. C.	Fixed.	11	..	35	1852
Rattlesnake Shoal light-vessel	Placed off Rattlesnake Shoal, and opposite north end of Sullivan's Island, in six fathoms water.	"	12	..	44	1854
Charleston	On Morris' Island, and on west side of ship channel into Charleston harbor, S. C.	"	20	110	183	1857
Beacon	In front of main light	"	10	..	50	1860
Sullivan's Island Beacon	On Sullivan's Island, Charleston, S. C.	"	10	..	45	1857
Fort Sumter	Charleston harbor	"	10	..	57	1855
Castle Pinckney	Charleston harbor	"	10	..	50	1855
Battery Beacon	On eastern end of Charleston battery	"	..	..	45	1857
Hunting Island	On the north point of Hunting Island, and west side of entrance to St. Helena Sound, S. C.	Revolving.	17	95	108	1859
Beacon		Fixed.	..	32	39	1859
Cambahee Bank light-vessel	Off the point of Cambahee Shoal, St. Helena Sound.	"	10	..	30	1858
GEORGIA.						
Calibogue Sound light-vessel	In Calibogue Sound	"	..	..	30	1855
Tybee	On northeast end of Tybee Island, and on south side of the entrance to Savannah River.	"	16	92	108	1736

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Name.	Location.	Light.	Distance Visible, in Nautical Miles.	Height of Tower to Focal Plane.	Height of Light above Sea Level.	When Built.
Tybee Beacon	At the point of Tybee Island	Fixed.	12	49	62	1823
Tybee Island Knoll light-vessel	Off the "Knoll," north of Tybee Island, in the Savannah River.	"	10	..	40	1848
Cockspur Island Beacon	On a knoll connected with the eastern end of Cockspur Island, in the Savannah River.	"	9	..	25	1849
Oyster Beds Beacon	On the oyster beds in Savannah River, to mark the south channel.	"	9	..	35	1856
Fig Island Beacon	On the east end of Fig Island, in the Savannah River.	"	9	21	26	1848
The Bay	At the east end of the "Bay," in the city of Savannah.	"	9	35	41	1858
Sapelo	On south end of Sapelo Island, north side of the entrance to Doboy Sound.	"	14	65	75	1820
Beacon		"	..	..	50	1857
Wolf Island Beacons	Near north end of Wolf Island, and south-southeast of Sapelo Island light.	"	9	25	25	1822
St. Simon's	On south end of St. Simon's Island, and the north side of the entrance to St. Simon's Sound.	"	14	75	80	1811
Little Cumberland Island	On the south side of the entrance to St. Andrew's Sound and the Satilla River.	"	14	53	70	1858
FLORIDA.						
Amelia Island	On the south side of the entrance to St. Mary's River, and north end of Amelia Island.	Revolving.	17	50	104	1838
Beacon	In front of main light; to range with channel	Fixed.	..	..	..	
North Beacons	On the north front of Amelia Island; to serve as a range for the channel.	"	11	55	..	1858
St. John's River	Near mouth of the St. John's River, and south side of the entrance to Jacksonville.	"	14	65	75	1859
Dame's Point light-boat	Off Dame's Point, in the St. John's River	"	5	..	..	1857
St. Augustine	On the north end of Anastasia Island, and south side of entrance to St. Augustine.	"	14	52	68	1823
Cape Canaveral	On northeast pitch of Cape Canaveral	Revolving.	14	55	65	1847
Jupiter Inlet	Between Jupiter Inlet and Gilbert's Bar, Florida Reefs.	Fixed.	20	94	146	1860
Cape Florida	On south point of Key Biscayne, off the southeast point of Florida.	"	18	95	100	1825
Egmont	On Egmont Key, entrance to Tampa Bay	"	12	40	45	1848
St. Mark's	On east side of the entrance to St. Mark's	"	14	..	75	1829
Dog Island	On the east side of the middle entrance to St. George's Sound.	Revolving.	13	44	48	1838
Cape St. George	On Cape St. George, about 2¼ miles to the eastward of the west pass to St. George's Sound.	Fixed.	15	70	77	1847
Cape San Blas	Near the south point of Cape San Blas	Revolving.	16	96	96	1847
Pensacola	Near Barancas, south side of Pensacola Bay	"	21	160	210	1824
Bar Beacon	Beacon and main light in range to cross the bar	Fixed.	4	..	..	1859
Fort McRae Beacons	Beacons in range to avoid Cayess Shoal	"	4	..	..	1859
Barancas Beacons	Beacons in range to avoid middle ground	"	4	..	..	1859
ALABAMA.						
Sand Island	On a low sand island, about 3 miles S.S.W. of Mobile Point.	"	19	150	152	1859
Beacon No. 1	On the south point of Sand Island, making a range with the lighthouse for crossing the outer bar, Mobile.	"	10	20	34	1854
Beacon No. 2	On the east point of Sand Island, Mobile	"	9	14	28	1854
Mobile Point	On Mobile Point, east side of the channel leading into Mobile Bay.	"	13	58	76	1821
Beacon No. 3		"	9	14	30	1854
Beacon No. 4		"	9	14	30	1854
Choctaw Point	On Choctaw Point, a little south of the city of Mobile.	"	11	48	45	1831
Choctaw Pass Beacons	In Choctaw Pass, Mobile Bay	"	3	..	35	1855
MISSISSIPPI AND LOUISIANA.						
Round Island	Off Pascagoula	"	12	45	51	1853
East Pascagoula River	At East Pascagoula	"	10	..	..	1854
Biloxi	At Biloxi, west of western entrance to Biloxi Bay	"	13	48	62	1845
Cat Island	On the western point of Cat Island, and to the eastward of the entrance to Lake Borgne.	"	12	84	99	1831
Pass Christian	On the main land, about 6½ miles northwest of Cat Island light.	"	12	80	43	1831
Merrill's Shell Bank	Between Cat Island, St. Joseph's, and Grand Island	"	11	..	45	1860
Pleasonton's Island	At the mouth of Pearl River, east entrance to Lake Pontchartrain.	"	13	50	66	1858
Proctorville Beacon	Near the fort at Proctorville, on Lake Borgne	"	10	38	39	1850
Bigolets	At the east entrance to Lake Pontchartrain	"	10	..	39	1855
Bon Fouca	Near the entrance to Bayou Bon Fouca	"	11	37	39	1848
Fort Pontchartrain	Near the eastern terminus of the railroad	"	10	29	35	1858
Bayou St. John	Five miles north of New Orleans	"	10	28	39	1858
New Canal	At the entrance of New Canal	"	10	28	32	1858
Tchefuncti River	Near Madisonville	"	11	34	38	1857

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Name.	Location.	Light.	Distance Visible in Nautical Miles.	Height of Tower to Focal Plane.	Height of Light above Sea Level.	When Built.
Pass Manchac	At the mouth of Pass Manchac, between Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain.	Fixed.	10	42	45	1837
Pass à l'Outre	On north side of entrance of Pass à l'Outre, on Middle Ground Island, Mississippi River.	"	15	69	77	1855
South Pass	On southwest side of Gordon's Island, near the entrance of the south pass of the Mississippi River.	Revolving.	13	54	60	1831
Head of the Passes	On Deer Island, at the junction of the southwest and northeast passes of the Mississippi River.	Fixed.	5	..	..	1852
Southwest Pass	On the west side, near the entrance to southwest pass of the Mississippi River.	"	15	68	70	1831
Timballer Bay	On Timballer Island, west side of entrance into the bay.	"	13	55	60	1856
Ship Shoal	On Ship Shoal, off Raccoon Point	Revolving.	16	125	110	1859
Southwest Reef	At the entrance of Atchafalaya Bay	Fixed.	12	40	49	1859
Shell Keys	On the south point of Marsh Island, one of the Shell Keys.	"	15	81	71	1859
Sabine Pass	On Brant Point, east side of entrance to the Sabine River.	"	16	75	85	1856
TEXAS.						
Bolivar Point	North side of entrance to Galveston Bay, Texas	"	16	89	100	1852
Beacon	On Bird Island, to range with Bolivar Point for running the bar.	"	6	..	..	1860
Pelican Spit	On Pelican Spit	"	6	..	..	1860
Galveston Range Beacons	In the city of Galveston	"	..	..	..	1856
Half-Moon Shoal	In Galveston Bay, between Pelican Island and Dollar Point.	"	10	..	85	1854
Red Fish Bar	To mark channel across Red Fish Bar, Galveston Bay.	"	10	..	85	1854
Clopper's Bar	To mark channel across Clopper's Bar, Galveston Bay.	"	10	..	85	1854
Matagorda	On the east end of Matagorda Island, entrance to Matagorda Bay, Texas.	Revolving.	16	79	96	1852
Saluria	On north side of the mouth of the Bayou Saluria, in Matagorda Bay.	Fixed.	6	32	33	1858
Half-Moon Reef	On the southern extremity of Half-Moon Reef, in Matagorda Bay.	"	6	40	35	1858
Swash	Opposite Alligator Head, Matagorda Bay	"	..	..	..	1858
Aransas Pass	On Low Island, inside of Aransas Pass	"	13	55	60	1855
Padre Island Beacon	On the north side of the entrance to Brazos Santiago, Texas.	"	10	..	35	1852
Point Isabel	At Point Isabel, Brazos Santiago, Texas	"	16	57	82	1852

FRANCE, a country of Western Europe, bounded on the northwest and west by the English Channel and the Bay of Biscay, on the northeast by Belgium and Rhenish Prussia, on the east by Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, on the south by the Mediterranean and Spain, the Pyrenees separating it from the latter. Its area, including its recent accessions of territory, is 213,241 square miles. Its population in 1861 was, in round numbers, 37,000,000. It is divided into 89 departments, each under the government of a prefect and a body of deputies from its communes. The Government of France is an empire; the emperor is not absolute, but shares the law-making power with a legislative body, composed of a Senate and a House of Deputies, the latter elected by the people. The emperor is Napoleon III., the second son of Louis Bonaparte and Hortense Beauharnais, the daughter of Josephine; elected president in 1850, he made himself emperor in Dec. 1852, and his assumption of the imperial power was ratified by popular suffrage soon after.

To a correct understanding of the condition of France, and the progress of events there in 1861, a brief statement of some of the occurrences of the previous year is necessary. There were at the commencement of the year five questions of policy which agitated the French people, all of them resulting from the measures of the Government adopted the preceding year. The first was the difficulties growing out of the cession of Savoy and Nice by Sardinia to France, as a compensation for the assistance which the latter had rendered the former in the Italian war of 1859. Against this cession Switzerland protested, from the apprehension that it would produce disturbances in her cantons adjacent; Prussia, from the fear that the plea of giving a natural boundary to France would be hereafter made the apology for a demand for her Rhenish provinces; and other States of Europe, from the belief that the balance of power would be disturbed. These protests had been met by the reply that the cession had been made by the Sardinian Government, and ratified by the Sardinian Chamber by a vote of 229 out of 285 members; that the people of both provinces were almost unanimously in favor of it, as was manifested by their suffrage of the 12th June, 1860; that the relations hitherto existing between Sardinia and Switzerland were by the terms of the treaty of cession to be maintained, and finally that the emperor had no intention of aggression upon any of the continental powers, and that he was himself deeply interested in the maintenance of the balance of power. A second question of importance was that of

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the occupation of Syria by the French troops, in order to suppress the insurrection and bloody massacres of the summer of 1860. The promptness with which France had made this movement, and the apparent cordiality with which it was regarded by Russia, and submitted to by the Ottoman Porte, had excited the jealousy of the English Government, which foresaw in this enterprise, undertaken, as the French Government pretested, solely from motives of humanity, and in the interest of a common Christianity against Moslem fanaticism, a purpose to exclude her from a participation in Turkish affairs, and a design to divide the tottering empire of Turkey with the czar. France pledged herself to the great powers to withdraw her troops from Syria in June, 1861, and did so; but not without making the attempt to establish a Government for Lebanon under the administration of a Christian prince, and protected by the European powers. This attempt proved unsuccessful. A third question of deep interest was the change in the relations between England and France, which had excited on the part of the former a feeling of uneasiness and distrust, which was not without serious consequences. The interview of Napoleon III. with the prince-regent of Prussia, and the kings of Bavaria and Hanover, at Baden, on the 15th June, 1860, partially but not fully dissipated the apprehensions with which the Germanic States had previously regarded the French Government; while the prodigious activity and preparations for war, which were manifest throughout France—preparations which the British Government regarded as only menacing them, and which imposed on them, as they believed, the necessity of equally extensive preparations for defence, increased the anxiety of the States of Central Europe. This disquietude was not diminished by the skilful diplomacy by which the French emperor, without being himself present, turned to his own account the meeting between the czar of Russia, the emperor of Austria, and the prince-regent of Prussia, securing the friendship and sympathy of the czar, and causing him to repel the advances of the Austrian and Prussian Governments; and though Napoleon III., in an autograph letter to Persigny, disclaimed most heartily any hostile intention towards Great Britain, it was long before the British Government seemed satisfied with his protestations.

Meantime a commercial treaty negotiated with Great Britain, mainly through the efforts of Lord Cowley and Mr. Cobden, in the autumn of 1860, and to take effect in June, 1861, was destined to change to a great extent the commercial relations of the two countries, and gave rise to great excitement throughout France, and to serious apprehensions in the minds of many of the manufacturers, in relation to its effect upon their business; apprehensions, however, which the result has proved futile. This treaty admitted a large portion of the manufactures of each country into the other, free of duty, and nearly all the remainder at a greatly reduced tariff. Among the results of this treaty, which was not finally ratified till Feb. 4, 1861, has been the resumption of a more cordial state of feeling between the two Governments.

But the most important and embarrassing of all the questions of the time, at the beginning of the year, were the relations of France with Italy, and the preservation of the temporal sovereignty of the pope. In 1860, Garibaldi had conquered, and through the instrumentality of Cavour, turned over to Victor Emanuel the kingdom of the Two Sicilies; Tuscany Parma, Modena, and the Emilian provinces, had annexed themselves to Sardinia; Napoleon III. had stationed his fleet at Gaeta to prevent the Sardinian Government from assailing the last stronghold of Francis II. from the sea, until events had proved the inability of the young monarch to maintain any portion of his ancient kingdom; Lamoriciere, hitherto a French general, had accepted service under the pope, and had, by passionate appeals to the faithful everywhere, succeeded in organizing an army in defence of the Papal Government, but had been defeated and routed in a battle with Cialdini, the Sardinian general, who had invaded the States of the Church. A papal bull, impersonal indeed, in form, but evidently aimed alike at the king of Sardinia and the French emperor, had been issued. The collection of Peter's pence, for the aid of the Papal Government, had been undertaken, in accordance with a rescript from the pope, throughout Catholic Christendom; and the French troops, which at the pope's request had left Rome when Lamoriciere had organized his army, were recalled at his urgent appeal, and now occupied the city; and all diplomatic relations between France and Sardinia had ceased. These events had excited the liveliest interest in France. There were in that country a variety of parties, of which that sustaining the Administration was perhaps the most numerous; but the clergy, a powerful body, and hitherto favorable to the Government, were nearly unanimous in defending the temporal sovereignty of the pope, and in their denunciation of the course of Victor Emanuel. The Bourbon and Orleans parties inclined in the same direction; while the liberals and the various shades of the Republican parties demanded that the Government should aid and complete the unity of the kingdom of Italy under the Sardinian king. The situation of the emperor was embarrassing; the clergy, and especially the higher clergy, grew daily more violent in their attacks upon the Government; the bishops issued charges and pastoral letters in their dioceses, accusing the emperor of infidelity, and emboldened by their impunity hurled their denunciations against him with constantly increasing bitterness. An anonymous pamphlet, published towards the end of February, 1861, which from many circumstances was supposed to have been inspired by the emperor, entitled, "*La France, Rome*

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et Italie," furnished occasion for still more violent denunciations of the Government by the bishops. Monseigneur Dupanloup, bishop of Orleans, and the bishops of Laval, Nismes, &c., distinguished themselves especially by their vituperative assaults upon the emperor: but boldest of all was Monseigneur Pie, bishop of Poitiers, who, in a published charge to his diocese, compared the emperor to Pontius Pilate, who suffered Christ to be put to death when it was in his power to save him, and thought to free himself from guilt by washing his hands. This insolent language was punished by the Council of State by a severe reprimand to the bishop. The pope himself had protested meanwhile against the pamphlet, and Cardinal Antonelli, his prime minister, replied to it in a despatch addressed to the Papal Nuncio at Paris. This action of the pope and the cardinal only inflamed the clergy to new attacks, and they at length became so abusive, that on the 11th April, 1861, the Minister of Justice addressed a circular to the prosecuting officers of the departments, in which he called their attention to the 201st and 204th articles of the penal code, which prohibited under severe penalties the criticism or censure of the Government by the ministers of religion, and directed them to prosecute all violations of the law. Against this circular the Archbishop of Tours protested as an invasion of the rights of the clergy. Another incident gave great umbrage to the higher clergy. Two ecclesiastical orders of foreign origin, the Redemptorist Fathers of Douay and the Capuchins of Hasbrouck, had established houses in France, and had been tolerated, though never legalized there. Charges were made against them of gross immorality, and substantiated by sufficient evidence, and the Government on this proof dissolved their organization and expelled the members from the country. The Archbishop of Cambray at once came to their defence, but was speedily silenced by the *Constitutionnel*, which brought sufficient proof of their malpractices, to demonstrate that they deserved a severer punishment than they received. While thus assailed by the clergy on the one hand and the radicals on the other, the emperor, with that tact which has characterized his whole career, on the 24th Nov. 1860, to the surprise of the nation, promulgated a decree greatly enlarging the liberty and scope of the legislative body, and according a greater freedom to the press. The legislative body was to have, within certain limitations, the right of amending the Government bills; it was to have the privilege of replying to the emperor's speech, and stating what measures it desired; its sessions were to be public, and freedom of debate allowed; and the Government measures were to be explained and advocated in open session by ministers without portfolio, who had a seat in the Legislature. The restrictions on the press were greatly modified, and all previous notices or warnings abrogated. It was under these circumstances that the session of the legislative body took place, on the 2d February, 1861. The Syrian, the Italian, and the Papal questions were fully and ably discussed, but the wise policy of the emperor had conciliated the liberals, and the clerical party were defeated in every attempt to censure the Government, in the wisdom and patriotism of which, a large majority expressed their hearty confidence. The English commercial treaty yielding too great concessions, it was thought, to that Government in respect to the fisheries, the Legislature demanded a modification of it in the interest of the national fisheries. The sliding scale of duties was also, at their instance, abrogated. A similar commercial treaty was concluded with Belgium on the 1st of March, and there were added to it three conventions upon navigation, postal arrangements, and guarantees of artistic and literary copyrights and patents. A copyright treaty was also concluded between France and Russia. A new topic of excitement was the defeat of the Prince Murat as Grand Master of the Masonic fraternity, in consequence of his advocacy of the temporal power of the pope, and the election, by a great majority, of his cousin Prince Napoleon who had opposed it. This event caused so many meetings and such intense agitation throughout France, that the Government deemed it necessary to interdict temporarily their assembling, and to cause another election for Grand Master to be held in October.

On the 24th of June, the *Moniteur* (the official gazette) published a decree of the emperor, recognizing Victor Emanuel II., King of Sardinia, as "King of Italy;" and during the same month diplomatic relations between the two courts were reëstablished.

The elections of June, for members of the legislative corps, which, in accordance with the decree of Nov. 1860, had been conducted with much less restraint on the voters than previously, resulted in the success of the liberal party, by a small majority. In Paris, M. Jules Favre, a representative man among the liberal or republican party, who, as an advocate, had distinguished himself by defending those charged with political offences, and was regarded as the ablest opponent of the Government, was chosen a member of the Chamber of Deputies from Paris.

The blockade proclaimed by the U. S. Government, and the privateering proclamations of Mr. Jefferson Davis, had excited great interest and attention in France; and the French Government, on the 10th of June, announced its intention of regarding the seceded States as a belligerent power, and of maintaining strict neutrality between the two contending powers, following in these particulars, the course adopted by England. (*See* PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.)

The stupendous defalcation of M. Mires, the Treasurer of the Department of Railroads, his arrest and the charges of complicity in his offence openly made against prominent members

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of the Government, produced a great excitement throughout France during the summer months. M. Mires was tried and sentenced to a long imprisonment and mulcted in a ruinous money penalty, but appealed his cause to a higher tribunal, and on a decision against him by that court, has again appealed to the court of last resort.

The loss of the usual export trade to the United States, which amounted ordinarily to from forty to fifty millions of dollars, and the consequent dulness in the manufacturing interests, the suffering of the working classes for want of employment, the high rate of discount maintained by the Bank of France, and above all the certainty in August and September of an alarming deficit in the crops, combined to produce in the early autumn a condition of depression and restlessness, which occasioned much apprehension on the part of the Government. It was ascertained that the deficit in the grain crops amounted to over eighty millions of bushels, and the reserve of specie in the Bank of France had, in spite of the high rate of discount, fallen much below its usual amount.

The emperor saw that some measures must be taken to improve the condition of the finances, and to restore the confidence of the mercantile and manufacturing classes, which was greatly shaken in the Government. In September, as was generally believed, at the instance of the empress, M. Fould, the ablest financier in the cabinet, had been offered a different portfolio, and had in consequence resigned. The emperor now proposed to recall him to the department of finance. M. Fould would not consent except upon condition of stating beforehand to the emperor, in a carefully drawn paper, the reforms in finance which he deemed indispensable, and receiving the imperial guarantee that they should be undertaken. The emperor consented to his terms. The finances of the country had been severely deranged from the fact, that while the "budget," or estimate of expenses and receipts for each year, was reported to and acted upon by the legislative body, the emperor retained the power, and almost invariably exercised it, of opening supplementary credits, often of very large sums, during the period when they were not in session, and thus a floating debt of large amount was constantly incurred, and the estimates for taxes and other revenue measures seriously disturbed. Thus, if the emperor deemed it desirable to increase the army or navy, to place himself in a hostile position to another nation, to grant a subsidy to another power, or to engage in any great enterprise at home or abroad, a supplementary credit was opened to furnish the means for such expenditure.

The power of thus increasing at will the national expenditure, M. Fould proposed that the emperor should relinquish; that henceforth the legislative body should have the sole right to fix the amount of Government expenditure, and that the emperor should confine himself to this; that in case of any great emergency requiring increased resources, an extra session of the legislative body should be called. This measure, he argued, would restore confidence to the tax-payers and order to the finances, and would at the same time prove the most effectual guarantee of the pacific intentions of the emperor towards adjacent nations.

To the credit of Napoleon III., it should be recorded that he consented promptly and gracefully to this material abridgment of his prerogative, and yielding to a body elected by the people the control of the national expenditure, surrendered one of the two great elements of absolute monarchy, the power of the purse.

The capture of Mason and Slidell by the San Jacinto, occurring almost immediately after the accession of M. Fould to the cabinet, threatened for a time to thwart his plans of financial reform, as in the event of war between England and the United States which seemed imminent, the effective force of the army which had risen during the year from 392,000 to 467,000, and the naval force which had been similarly increased, could not, it was thought, be materially diminished; but the intelligence of the peaceful solution of the difficulty removed this obstacle. The course pursued by the emperor towards the United States on this occasion was eminently dignified and conciliatory; the French Government did not, in any event, propose to unite with Great Britain in a war against the United States, but made a courteous expression of their view of the question to the U. S. Government, indicating their partial concurrence in the position taken by Great Britain, though from other motives, and such as accorded with the past policy of France. The correspondence which took place between the two Governments is given under the title of DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE.

Among the other events of importance in the history of France in 1861, was the Mexican expedition, in which she united with England and Spain. This was projected in June, and the object was ostensibly the securing of substantial guarantees for the payment of the large amount of indebtedness due the three countries from Mexico; but it was supposed that measures of State policy, and possibly the providing a throne for one of the Austrian princes, had a place in the views of the allies. The expedition sailed in September, and France reënforced her portion of the troops in December. (*See* MEXICO.)

In the latter part of October, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul (an organization at first of a strictly charitable and praiseworthy character, founded by the Abbé Ozanam, in 1833, but within the past two years perverted into a society for the promotion by questionable measures of the designs of the clergy against the Government) was suppressed. Its suppression occasioned for the time considerable excitement, which, however, speedily subsided.

The Italian question continued to agitate the public mind, and the French occupation of

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Rome was strongly denounced by the liberals. Signor Ratazzi, the Italian premier, visited Paris, and had an interview with the emperor, but without any apparent result. It was believed that the emperor was favorable at heart to the wishes of the Italian king, but the pope was impracticable, and the resort to compulsory measures to induce him to relinquish his temporal sovereignty, would have evoked a storm among the Catholic powers, which the emperor was desirous of avoiding.

In December, M. Ernest Renan, a young but distinguished savant, of Jewish extraction, was appointed to a theological chair in the University, much to the joy of the students, but to the displeasure of the Roman Catholic party. M. Renan's opening lecture was very able and eloquent, but not at all in accordance with the views of the Catholic Church; and the clergy obtained an order prohibiting him from giving further instruction. This prohibition led to an excitement and riot on the part of the students of the Quartier Latin, and as a large part of those who participated in the riot were radicals and already *suspect*, (*i. e.*, on the police lists as of doubtful loyalty,) some hundreds were arrested and committed to prison. The excitement was kept up for some weeks and arrests continued to be made; but eventually the greater part of those who had been arrested were discharged.

FRANCIS, JOHN WAKEFIELD, M. D., LL. D., an American physician and author, born in the city of New York, Nov. 17, 1789, died in the same city Feb. 8, 1861. His father was a German, who emigrated to this country soon after the close of the revolutionary war, and his mother, though a native of Philadelphia, was of Swiss extraction. He was apprenticed to the printer's profession while a lad, but subsequently prepared for college, under eminent teachers, and entered Columbia College in advance, in 1807, and soon after commenced the study of medicine in the office of Dr. Hosack. He graduated as A. B. in 1809 and M. D. in 1811, at the College of Physicians and Surgeons. Soon after taking his medical degree, Dr. Hosack offered him a partnership, which he accepted, and which extended to literary as well as professional pursuits, and continued till 1820. He had, indeed, in 1810, been associated with his then preceptor in editing the "American Medical and Philosophical Register," which was continued for four years.

In 1813, when but twenty-four years of age, he was appointed lecturer in the Institute of Medicine and Materia Medica at the College of Physicians and Surgeons; and, when soon after the medical faculty of Columbia College was consolidated with that institution, he was appointed professor of materia medica in the united body. After delivering one course of lectures without fees, from the fear lest the increased expense of the new establishment should deter some from taking lectures, he sailed for Europe to perfect himself in the knowledge requisite for his professorship, and to become familiar with any new features in the medical instruction of the schools abroad. While in Europe he formed the acquaintance of the most eminent physicians and literary men of the time. On his return he entered again upon his duties as professor, first of the institutes of medicine, afterwards of medical jurisprudence, then of obstetrics, and finally of forensic medicine, and filled these professorships with great ability in the united Medical College till 1826, and then for four years more in the Rutgers Medical College. During all this period, with the added cares of a large medical practice, he never relaxed his interest in literature or the fine arts. He was a ready and eloquent writer, and while he performed a large amount of literary labor in connection with his profession, he contributed freely by his writings to the cultivation of a taste for general literature and the fine arts. In 1830 he relinquished his post as professor, and devoted his attention to his practice and to literary pursuits, and to the promotion of those public charities so congenial to his kindly and generous nature. The New York Historical Society was an especial favorite with him, and the New York Lyceum of Natural History hardly less so. His early connection with the typographic art led him to affiliate himself with the Typographical Society, of which he was till his death a valued member. In the promotion of the fine arts he was especially interested, and the young painter or sculptor always found in him a genial and warm-hearted friend, to whom he could confide his trials and difficulties with the certainty of receiving hearty sympathy. The Woman's Asylum and the Inebriate Asylum both secured his services as their president, and both were the recipients of large-handed charity and earnest labor from him. The early period at which he entered upon public life, his clear and tenacious memory, and his great conversational powers made him always a welcome guest at every public entertainment, and his historical reminiscences of New York, at the beginning of the present century, were always deeply interesting. He had published seven or eight medical treatises, besides numerous essays in the medical periodicals, biographical sketches of great numbers of eminent men of the last half century with whom he had been intimate; addresses, almost without number, before the Historical, Horticultural, Typographical, and other societies, Bellevue Hospital, the Lyceum of Natural History, and New York Academy of Medicine; and several historical and biographical monographs, mostly on the men and times of old New York. He was the first president of the New York Academy of Medicine after its organization in 1847, and was elected an associate of numerous medical and scientific associations abroad as well as in this country. Perhaps no man in the city of New York was more universally popular with its citizens. At his funeral the concourse which gathered to do

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him the last sad honors was such as has seldom been witnessed.

FREDERICK WILLIAM IV., late King of Prussia, born at Pottsdam, Prussia, Oct. 15, 1795, succeeded his father Frederick William III. on the 7th June, 1840, died Jan. 1, 1861. He received a careful and thorough education under the instruction of some of the most eminent scholars of the time, being taught military science by Scharnhorst and Knesebeck; philosophy and letters by J. F. C. Delbrück and Ancillon; public and national law by Savigny; and the principles of the fine arts by Schinkel and Rauch. In the campaigns of 1813 and 1814 he was present at most of the great battles; and on coming of age was admitted into the Council of State. Not long after he was appointed military governor of Pomerania. On ascending the throne he repaired many of the injuries which his father's rigorous system had inflicted upon the people; proclaimed an amnesty for political offences, and recalled a large number of eminent scholars and professors who had been exiled or displaced for political reasons. The University of Berlin was greatly improved by his efforts; and he determined to make his capital the literary and scientific centre of Europe. His fostering care was never withheld from the University, and no man who had attained eminence in science elsewhere failed to receive the offer of a professorship or official appointment there. His father had presented a constitution to his people, but had delayed to grant it, and Frederick William IV. long refused to fulfil the promise, while at the same time he was willing to grant a considerable degree of freedom to his people. The revolution of 1848 induced him to grant a constitution, but after his terror was over he wished to revoke it. From that period his course seemed constantly to become more vacillating and insincere, and he lost the good opinion of the adjacent nations by his manifestation of these traits of character. In the Crimean war he temporized and made pledges to both parties, which lost him the confidence of each, and at the Congress of 1856, Prussia was only admitted as a member at the earnest solicitation of Napoleon III. His course in relation to the Duchy of Schleswig Holstein, was also marked by the same vacillating spirit; after encouraging the Holsteiners to commence the war with Denmark, by the promise of the assistance of Prussia, he abandoned them to their fate. He reorganized the Lutheran Church of Prussia, giving it the name of the "Reformed Church," and though not intolerant to other forms of faith, he was a great stickler for uniformity. In 1857 he was attacked with apoplexy, and though he recovered so far as to enjoy tolerable health of body, his mind was permanently impaired, and his brother, the Prince of Prussia, was appointed Regent of the Kingdom.

FREDERICKTOWN, a small town of southeast Missouri, the capital of Madison Co. Near this place, on the 21st October, the Confederate troops under Gen. Jeff. Thompson and Col. Lowe, from 3,500 to 4,000 in number, were attacked by a Federal force, consisting of the Seventeenth, Twentieth, Twenty-first, and Thirty-third Illinois and Eleventh Missouri regiments, six companies of the First Indiana Cavalry, and one section of Schofield's battery, the whole under the command of Col. J. B. Plummer, of the Eleventh Missouri, and numbering about 3,000 men. An engagement followed, which continued two hours and a half, when the Confederate troops were routed along their whole line and fled in disorder, seeking protection in the woods. They were pursued 22 miles. Their loss was very heavy, Col. Lowe was slain and about 170 of their killed left on the field were buried by the Federal soldiers. Col. Plummer captured 80 prisoners, of whom 38 were wounded. He also took one 42-pounder and a considerable quantity of small-arms. The Federal loss was six killed, (among them Major Gavitt and Capt. Highman, of the First Indiana Cavalry,) and 60 wounded.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS. A weekly newspaper, called the "Democratic Standard," published at Concord, New Hampshire, was attacked by a mob of soldiers on the 8th of August, and the office completely stripped of its contents. The soldiers belonged to the First Regiment of returned volunteers. An article was published in the paper which reflected upon them. A retraction was demanded, and refused defiantly.

On the 12th of August, the office of the "Democrat," a weekly newspaper, published at Bangor, Maine, was completely cleared by a crowd of people. No one was injured. The objections against the print by the people were that its views favored the Confederate States.

On the 14th of August, Gen. Fremont declared martial law in St. Louis, and appointed Major J. McKinstry provost-marshal. On the next day the marshal suppressed the publication of the "War Bulletin," and the "Missourian," two newspapers published in that city, which had been, as it was charged, "shamelessly devoted to the publication of transparently false statements respecting military movements in Missouri."

On the 24th of August, the editor of the St. Louis "Christian Advocate" addressed a letter to Marshal McKinstry, stating that he had been informed suggestions were made to him to suppress the publication of the "Advocate," &c.

To this, on the next day, the marshal replied: "In reference to the course of the St. Louis 'Christian Advocate,' permit me to say that in my judgment, in these times of political excitement, and heated discussion, and civil war, it would be more becoming, as well as more consistent, that a public newspaper, belonging to and advocating the doctrines and principles of the Church of Christ, should abstain from publishing articles of a political character, calculated to inflame the passions of

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men, and evidently hostile to the Government of the country.

"Let your journal be a religious paper, as it professes to be, and it will never come under the discipline of this department."

On the 20th of August, the office of the "Sentinel," a weekly paper, published at Easton, Pa., was destroyed. The alleged motive was stated to be, that this paper had printed a series of resolutions, passed at a democratic county convention, which were regarded as not truly loyal.

On the same night, Ambrose S. Kimball, editor of the "Essex County Democrat," published once a week, at Haverhill, Mass., was violently taken from his house by an excited crowd, and refusing to give such information as was demanded of him, "he was covered with a coat of tar and feathers, and ridden on a rail through the town." He subsequently was made to take an oath that he would "never again write or publish articles against the North and in favor of secession."

About the same time the printing office of the "Jeffersonian," a weekly paper, published at Westchester, Pa., was destroyed.

On the 16th day of August, the Grand Jury, impanelled for the Circuit Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York, brought into court the following document, asking if certain newspapers could be indicted.

NEW YORK, *August* 16, 1861.

The Grand Inquest of the United States of America for the Southern District of New York, beg leave to present the following facts to the Court, and ask its advice thereon:

There are certain newspapers within this district which are in the frequent practice of encouraging the rebels now in arms against the Federal Government by expressing sympathy and agreement with them, the duty of acceding to their demands, and dissatisfaction with the employment of force to overcome them. These papers are the New York daily and weekly "Journal of Commerce," the daily and weekly "News," the daily and weekly "Day Book," the "Freeman's Journal," all published in the city of New York, and the daily and weekly "Eagle," published in the city of Brooklyn. The first-named of these has just published a list of newspapers in the Free States opposed to what it calls "the present unholy war"—a war in defence of our country and its institutions, and our most sacred rights, and carried on solely for the restoration of the authority of the Government.

The Grand Jury are aware that free governments allow liberty of speech and of the press to their utmost limit, but there is, nevertheless, a limit. If a person in a fortress or an army were to preach to the soldiers submission to the enemy, he would be treated as an offender. Would he be more culpable than the citizen who, in the midst of the most formidable conspiracy and rebellion, tells the conspirators and rebels that they are right, encourages them to persevere in resistance, and condemns the effort of loyal citizens to overcome and punish them as an "unholy war?" If the utterance of such language in the streets or through the press is not a crime, then there is a great defect in our laws, or they were not made for such an emergency.

The conduct of these disloyal presses is, of course, condemned and abhorred by all loyal men; but the Grand Jury will be glad to learn from the Court that it is also subject to indictment and condign punishment.

All which is respectfully presented.

CHARLES GOULD, Foreman.

It is a singular instance of the excitement of the public mind that this document, which simply asks the judge if the press could be indicted, was universally regarded as an indictment.

The clear charge made by Judge Betts to this jury when they were impanelled, placed the question beyond all doubt; and the wording of the document brought in, shows clearly that the jury so understood it. The Judge turned the matter over to the October term, when it was dismissed. The resulting excitement was very great, and on the 22d of August, six days after, Marshal Milward of Philadelphia seized the papers sent from certain New York offices, named in the paper of the Grand Jury, for circulation to their subscribers; on the same day the following order was issued:

POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT, *August* 22, 1861.

SIR: The Postmaster-General directs that from and after your receipt of this letter none of the newspapers published in New York city, "which were lately presented by the Grand Jury" as dangerous for their disloyalty, shall be forwarded in the mails. I am respectfully, your obedient servant,

T. P. TROTT, Chief Clerk.

To Postmaster New York City.

Thus the authorities at Washington regarded the action of the Grand Jury as a presentment, and incurred the severe penalties of the post-office laws by excluding the newspapers indicated from the mails.

In consequence of these measures the "Journal of Commerce" changed its editors, and was allowed to circulate through the mails. The publication of the "News" and "Daybook" was stopped, and the "Freeman's Journal" changed its name.

On the 22d of September the Grand Jury of the United States District Court at Trenton, N. Jersey, brought into Court the following presentment:

The Grand Jury came into the United States Court on the 22d, and made a lengthy presentment that complaints have been made before this Grand Inquest concerning certain newspapers published in this State, and copies of the following papers, issued during the last few months, have been submitted and carefully examined; namely, the Newark "Evening Journal," the Warren "Journal," the Hunterdon "Democrat," the New Brunswick "Times" and Plainfield "Gazette;" that during the most critical period, while the capital of the nation has been besieged by armed insurgents; while eleven States in actual rebellion, having been striving by invasion and treachery to plunge other States still remaining loyal into open opposition to the National Government, these newspapers have been, up to within a very recent period, persistently denouncing and libelling those to whom this great duty of national defence is necessarily intrusted, in thwarting their efforts for self-preservation, and fomenting rebellion by discouraging and opposing the only means by which it can be put down. While they cherish a due regard for freedom of speech, they feel it their duty to repudiate and denounce the conduct of those journals; that while the press may freely criticize public men and measure in the peaceful contests of party, yet in a war for the life of a nation the press, as well as individuals, should uphold the existing Government, or be treated as its enemies. They consider their duty freely discharged in reference to these newspapers by this presentment, leaving them to the wholesome action

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of public opinion. They recommend all loyal citizens, all public officers, all municipal corporations, rigorously to withhold all patronage from such newspapers as do not hereafter give their unqualified support to the National Government.

The jurors were then discharged for the term.

Later in the year the "Franklin Gazette," published in Franklin County, New York, was suppressed, and its editor sent to Fort Lafayette, as a State prisoner.

The "Herald," a daily paper, published at Cleveland, Ohio, defended Gen. Fremont from the reports circulating for a time against him, and espoused his cause with earnestness. The packages of this paper were ordered to be taken away from the cars of one of the railroads in the State of Ohio. As they were express packages, the threat was made, that unless they were removed, no express packages should be allowed to go over the road. This threat caused the newspaper packages to be removed. The editor then made a complaint to the president of the road, who had recently been elected Governor of the State of Ohio. The answer was in these words: "That the course of the 'Herald' for the past few weeks has been highly destructive to the best interests of our Government, there can be no question, and so long as its proprietors see proper to continue the same line of policy, I hope the superintendent (who, since my election, has been entrusted with the entire management of the road) will use all legitimate means in his power to suppress its circulation."

G

GALVESTON has been the most populous and commercial city of Texas. It is situated on an island at the mouth of a bay of its own name, about 450 miles west by south of New Orleans, and 230 miles southeast of Austin City. The island which separates the bay from the Gulf of Mexico is about thirty miles long, from east to west, and about a mile and a half wide. The distance from the island across the bay by the railroad bridge to the mainland is about two miles. For the defence of the city during the year guns were placed at the east end of the island, at Bolivar Point, and at Pelican Spit Island, commanding the bay. The city is situated on the bay, and is a mile to a mile and a half from the Gulf. The population of the city, in 1853, was about 7,000. The commerce of the city continued as usual, until the commencement of hostilities, when it declined, and under the blockade ceased entirely. The cause of the South was ardently espoused by the inhabitants, and numbers entered the army. No important occurrence of a hostile nature, however, took place here, until the month of August.

On the 3d, a few shots were fired from the blockading schooner Dart at the batteries on Galveston Island. This was intended as a sort of reconnoissance. Again, on the 5th, the steamer North Carolina opened her fire upon the batteries, and threw some shells into the city. A large number of persons having collected on the sand hills, a little eastward of the batteries, a shell fell among them, killing one man and wounding three others. This led to a protest by the foreign consuls resident in the city, as follows:

GALVESTON, *August* 5, 1861.

To Capt. James Alden, commanding U. S. Steamer South Carolina:

SIR: The undersigned Consuls and Vice-Consuls at Galveston consider it their duty to enter their solemn protest against your bombardment of this city on the evening of the 3d inst., without having given notice, so that the women and children might have been removed; and also against your firing a shell in the midst of a large crowd of unarmed citizens, amongst whom were many women and children, causing thereby the death of an unoffending Portuguese, and wounding boys and peacefully-disposed citizens, as acts of inhumanity unrecognized in modern warfare, and meriting the condemnation of Christian and civilized nations.

ARTHUR S. LYNN,
British Consul.
JAS. FREDRICH,
Hanoverian and Oldenburg Consul; and, in absence of James Jachurch, acting Consul for Prussia and Hamburg.

To this note Capt. Alden, on the next day, sent a reply, stating the facts to have been as follows:

Early on the morning of the 3d, our gunboat found herself near the shore, and shortly after, as the result proved, within range of some of the batteries. The first warning she got was a shot—not a blank cartridge, but a shot—not fired ahead or astern of her to warn her off, but straight at her. She of course fired back, and some shots were exchanged; then she came back and reported the facts to me. This was in the morning. I waited till nearly five in the afternoon hoping explanation, some disavowal, of the act would be sent off. None came. I then got under way and stood in for the batteries, which, you are aware, are in the rear and close to the town, merely to see if they could, when they knew the town must be injured by our return fire, repeat such an act of aggression by commencing upon us. We were no sooner within range of their guns, however, than they opened their fire, when we, after exchanging a few shots, retired, preferring that it should appear that we were beaten off rather than continue a contest where, as the result shows, so many unoffending citizens must necessarily suffer. If that act merits the condemnation of Christian and civilized nations, tell me, gentlemen, what would you have done were you in my place?

Again, you protest against my firing a shell into a crowd of unarmed citizens—amongst whom were many women and children. Good God! gentlemen, do you think such an act was premeditated? Besides, was it not the duty of the military commandant, who by his act in the morning had invited me to the contest, to see that all such were out of the way? Did he not have all day to prepare? It was evident to my mind they knew we were coming, or why was that demonstration of the steamer Gen. Rusk?

In conclusion, let me add that no one can regret the injury done to unoffending citizens more than I do. Still, I find no complaints of my acts of the 3d instant coming from military or civil authorities of Galveston, and with due deference to your consideration and humanity, I must respectfully remark that it is the

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first time I have ever heard that the women and children and unarmed citizens of an American town were under the protection of foreign Consuls.

Yours, etc., etc., JAMES ALDEN.

Later in the year apprehensions were entertained by the inhabitants that an attack would be made upon the city. On the 20th of November a consultation of the citizens was held, at which it was concluded that it was impossible to defend the town. The largest guns at the fortifications on the island were thirty-two pounders, smooth bores, having a range not exceeding two miles, while the Federal guns were of the largest calibre, shooting with accuracy three or four miles. To await an attack was simply to invite the surrender or the destruction of the troops and the city, without the power of inflicting injury upon the assailants. Under these circumstances it was concluded to evacuate the city, and occupy a position in the rear, so as to repel any advance of the Federal troops after they might land. Consequently, an order was issued for the removal of all hospital stores to Houston, which was immediately done. All the public and private property of a movable kind was sent to the same place. In order to prevent surprise, and to repel any attack that might be made, measures were adopted to watch the first approach of an enemy, and send the news to the interior, so that a force might be rapidly concentrated. Videttes were stationed over the island, a line of telegraph made to convey the earliest information, and troops were stationed at various points to await orders and to be rapidly transported by railroad, to any point where they might be needed. No further attack, however, was made during the year.

GARLAND, JOHN, an officer of the American army, born in Virginia in 1792, died in New York City, June 5, 1861. He was made first lieutenant in the Thirty-fifth Regiment infantry in March, 1813, and retained in the service after the war in the Third Infantry; promoted to a captaincy in 1817, brevet major in 1827, major in 1836, lieutenant-colonel in 1839, distinguished himself in six battles in the Mexican war, and was severely wounded in the taking of the city of Mexico; received the brevet rank of brigadier-general for his gallant and meritorious services in 1848, and was promoted to the rank of colonel in 1849.

GARNETT, ROBERT SELDEN, an officer of the Confederate army, born in Virginia about 1821, and killed in the battle of Carrick's Ford, July 15, 1861. He entered West Point in 1837, and graduated 27th in his class in 1841, was appointed brevet second-lieutenant of artillery on his graduation, and from July 1843 to Oct. 1844, was assistant-instructor of infantry tactics at the military academy; was aide-de-camp to Gen. Wool in 1845, distinguished himself in the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, was promoted to a first-lieutenancy in 1846, was aide-de-camp to Gen. Taylor through the Mexican war and until 1849, was brevetted captain and major for gallant and meritorious conduct at Monterey and Buena Vista; transferred to the infantry in 1848, and promoted to a captaincy in 1851. From 1852 to 1854, he was commandant of the corps of cadets, and instructor in infantry tactics at West Point; appointed captain of the First Regiment cavalry in 1855, and major of Ninth Infantry in the same month; was the commander in the operations against the Indians on Puget's Sound, Washington Territory, in 1856, and commanded the Yakima expedition in 1858. At the breaking out of the present war he took the side of the Confederates, was promoted to a brigadier-generalship, and assigned to the department of Western Virginia. Here, in July, Gen. McClellan attacked him, and after several days of alternate fighting and retreating, at the decisive action of Carrick's Ford, Gen. Garnett was killed and his forces routed. His body was carefully cared for by the Federal commander, and after being embalmed, was forwarded to his friends.

GAULEY BRIDGE is the name of the capital of Fayette County, Virginia. The Gauley and New rivers unite at this point and form the Great Kanawha. This town is at the head of navigation on the river, 300 miles west of Richmond and 36 miles above Charleston. The valley of Gauley River is about 60 miles long. Mountain cones rise as sentinels everywhere along the romantic vale.

After leaving Charleston, the character of the country undergoes a considerable change, the valley becoming narrower and the hills growing loftier and more precipitous till here, where the Gauley and New rivers unite in forming the Great Kanawha, rugged mountain spurs, rocky cliffs, and pyramidal-shaped elevations of wondrous symmetry characterize the scene. Two miles below are the celebrated falls of the Kanawha, whose roar can be heard for miles. The river here is more than half a mile in width, and plunges over a succession of rocky precipices, extending across it in an oblique direction, vainly attempting to obstruct its passage. Were the leaps united in one, the fall would be about twenty feet, and, of course, much more imposing.

On the 30th of July, the brigade of Gen. Cox reached this point from Charleston, having been three days on the route. The march had been marked by innumerable evidences of a precipitate retreat of Gen. Wise and his men, who effected their escape from the region before their retreat could be cut off. At one point about fifty tents, a medicine chest, and sundry other articles which had been thrown aside by the retreating force were taken, as also the entire official correspondence of the secessionists in the Kanawha Valley, a number of company muster rolls, and many private letters. About twelve hundred flint-lock muskets, a hundred kegs of powder, cartridge boxes, camp-kettles, and many other articles were also found. The bridge over the river had been

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destroyed. It was a substantial structure and difficult to rebuild, owing to the scarcity of timber. Gen. Cox's report, under date of July 29th, was as follows:

"The Kanawha Valley is now free from the secession troops. Most of the forces raised by Wise in this valley left him between Charleston and this place. I had sent them assurances that if they laid down their arms they might go quietly to their homes, and many have done so, asserting that they were cheated into the rebel service. I regret to have to say that Wise, in his retreat, has burned a number of valuable bridges, and carried off most of the wagons and teams of the people of the valley. All parties denounce him for his vandalism. I congratulate you on the success of this expedition."

GEOGRAPHICAL EXPLORATIONS OF 1861. At the commencement of the year, the highest hopes were entertained that before its close a large number of the yet unsolved problems of geographical science would have become familiar facts to the world. At no former period had so many and so important expeditions been undertaken, and never before did it seem so certain that Africa at least was to remain no longer an unknown land, and that the veil, which had so long hid from eager eyes the sources of the Nile and the great lakes and snow-clad mountains of its interior, was to be removed.

The results attained have been less satisfactory than could have been hoped; yet more has been accomplished than in some previous years, and the aggregate of human knowledge of the surface of the earth has been materially increased.

Commencing with the arctic regions, to which four expeditions were sent, part of them the previous year, we have but meagre results to report. Two of these expeditions were from the United States, the first that of Dr. J. J. Hayes, the companion of Dr. Kane in his second expedition. Dr. Hayes sailed from Boston on the 10th of July, 1860, in the schooner United States, 140 tons, which had, mainly by the liberality of Henry Grinnell, Esq., been fitted up for the service. His scientific associates in the expedition were Messrs. Sonntag, McCormick, Dodge, Radcliff, Knorr, and Starr. On the 12th of August he reached Upernavik, and sailed from thence on the 16th. On the 23d of the same month he entered Melville Bay, and on the 25th reached Cape York. Here he encountered some Esquimaux, and among them Hans, who had run away from Dr. Kane, and whom, with his wife and child and Esquimaux dogs, he took on board. After repeated attempts to enter Smith's Strait, which was obstructed by ice, and several narrow escapes from being crushed by the closing of the pack, in one of which his rudder was seriously injured, he was forced to make his winter harbor at Port Foulke, lat. 78° 17′ 41″ N., and long. 72° 30′ 57″ W., about 20 miles further south than Dr. Kane's winter-quarters. The repeated gales and boisterous weather through the month of October prevented the freezing of the waters of the harbor and rendered sledge expeditions impossible till the dark season, when they were attended with more danger; but the harbor and adjacent coast, as well as "John's Glacier," observed by Dr. Kane, were surveyed. The party succeeded in capturing upwards of 200 reindeer, which kept them abundantly supplied with food; but their dogs were attacked with an epidemic, which resulted in the death of all but 11 of them, and in an expedition undertaken on the 22d of December, for the purpose of purchasing a further supply of the Esquimaux of Northumberland Island by Mr. Sonntag and Hans, the former lost his life from the exposure. He was the second in command, and an accomplished astronomer, and his loss was severely felt. Hans procured no dogs, but some weeks later the Esquimaux visited the vessel and sold them eight. With these and all his crew but three men, Dr. Hayes started northward on the 4th of April, taking his metallic life-boat with him, and on reaching Fog Harbor found that their progress was so slow that they would consume the whole summer. He therefore sent all but three of his companions and two sledges back, and kept on northward amid constantly increasing difficulties till the 18th of May, when, having reached latitude 81° 35′, a higher point than any other explorer except Sir Edward Parry, he was compelled to turn back. Returning to Port Foulke, he remained there six weeks, making further observations and surveys, photographing the scenery, and collecting specimens of natural history. On the 14th of July he set sail on his return, and on the 14th August reached Upernavik, where he remained ten days. On the 1st September he entered the harbor of Lievely, where he was detained by S. W. gales till the 17th, and on his way to Halifax his vessel received serious injuries, which compelled him to put into that port for repairs. The chief results attained by the expedition were: the completion of the survey of Smith's Sound; the discovery of a new channel at the westward of Smith's Strait; the determination of the magnetic dip and declination at many points within the arctic circle; surveys of glaciers, by which their rate of movement is determined; pendulum experiments, &c.

The second expedition from the United States was an individual one. Mr. C. F. Hall, an editor from Cincinnati, embarked in the summer of 1860 on board the whale ship George Henry from New London, Conn., passed the winter on board that ship in a harbor south of Cumberland Straits, and in the spring of 1861 directed his course towards the straits of Fury and Hecla. He discovered before leaving Cumberland Strait that Frobisher's Strait was only an inlet or arm of the sea.

Captain Parker Snow, an English navigator who had attained considerable reputation by his previous discoveries on the coast of Pata-

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gonia, sailed from England in June, 1861, in the little schooner Intrepid of 45 tons, for the Straits of Bellot, intending to explore King William's Land and seek for some traces or some last relics of the unfortunate companions of Sir John Franklin.

The Swedish polar expedition, under the direction of Prof. Torell, equipped on a magnificent scale by the Swedish Government and Swedish noblemen, and composed of eminent Swedish and Danish naturalists, and of students from the Swedish universities, sailed from Tromsöe in Norway, May 9, 1861, and reached a bay on the north of the island of Spitzbergen, but were unable to proceed further. The ships were blockaded by the ice pack, and an attempt to proceed by sledges soon brought them to an open sea. They made a careful survey of that portion of the island which they were able to visit, but could not attain the other proposed objects of the expedition—the penetration of the Arctic Sea to the north and northeast, and the measuring an arc of the meridian.

The Governments of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Sweden, Russia, and Spain have for many years been engaged in careful topographical surveys of their respective countries; that of Belgium is now complete and those of England, France, and Russia nearly so, and the English Government has proposed to connect its triangulation with that of France and Belgium, and being thus able to command the measurement of an arc of parallel extending from the western point of Ireland to the Ural Mountains, to determine mathematically the form of the earth; and taking advantage of the opportunity, a commission has been appointed to act in concert with similar commissions from France and Russia, to fix upon a single meridional line to be substituted for the three, Greenwich, Paris, and St. Petersburg, now in use in those countries respectively, and thus harmonize the longitude of all European maps.

During the year, Russia has sent out several geographical commissions; one of these was fitted out for the purpose of exploring the isthmus between the Caspian and Black seas, for the double purpose of determining the feasibility of a ship canal between the two seas, aided by the river Manytch, and of ascertaining the possibility of colonizing the valley of the Manytch. The report of this commission, which was composed of Messrs. Kostenkoff, Barbet de Marny, Krijine, and other eminent scientific men, was entirely unfavorable. They demonstrate that the bed of the Manytch is dry in summer, and that the soil is so full of saline and alkaline matters as to be hopelessly sterile.

A second commission has been sent to explore the present condition of the sea of Azof, and to report upon the best means of remedying the gradual filling up of its basin. They report that within 32 years its depth has decreased 11 feet, and that there is serious reason to fear that it may yet become a vast marsh. It is difficult to find a remedy for this transformation.

The Russian Government, which has within the past four years been making large accessions to her territory in Turkistan, and has made a treaty with the khan of Khiva, by which that khanat becomes virtually a Russian dependency, has been exploring that region of Central Asia hitherto so little known. M. Kulewein, an attaché of the Russian General Ignatieff, has just presented to the Russian Geographical Society a narrative of his explorations across the steppe of Orenburg, along the west bank of the Sea of Aral as far as to the lake of Aibooghir, of his survey of that lake, his tour over the promontory of Onega, and his navigation of the Amoo-Daria (the Ancient Oxus) for 18 days in a native vessel from Koongrad to Khiva. He reports the Amoo-Daria, which, in Strabo's time discharged its waters into the Caspian Sea, but for the last 600 years at least has debouched into the Sea of Aral, as likely to return to its old channel—an event which would revolutionize the trade between Europe and Asia.

The sources of the Amoo-Daria, and the vast table-land of Pamir occupying the western slopes of the lofty Bolor-Tag range, have been within historical times an almost unknown region; even Ritter and Humboldt, with their extended research, were unable to obtain any thing more than a very general description of them, and this derived more from the inferences drawn from the structure of adjacent countries than from any results of actual observation. The races which inhabit them are so savage and fierce, that the traveller who visits them can hardly hope to escape with life.

M. Veniukoff, a member of the Russian Geographical Society, in the early part of last year, discovered a manuscript narrative by an unknown German traveller, which had hitherto lain in the topographical bureau of the Minister of War, unnoticed, giving a full and interesting account of an exploring tour made in 1806 over this very district. This traveller had, it seems, traversed the whole of northern Cashmere, as far as Kashgar; had passed down the Bolor River; and visited Badakshan, Wokhan, Khokhan, and other places of Chinese Turkistan. M. Veniukoff has compared this manuscript with a Chinese itinerary recently obtained and translated by Klaproth, and from the two has been able to deduce with great accuracy the position of the mountain lakes of Kari-kol, Sarik-kol, and Rian-kol; has traced the course of the Bolor, Douvand and Sharood rivers; has identified the last as the source of the Amoo-Daria, and has attained to a tolerably accurate knowledge of the mountains and plateau of Pamir.

Another Russian geographer, M. Golubeff, returned during the year 1861 from Soongaria, and the eastern portion of the Chinese empire, and has contributed to the transactions of the Russian Geographical Society a map of that

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region, embracing the results of his own and of other travellers' investigations, and of the Chinese itineraries. This map covers a region extending over 5° of latitude and 6° of longitude, and, with the map of M. Veniukoff, gives a far better idea of Central Asia than has heretofore been attainable. The barbarous nomadic tribes which inhabit this region murder almost every European who comes among them, and seem incapable of civilization. It was in the attempt to penetrate into their country that the intrepid Schlagentweit lost his life.

But it is not in Turkistan alone that Russia has been extending her power and making her explorations. Officers of the staff of the commander-in-chief of the Russian army, accompanied by a mixed scientific commission of French and Russians, have been exploring the entire route of the Amoor, the largest river of the eastern continent, and have commenced a survey of the island of Saghalien, where they have found a tribe called the Ainos, whose origin seems to be involved in great obscurity. The Russian admiralty, meanwhile, have been making hydrographic surveys of the mouths of the Amoor, the strait of Nevelsky, and the shores of the newly-acquired Russian possessions bordering on the sea of Japan, from the gulf of Peter the Great to the bays of Saint Vladimir and Saint Olga. Unfortunately, they have bestowed Russian names on the principal points, not being aware that the French and English fleets had previously visited and named them, thus embarrassing the geographical descriptions of the region, by duplicate names of the same places.

During the year, the British Minister to Japan, Sir Rutherford Alcock, visited the isle of Napoleon and ascended Fusi-Yama, the sacred mountain of the Japanese. Count Escayrac de Lauture, a French geographer, at the peril of his life, visited and explored most of the provinces of China, and in 1861 published an atlas of them, far more full and complete than any previously published. The officers of the English navy in the Chinese waters, during the year, have made exact and careful surveys of the dangerous coasts of the China sea, and, under the direction of the admiralty, have commenced the exploration of the gulf of Pe-cheelee and of the rivers Pei-ho, Si-kiang, and Yang-tse-kiang. On the last-named river they have penetrated as far as Han-kow, one of the two interior ports opened to trade by the treaty of Tien-tsin, about 1,000 miles from the sea. A scientific expedition, under the charge of Captain Blakiston, started from this point to ascend the river, and by this route to explore western China, and penetrate through Thibet to India. The expedition reached Pings-han, a small city of Se-chuen province, near the Thibetan frontier; but owing to the ferocity of the rebels, who were in full force in that vicinity, were compelled to retrace their steps, and returned to the coast within five months from the time of their departure. The expedition was not, however, entirely fruitless. They ascertained that above I-chang, 1,100 miles from Shanghae, the navigation of the river was obstructed by numerous rapids and cataracts, and traversed for a considerable distance a narrow gorge, where immense rocky walls rose on each side. At Hu-nan and around the lake Tong-Ting they found a grain district of great fertility, which supplied Han-kow with cereals. At Pings-han, the river took the name of Kincha-kiang, or river of gold, but the boatmen call it the river of Yunnan. West of Pings-han were an independent tribe called Maouttes, a race bearing no resemblance to the Chinese, but having an open, honest demeanor.

Another English explorer, Major Thuillier, has during the year continued his survey of the Karakorum or Kuen-Lun chain of mountains to the northeast of the valley of Cashmere, and has discovered a mountain summit, to which he gives the name of the chain Karakorum Peak, which, according to his measurement, is 28,278 feet high, being surpassed in altitude only by Mt. Everest in the Himalaya. This survey of the Kuen-Lun Mountains forms a portion of the triangulation of Upper India, now in its seventeenth year of successful prosecution, under the orders of the British Government. Under the directions of Colonels Waugh, Lambton, and Everest, aided by the enthusiastic labors of Major Thuillier, Capt. Montgomerie, and others, 316,000 square miles have been triangulated, and the survey of 94,000 miles completed.

The English resident in the kingdom of Cashmere, Lord William Hay, has after repeated efforts succeeded in obtaining the journal and papers of the lamented Adolphe Schlagentweit, and has forwarded them, through the foreign office, to his brothers in Germany. They bring down the narrative of his discoveries to a period within a few days of his death, and will be published in the magnificent history of discoveries in Higher Asia, now in course of publication by his brothers, of which two volumes have already appeared.

In Farther India, Sir Robert Schomburgk, the botanist, has, in company with two nephews of the king of Siam, explored the greater part of the peninsula of Siam, ascending the Meinam River from Bangkok to Rahaing, the most southern city of Laos, a voyage occupying three weeks; thence transported by elephants to Lahing, a fortified city of Laos, eleven days distant; thence through a terribly wild and mountainous region, where it was necessary for much of the distance to make the road over which they travelled to Lampon, three days farther; on the fourth day they entered a very fertile and beautiful country, in which they found the large city of Xieng-Mai, three miles in extent, the most important city of Laos, and having a large trade with Maulmain in teak wood, sending annually by raft down the Salwen more than two millions of dollars' worth of this valuable timber. After resting here some days he started with an escort of 150 men and 33

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elephants, for Maulmain, which he reached after a journey of twenty-four days, traversing on his route vast forests along the Tenasserim River.

The French, who have had for many years some small possessions on the coast of Anam, have recently extended their conquests there, by capturing, after a somewhat severe action, Saigon, a fortified town on a delta of the Cambodia River, which they have now made their principal station in Southeast Asia; and in connection with it have made a careful topographical survey of the whole delta.

Returning to Western Asia, we find that Russian officers, attached to the scientific mission of the Caspian Sea, have made surveys of considerable extent in Persia, and have ascertained by astronomical measurement, the height of the volcanic peak of Demavend. Their measurement, made from two points, gives a height of 20,085 feet above the Caspian Sea, or an absolute height of about 20,000 above the sea level; but Capt. Nicolas, who ascended it in 1860, found an altitude of 21,567 feet.

Capt. Claude Clarke has visited Eastern Persia, passing from Meshed to Herat, a route seldom traversed by Europeans, and which led through the desert of Khorassan, of which he has published an interesting account.

The occupation of Syria by French troops, for the suppression of the insurrection there, led to several tours of exploration, in the regions of the Libanus and anti-Libanus chains, which, however, proved more archæological than geographical. Baron Henri Aucapitaine, a member of the staff of General de Beaufort, visited and explored the elevated plain of the Hauran; and M. Ernest Renan, the ancient city of Byblas, and others of the ruined towns of Phœnicia.

The most remarkable discovery in this region is unquestionably that of Cyril C. Graham, Esq., an English archæologist, who visited Damascus in the early part of 1861, and obtaining an Arab escort, penetrated into the hitherto unknown region east of the Hauran, and found it a treeless volcanic district, covered to a considerable extent with lava, and traversed from north to south by a chain of hills forty miles in length. Passing around these to the south he found a continuation of the same lava-covered plain, but with stones, at first of basalt, containing inscriptions, which he believed to be set up to mark the distance. Proceeding farther, he found the ruins of four towns, built of a white stone, apparently brought from a distance, as nothing like it was found in the plain. These stones were of great size, and contained no inscriptions; but many curious and rude sculptures were lying about. Still farther east, he found numerous small areas of 300 or 400 yards in circumference, enclosed with stone, and every stone having upon it rude representations of camels, gazelles, apes, horses, and horsemen, and each accompanied by inscriptions which seemed to be in the most ancient Phœnician character. There were also many small batons of red stone or compact pottery, inscribed with similar characters.

Africa, always the unsolved problem of geographers, has not yet yielded up its secrets, though some progress has been made. M. Henri Duveyrier, a French explorer, set out at the close of 1860, to explore the central portion of the Great Sahara Desert, from Rhadames to Rhaat, and thence to Insalah, accompanied by Ikhenonkhen, one of the chiefs of the Azjer Tuaricks; he penetrated as far as Rhaat, but owing to the fanaticism of the inhabitants, was not allowed to enter the town, and was compelled to return to Tripoli by way of Fezzan, the Tuarick chief accompanying him to Moorzook. Thus repulsed, he has determined to take a route further west, in the hope of penetrating to Soudan.

M. le Colonieu, who attempted to reach the oasis of Touat from Algeria, was not more successful. The Tuaricks, fearful that the success of such an expedition would diminish their trade with Touat, impressed the inhabitants of that oasis with the belief that the French were coming to conquer them as they had done Algeria, and the gates of their principal town were shut against the caravan. Thus repulsed, he turned aside to the oasis of Ongnerout, situated west of Touat, but poorer and of less importance, and thence returned to Algeria.

Colonel Faidherbe, the former governor of the French colony at the mouth of the Senegal River, having been recalled from thence, sent before his departure a highly educated negro of St. Louis, (the capital of the French colony,) named Si-bou Moghdad, who was familiar with Arabic and the Koran, on a pilgrimage to Mecca; intending at first that he should follow the route by Insalah and Rhaat, but finding that impossible, he passed through the western frontier of the desert, visiting the Trarzas and the wady Noun on the southern borders of Morocco, and after spending a little time there returned to St. Louis, from whence he will again attempt to cross the continent by a more southern route.

Lieut. A. Lambert, of the French marines, has ascended the Senegal to its sources, explored Teemboo and the head-waters of the Falema, Gambia, and Rio Grande, ascertained that the Foota Jallon range of mountains rises above the snow line, and has given more full information in regard to the manners and customs of the Foulahs than has previously been obtained.

A French expedition has been occupied during the past year, with the survey of the great estuary of the Gaboon and the rivers Como, Boghoé and Rhamboé, and the creeks Assango, Bongia, and Shimbia, which discharge their waters into it. The discoveries they have made in this region are important.

The publication of the narrative of M. Paul B. Du Chaillu, of his explorations from 1856 to 1859, in the region about the head-waters of the Gaboon, has excited much attention and provoked some unfavorable criticism. It is,

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however, generally conceded that his narrative is in the main a faithful one, and that his discoveries have added materially to our knowledge of the ethnology and natural history of that hitherto unexplored region.

South Africa, or rather that portion of it north of the country of the Bechuanas, has been explored to some extent the past year by Messrs. Green and Baldwin, and the Chevalier de Pradt. The Swedish traveller, Charles Andersson, has given to the public a further chapter of his discoveries on the banks of the Okavango River. He found a fertile country and a navigable river, and a people given to agricultural pursuits, but the climate, except in the months of June, July, and August, was extremely insalubrious to Europeans.

Dr. Baikie, who had been, since 1839, attempting to explore the course of the Upper Niger with his small screw steamer, has returned to England. His steamer was wrecked at Rabbah, and he was detained there more than a year, and defeated in his main object; but he and Lieut. Gower have been able to make an accurate and minute map of the lower course of the river, and also of the Yoruba region, concerning which they gathered many interesting and important facts.

In Eastern and Northeastern Africa, the course of discovery has not been very successful. Dr. Livingstone has ascended the Rovuma for 30 miles. He found it a new and important river, but, like most of those of Eastern Africa, rendered difficult of navigation by its sand bars and its rapids. He believes it to be the outlet of the Nyassa.

The death of Dr. Roscher, murdered by the natives in March, 1860, at Kisunguni, after having reached Lake Nyassa on the eastern side, did not deter his countryman, the Baron de Decken, from attempting to go over the same route. He left Quiloa on the 9th October, 1860, accompanied by 20 Beloochee soldiers and a train of 50 porters, servants, and interpreters, and proceeded along near the 9th degree of south latitude to Mesuela, a distance of about 150 miles from the coast; but here the villany of his attendants and the treachery of his guide compelled his return without accomplishing his purpose of penetrating to Lake Tanganyika. He found the country very populous and fertile; sugar-cane, rice, beans, peas, potatoes, cotton, and bananas were the common productions. The principal tribes were the M'gendos and M'gaus, both slaveholding tribes, but they treated their slaves with remarkable kindness.

The expeditions for the discovery of the sources of the Nile have proved remarkably unfortunate; M. G. Lejean, after advancing as far as Gondokoro, has been compelled by sickness and the wars among the natives to return; Dr. Peney advanced 75 miles beyond Gondokoro, lat. 3° 40′ N., but was attacked with marsh fever on the 24th July and died on the 26th. M. Miani has returned from his tour in the same region, unable to accomplish any thing. Captains Speke and Grant attempted to reach the sources of the Nile from the eastern coast by way of Lake Nyanza; on the 12th of December they had reached the Koko, a village west of Ugogo, and were hoping to reach the lake without encountering further obstacles, but have not yet been heard from. Mr. Petherick, English consul at Khartoum, had also started later in the year southward in the hope of meeting them, but his success is yet unknown.

A German expedition, amply supplied with all the means of successful explorations, set forward in the early summer to explore the region northeast of Abyssinia, and had reached on the 12th of July, Emkullo, a missionary station to the west of Massouah.

The mountain of Kilamandjaro, in Eastern Africa, whose elevation above the snow line, Dr. Krapf so stoutly insisted upon in 1857, has been measured the past year, and the missionary's statement fully verified.

In Australia, the geographical explorers have met with some misfortunes. An expedition, amply supplied with the means of successful exploration, and consisting of eminent naturalists, under the command of Mr. O'Hara Burke, reached Cooper Creek in the Colony of Victoria, on the 11th November; and on the 16th December, Capt. Burke, with three companions, six camels, one horse, and provisions for three months, started for Sturts Eyre Creek on the gulf of Carpentaria, leaving the rest of the party at Cooper's Creek to await his return. They waited for him till April 21, 1861, when from want of provisions and the hostility of the natives, they were compelled to retreat, and in their return many of them perished, and the survivors endured terrible sufferings. Burke and his companions have not been heard from, though new expeditions have been sent out in search of them, and a steamer sent to the gulf of Carpentaria to watch for them.

The Queensland colony sent out an expedition, under the direction of Messrs. Smith and Dalrymple, to explore the northeast coast and the river Burdekin, which they accomplished, and made the acquaintance of the natives; but found them possessing such strong inclinations to cannibalism, that they were not disposed to cultivate any further intimacy.

In New Zealand, M. Julius Haast has been charged by the colonial government with the geological exploration of the mountainous district. He reports the existence of a magnificent chain of mountains from 11,000 to 13,000 feet in height, and resembling in their general character and their glacier system, the Alps. He found an abundance of excellent coal on the Grey River.

The Fi-ji Islands have been ceded to England, and the Solomon Islands explored with a view to their colonization.

On the American continent, M. Guinnard, a French explorer, taken captive by the Patagonians, and detained as a prisoner by them, has

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published a narrative of his experiences, containing much information respecting that inhospitable region. The Emperor of Brazil has sent expeditions into the unknown interior of his empire and among the sources of the southern affluents of the Amazon. A new exploration of the isthmus of Darien, to settle finally the question of the practicability of the construction of a canal, has been made by a French and English company.

Capt. Burton and M. Jules Remy have been visiting and examining the Salt Lake and Carson valley region, and both have published the results of their observations.

The Canadian Government sent a scientific corps to Labrador to ascertain the feasibility of colonization there. They ascended the river Moise, as far as it was navigable for a canoe, and thence proceeded by land to the higher region. They report that the peninsula is a vast level but elevated plateau, having numerous lakes which communicate with the sea, by rivers 250 miles and more in length, but that the soil is too barren and the country too cold for emigrants.

Such, briefly, are the results of the year's discoveries. If less brilliant than those of some previous years, they are certainly not less important in their bearing on the future progress of the human race.

GEORGIA, one of the original thirteen States, is bounded north by Tennessee and North Carolina, east by South Carolina and the Atlantic Ocean, south by Florida, and west by Florida and Alabama. It is about three hundred miles in length from north to south, and two hundred and fifty-six miles at its greatest breadth, with an area of 58,000 square miles. The population in 1860 was 591,638 whites, 3,459 free colored, and 462,232 slaves. Total 1,057,329. The ratio of increase for the previous ten years had been 13.43 per cent. whites, 18.01 per cent. free colored, and 21.10 per cent. slaves. The Legislature meets biennially. The Senate consists of 47 members, and the House of 130 members. Both Houses are elected for each session. The term of the Governor of the State, Joseph E. Brown, expires in November, 1863. (*See* NEW AMERICAN CYCLOPÆDIA.)

The session of the Legislature commenced in November, and its attention was early attracted to the movement to secede from the United States. Various propositions were offered and discussed, and on the 7th of December the following preamble and resolutions were adopted in the Assembly; yeas 101, nays 27:

The grievances now affecting the Southern States must be effectively resisted.

The interests and destiny of the slaveholding States of this Union are and must remain common.

The secession of one from the Union must, more or less, involve or affect all; therefore

Resolved by the General Assembly of Georgia, That in the judgment of this General Assembly, any State in this Union has the sovereign right to secede from the Union, whenever she deems it necessary and proper for her safety, honor, or happiness; and that when a State exercises this right of secession, the Federal Government has no right to coerce or make war upon her because of the exercise of such right to secede; and should any Southern State secede from the American Union, and the Federal Government make war upon her therefor, Georgia will give to the seceding Southern State the aid, encouragement, and assistance of her entire people. And should the State of Georgia secede from the Union by the action of the Convention of her people on the 16th of January next, she asks the like sympathy and assistance from her Southern sisters which she hereby offers to them.

This resolution was subsequently, under the indications of the strength of the popular feeling against separate State secession, rescinded by a vote of yeas 50, nays 47.

The Senate had previously indefinitely postponed all the resolutions on this subject which had been pending in that body, for the reason that a large majority of its members were indisposed to interfere with a matter upon which they had called a Convention of the People to act.

Subsequently, on the 14th of December, a meeting of all the members of the Legislature was held, at which resolutions were adopted, repudiating the idea that either of the slaveholding States would, under any circumstances, prove untrue to its own interests, and the interests of the sister States, and the success of the common cause. They also repudiated as delusive, the policy of secession first and cooperation afterwards. Interest, safety, and success, and ordinary respect to the sister slaveholding States required consultation with as many as would consult before secession; and then, if secession be deemed advisable, cooperation in secession, and coöperation after secession. Whatever mode or manner of redress was adopted, the first step to its successful accomplishment was to unite the counsels of those who were equally aggrieved, and who were simultaneously demanding redress. In hasty, ill-advised, separate State secession, nothing could be seen but divisions among the people, confusion among the slaveholding States, strife around their firesides, and ultimate defeat to every movement for the effective redress of grievances. In the consultation and coöperation of the slaveholding States would be found the maintenance of their rights and equality, the preservation of the laws, the peace of families, the security of property, the harmony of the people, the peaceful division of the public property, if division must ensue, and the success of whatever plan of redress might be agreed on and adopted. In selecting delegates to the approaching State Convention, the people were urged to be careful that they did not cast their votes for those who were in favor of immediate secession of Georgia alone; and to avoid doubt on that subject, it was suggested that the people should require every candidate to take a "distinct position against immediate State secession, at least until a proper effort of coöperation had failed."

An address to the people of the States of

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South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, and of such other slaveholding States as might hold conventions earlier than the assembling of the Georgia State Convention, was adopted at this meeting. It was signed by fifty-two members of the Legislature. The State Convention of South Carolina refused to receive it. Its principal points were the following:

"In behalf of the people of Georgia, whom we represent, this meeting, composed of members of the General Assembly, do most respectfully but earnestly ask the people of our sister States, above named, to appoint delegates to such a General Convention of Southern States, or of as many as will convene; and that until such General Convention shall assemble and deliberate, no final separate State action shall be taken on the question of our longer continuance as members of the present Confederacy of our States.

"We urge this request, deeply feeling its importance to all, and to our great common cause.

"We have but one interest; we are separate independent sovereignties—but in welfare, feeling, and destiny, we are one individual people.

"The action of one State must affect all the Southern States. The separation of one from all must greatly involve not only the feelings, but the interests of all. No slaveholding State can live for itself; we must live with and for each other. God has not mingled more indistinguishably the drops of water in our rivers, than that He has linked indissolubly the destinies of our people and their children forever.

"In climate, soil, productions, and systems of labor, we are as identical with each other as we are separate from the balance of the world.

"Let us consult together, then. Let us so act that all may agree.

"Our people must be united. Our common interest must be preserved. Our common movement must be successful. Common dangers must be avoided. Our equality, our honor shall be preserved. All these can devise a coöperation. Not for our enemies, but for ourselves, our safety, our children, our peace, our necessities, we beseech you so to order your action, as that consultation and coöperation shall not be defeated.

"Nearly all our sister Southern States are, even at this writing, moving to this end. We believe all—most certainly a very large majority—will unite in such a Convention. The incurable embarrassments and dangers can thereby be avoided, and incalculable good ensured.

"We know we cannot be mistaken as to success, when we appeal to the noble chivalry of the Southern people not to take a final step, which must inevitably and irretrievably, in its very nature, involve all, without at least offering to consult with as many as will consult; and, above all, such action will not be taken against the urgent request of those who beg that consultation, and who are now moving to secure it."

Numerous public meetings were at this time held in many counties of the State, at which resolutions were adopted expressing apprehensions of the consequences of the "election of Lincoln and Hamlin," but manifesting a disinclination to proceed to acts of immediate secession, until other measures had been tried. They were dignified and conservative in language, and clearly indicated that hostility to the Union was neither deep-seated nor bitter.

The election for delegates to the State Convention took place on the 4th of January. The vote on that occasion was thus spoken of soon after:

"We know as well as any one living that the whole movement for secession, and the formation of a new Government, so far at least as Georgia is concerned, proceeded on only a *quasi* consent of the people, and was pushed through, under circumstances of great excitement and frenzy, by a fictitious majority. With all the appliances brought to bear, with all the fierce rushing, maddening events of the hour, the election of the 4th of January showed a falling off in the popular vote of 25,000 or 30,000, and on the night of that election the coöperationists had a majority, notwithstanding the falling off, of nearly 3,000, and an absolute majority of elected delegates of 29. But, upon assembling, by coaxing, bullying, and all other arts, the majority was changed."

This convention assembled at Milledgeville on the 16th of January. General W. Crawford was elected President. Commissioners Orr, from South Carolina, and Shorter, from Alabama, were invited to seats in that body. On the 18th, a resolution declaring it to be the right and duty of Georgia to secede, and appointing a committee to draft an ordinance of secession, was offered and put to vote. On a division, the vote was—ayes, 165; noes, 130. The ordinance was as follows:

AN ORDINANCE *to dissolve the union between the State of Georgia and other States united with her under the compact of Government entitled the Constitution of the United States:*

We, the people of the State of Georgia, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinance adopted by the people of Georgia in Convention in the year 1788, whereby the Constitution of the United States was assented to, ratified, and adopted, and also all acts and parts of acts of the General Assembly ratifying and adopting the amendments to the said Constitution, are hereby repealed, rescinded, and abrogated; and we do further declare and ordain, that the Union now subsisting between the State of Georgia and other States, under the name of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved; and that the State of Georgia is in full possession and exercise of all those rights of sovereignty which belong and appertain to a free and independent State.

The vote on its adoption was—ayes, 208; noes, 89.

On the night after its passage, great demon-

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strations of joy were made at the Capital, including the firing of cannon, torch-light processions, sky-rockets, music, speeches, &c. In Augusta there was an illumination with fireworks, ringing of bells, and firing of cannon.

A substitute was introduced for the ordinance of secession, but was lost. It was also moved to postpone the operation of the ordinance to March 3d. This motion failed. Subsequently a preamble and resolution were adopted, the object of which was to remove the unfavorable impression created by the large vote given in opposition to the ordinance of secession. The preamble was in these words:

Whereas, as a lack of unanimity in this Convention on the passage of the ordinance of secession indicates a difference of opinion amongst the members of the Convention, not so much as to the right which Georgia claims or the wrongs of which she complains, as to a remedy and its application before a resort to other means for redress; and whereas, it is desirable to give expression to that intention which really exists among all the members of the Convention to sustain the State in the course of action which she has pronounced to be proper for the occasion; therefore, &c.

The resolution required every member to sign the ordinance. This was adopted unanimously.

Before the Convention proceeded to sign the ordinance, a resolution was offered, proposing to submit it to a vote of the people, through the proclamation of the Governor, and that the question should be "secession" or "no secession" at the ballot-box. If a majority of votes were for secession, then the ordinance was to take effect, and not otherwise. The resolution was rejected by a large majority.

The ordinance was then signed by all present. The response to the resolutions of the New York Legislature was made by the passage of the following resolution:

Be it unanimously resolved by the people of Georgia, in Convention assembled, as a response to the resolutions of New York, that we highly approve of the patriotic and energetic conduct of our Governor in taking possession of Fort Pulaski by the Georgia troops, and request him to hold possession until the relations between Georgia and the Federal Government shall be determined by this Convention; and that a copy of this resolution is hereby ordered to be transmitted to the Governor of New York.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Resolutions were adopted on the 22d, declaring that Georgia would demand her share of the public property; another, pledging the State to pay the carriers for the transportation of the mails. An ordinance was passed, providing for the execution of the sentences of the Federal Courts, and for the execution of processes issued by the same courts, and to preserve indictments. Another to continue in force all the Federal laws in reference to the African slave trade was, after an amendment declaring it not to be piracy, but substituting imprisonment in the penitentiary, unanimously adopted. An ordinance was also reported relating to the inter-State slave trade; also another revoking the Federal jurisdiction over all lands ceded by the State, and authorizing the payment for fortifications, arsenals, and also for all improvements and stores.

On the 25th, a report was offered, that no State should be admitted into a Southern Confederacy unless it be a slaveholding State, and any State thus admitted subsequently abolishing slavery should be expelled from the Union.

When it was proposed that Commissioners be sent to slaveholding States, objection was made against including Delaware.

Subsequently, on the 28th, an ordinance continuing the existing revenue laws was lost; and the ordinance, substantially that of the South Carolina Convention, was adopted after a long and animated debate. The vote was yeas 130, nays 116.

Representatives to the Montgomery Congress were appointed on the 24th. Before voting, an assurance was given to the Convention, that none of the candidates were in favor of forming a Government having in view an immediate or ultimate union with the Northern States. No such idea could be entertained. All were for the establishment of a Southern Confederacy on the basis of the old Constitution, and never, under any circumstances, to connect themselves with the Northern States.

Notwithstanding this unanimity in the Convention, there was a great reaction in some parts of the State, and the flag of the United States was kept flying without regard to the ordinance of the Convention. This was done also in North Alabama, and in portions of Mississippi and Louisiana. Fears were expressed by former members of Congress from Georgia, that the reaction might be greatly increased on the popular mind in the Gulf States, if a compromise was effected satisfactory to the Border States.

Two regiments were ordered by the Convention to be organized as the army for the Republic of Georgia, over which a number of officers were appointed by the Governor, chiefly those who had resigned from the army of the United States.

On the 7th of March, the Convention reassembled at Savannah, after a brief adjournment. A resolution to take an oath to support the Provisional Constitution was offered and rejected.

Mr. Robertson, of Macon, wished to wait till the permanent Constitution was adopted, and Mr. Fouche saw no necessity for swearing at all; he was opposed to it in the abstract. Besides, this was a convention of the sovereign people, and above all Constitutions.

A resolution that the people of Georgia, in Convention, heartily approve of the election of Messrs. Davis and Stephens to the Presidency and Vice-Presidency, was adopted.

On the 12th, the Convention transferred the forts, arms, arsenals, and munitions of war to the Confederate States. An ordinance was also passed, appropriating half a million of dollars to support the Government, and authorizing the

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Governor to issue seven per cent. bonds for that amount.

On the 16th of March, the Constitution of the Confederate States was taken up, and adopted by the unanimous passage of the following ordinance:

Be it ordained by the people of Georgia, in Convention assembled, and it is hereby ordained by authority of the same, That the Constitution adopted by the Congress at Montgomery, in the State of Alabama, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, for the "permanent Federal Government" of the Confederate States of America, be and the same is hereby adopted and ratified by the State of Georgia, "acting in its sovereign and independent character."

Thus Georgia was the second State to adopt the Constitution without any reference of the question to the people. By such action the principle of popular government is destroyed.

If the State Conventions which were called for another purpose can assume that they are the people, that they have the unlimited power of the people and can do whatsoever they list, and if, under such an assumption of power, they can appoint delegates to a General Convention without consulting the people, and can fix upon them a new Government without their consent, then a principle which has always been considered fundamental in the country and "prized above all price," is gone.

Seven of the ten members from Georgia in the Congress were also members of the State Convention.

The State Convention adjourned on the 23d of March. A State Constitution was adopted, to be submitted to the people for ratification or rejection in July.

This new Constitution, although differing wholly from the old, made but few essential changes in the organic law of the State. The most important of these alterations were the linking together in one Senatorial district of three contiguous counties, without regard to size or population, for the purpose of reducing the number of Senators to forty-four; requiring the assent of two-fifths of the members present to have the yeas and nays entered on the journal, instead of two members, as under the old instrument. All elections by the people were to be by ballot, but all elections by the General Assembly should be *viva voce*. Under the new system, Judges of the Supreme and Inferior Courts were to be appointed by the Governor, and confirmed by two-thirds of the Senate, instead of being elected by the people and Legislature, as heretofore. Another clause provided that the Governor should have been a citizen of the Confederate States twelve years.

The official vote on the Constitution was, for ratification, 11,497; against ratification, 10,697. Majority for ratification, 800.

After the proclamation of President Lincoln was issued, great excitement prevailed, especially in Savannah, and military preparations were commenced with great vigor. On the secession of Virginia, a salute of eight guns was fired. A full armament of one hundred and fifty guns was sent to Fort Pulaski. Fort Jackson, on the Savannah River, below the city, was put in a complete state of defence. An exterior line of fortification to protect the mouth of the river was also commenced, chiefly on Tybee Island.

On the 26th day of April, the Governor issued his proclamation, forbidding the payment of debts to Northern creditors, as follows:

Whereas, by the oppressive and wicked conduct of the Government and people of that part of the late United States, known as the anti-Slavery States, war actually exists between them and the people of the Southern States; and whereas, the President of the United States has issued his proclamation, declaring his determination to blockade the ports of the Southern States, and is now collecting Federal troops upon Southern soil for the purpose of subjugating and enslaving us; and whereas, property belonging to the citizens of the State of Georgia, whenever found within the anti-slavery States is seized and forcibly taken from its owners; and whereas, all contracts made with the enemy during the existence of hostilities are, by the law of nations, illegal and void, and all remedies for the enforcement of contracts in our courts between citizens of this State and citizens of the States making war upon us, which were made prior to the commencement of hostilities, are suspended till the termination of the war; and whereas, in the language of the law of nations, "the purchase of bills on the enemy's country, or the remission and deposit of funds there, is a dangerous and illegal act, because it may be cherishing the resources and relieving the wants of the enemy, and the remission of funds in money, or bills to subjects of the enemy, is unlawful;" and whereas, sound policy as well as international law absolutely forbids that any citizen of this State shall, under any pretext whatever, assist the enemy by remitting, paying, or furnishing any money or other thing of value during the continuance of hostilities, to the Government or people of the States which have waged and are maintaining a most unnatural and wicked war against us; and whereas, justice requires that all sums due from citizens of this State to individuals in such hostile States, who do not uphold and sustain the savage and cruel warfare inaugurated by their Government, should be promptly paid so soon as hostilities have ceased, and the independence of the Confederate States is recognized by the Government of the United States:

Therefore, in view of these considerations, I, Joseph E. Brown, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy of the State of Georgia, do issue this, my proclamation, commanding and enjoining upon each citizen or inhabitant of this State, that he abstain absolutely from all violations of the law above recited, and that he do not, under any pretext whatever, remit, transfer, or pay to the Government of the United States, or any one of the States composing said Government, which is known as a Free Soil State, including, among others, the States of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio; or to any citizen or inhabitant of any such State, any money, bills, drafts, or other things of value, either in payment of any debt due, or hereafter to become due, or for or on account of, any other cause whatever, until the termination of hostilities.

And I hereby invite each citizen or inhabitant of this State, who is indebted to said Government, or either of said States, or any citizen, or inhabitants thereof, to pay the amount of such indebtedness, whenever due, into the treasury of Georgia, in any funds bankable in Augusta or Savannah, or to deposit the same, subject to the order of the Treasurer of this State, in any one of the solvent banks of either of said cities, or in any legally authorized agency of either of said banks; and upon the making of any such deposit at the Treasury,

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or upon presentation of any such certificate of deposit, the Treasurer of this State is hereby directed and required to deliver to such person a certificate, specifying the sum so deposited, which I hereby declare the faith and credit of this State will be pledged to repay to such depositor, in funds bankable in Augusta and Savannah, with seven per cent. interest from the date of the deposit, so soon as hostilities shall have ceased, and it shall again be lawful for debtors to pay the same to creditors in the hostile States above mentioned. This will not only afford to such of our citizens as owe money to Northern creditors, which international law and public policy forbid them at present to pay, a safe investment, and the highest security for its return to them at the end of the war, but it will enable them in the mean time to perform a patriotic duty and to assist the State, and through her the Confederate States, in raising the funds necessary to the successful defence of our homes, our firesides, and our altars.

And I do further command and strictly enjoin upon all and every chartered bank in this State, which may be in possession of any note, bill, draft, or other paper binding any citizen of this State to pay money to any one of the said hostile States, or any inhabitant or corporation thereof, or belonging to any such State or person, to abstain from protesting any such draft, bill, note, or other paper, provided the person liable on such bill, draft, note, or other paper, will exhibit to such bank or any of its agencies, having such paper in possession, a certificate showing that he has deposited the amount due on such paper, in the Treasury of this State, or in any one of the banks above mentioned, to the credit of the Treasurer, or will at the time such paper becomes due, make such deposit. I further command and require all Notaries Public in this State, to abstain absolutely from the performance of any official act for the protest of any paper of the character above mentioned, under such circumstances as are hereinbefore specified.

Given under my hand and the great seal of the State, at the Capitol, in Milledgeville, this twenty-sixth day of April, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and sixty-one, and of the independence of the Confederate States of America, the first. JOSEPH E. BROWN.

E. P. WATKINS, Secretary of State.

The agents for the cotton loan were active in their endeavors to obtain subscriptions. In other parts of the State, besides Savannah, very liberal subscriptions were made. The demand for arms, however, was, even at this early period, becoming urgent, and most extensive schemes were set on foot to undertake their manufacture. The reasons offered to induce capitalists to embark in these enterprises were: that their country was almost destitute of means to construct arms, their supplies from foreign countries had been cut off, their present stores must soon be exhausted; their enemies had all the means at hand for constructing the most destructive weapons.

The people were urged by the Governor to ship no more cotton while the blockade continued. This scarcity of cotton, it was believed, would operate upon the manufacturing industry of the world with such severity as to excite movements in behalf of the Confederate States. The view of the Governor was thus expressed: "It is said our enemies exempt cotton from blockade. Why? Because they cannot do without it. I appeal to our planters, therefore, to refuse to ship a bag while the blockade lasts. This will soon remove the blockade from our ports, and the increase in price will amply reward you for the loss you may sustain while keeping your cotton on hand. I trust our people will hold public meetings, and petition the Government at Montgomery to lay an absolute embargo upon cotton, permitting not one bag to pass out of the Confederate States while the blockade is maintained. I appeal to our capitalists to go to work vigorously and prepare to manufacture such articles as we most need. I also appeal to our planters to redouble their energies for the production of all supplies of provision necessary to support our people at home and our armies in the field. The prospect is most flattering for an abundant wheat harvest. Let each planter, as soon as his wheat is cut, break and plant a few more acres of his best wheat land in early kind of corn. Finally, I appeal to all, ladies and gentlemen, to practise strict economy, dispense with every unnecessary luxury, and devote all to our country till the battle is won, and our independence acknowledged by the civilized nations of the earth."

The exhaustion of the supply of arms was becoming so certain that the Governor again addressed the people on the subject. He stated that all the arms in the arsenal at Augusta, at the date of the act for its transfer to the Confederate States, were turned over to the Secretary of War, and ordered by him out of the State to arm troops of other States on the border of the Confederacy. All those arms which were taken from the arsenal previous to its transfer, were placed in the hands of the State troops at that time in service. Over seventeen thousand troops had been fully armed, accoutred and equipped by the State at the end of July, including full supplies of tents, knapsacks, haversacks, blankets, cartridge boxes, cap pouches, camp kettles, canteens, &c., at a cost of nearly $300,000, over and above the cost of the guns and the expense of feeding and rendezvousing twenty regiments. About five thousand independent troops also had gone from the State, a part of whom had taken State arms. The supply that remained was only sufficient for two or three new regiments, and was then required. It was estimated that there were 40,000 good country rifles and 25,000 good double-barrelled shot-guns. From this source a temporary supply was expected.

The change in the financial condition of the State, arising from the stagnation of commerce and the disappearance of specie, caused great embarrassment among the people. This was accompanied with an advance on many necessary articles. So oppressive was this change upon the citizens, that the attention of the Legislature was called to it by the Governor, who recommended that such measures should be adopted as would put an end to the unjust and unpatriotic speculations in these prime necessaries of life. He said: "There should be enacted a law, authorizing the Governor, or any military officer under his command, by his direction, to seize and appropriate any provisions or other supplies necessary for our army

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in the hands of speculators or traders, and to pay them or tender to pay them reasonable and just compensation therefor, to be fixed by competent valuing agents. Such a measure would not only secure the Government against extortion, but it would also accomplish a general public benefit in the regulation of prices. The price fixed as the market value of the articles needed by the State, which are also the principal articles needed by the community, would very soon become the general market price in the State, as the authorities could, on information, seize supplies for the State in the hands of such persons as refused to sell at reasonable prices, and thus bring down those above to medium rates." Bacon, which cost, before the war commenced, ten cents per pound, was then selling for thirty cents. Country jeans had advanced from fifty cents per yard to one dollar twenty-five and one dollar fifty cents. An act was accordingly passed by the Legislature which allowed the owner to sell salt, wheat, flour, bacon, lard, cotton, osnaburgs, kerseys, leather, shoes, at an advance of sixty per cent. over the price in the month of April previous, but all speculative prices were forbidden.

The military quota of the State was ordered by the Confederate Government to the border States. The danger of invasion was at no time prior to the latter part of the year considered so imminent as to require a large force in the field, ready for defence. In September, about three thousand troops were stationed on the seaboard to defend the city of Savannah, and about one hundred and ten miles of sea-coast. The Governor frequently made offers to the Secretary of War to increase this force by calling out the militia, but no requisition was ever made by the latter. Finally the Governor, apprehending danger, called out a considerable force as a part of his duty, and proceeded to organize them. No assistance had thus far been received from the Confederate Government in the defence of the coast, and the Governor recommended to the State Legislature to undertake this duty. He said: "My own opinion is, that it is not now the time to count the cost, but that we should call out as many troops as may be necessary to repel the invader, should he appear either upon the sea-coast or upon the borders of Tennessee. Whether it may take ten thousand or twenty thousand men, or whether it may cost five or ten millions of dollars, I ask, in the name of the people, that their representatives place at my command the men and money necessary to accomplish this object."

The expedition to Port Royal (*see* EXPEDITIONS) sailed from Fortress Monroe so late in the year, that it served only to threaten the coast of Georgia for some time. A considerable force, as a coast guard, was collected, and some troops were also sent to aid in the defence of Charleston. A number of little steam-boats were equipped under Captain Tattnal, once an officer of the United States Navy. They were, however, unable to oppose the overwhelming force sent by the Federal Government.

The vote for President in 1860 was: Douglas, 11,590; Breckinridge, 51,889; Bell, 42,886. No votes were cast for Mr. Lincoln.

GIBBS, JOSIAH WILLARD, LL.D., an American philologist and professor, born in Salem, Mass., April 30, 1790, died at New Haven, March 25, 1861. He graduated at Yale College in 1809, and was tutor there from 1811 to 1815. In 1824 he was appointed professor of sacred literature in the Yale Theological Seminary connected with the college, and continued to fulfil the duties of that professorship to the close of his life. In 1853 the College of New Jersey conferred on him the degree of LL.D. He was particularly fond of grammatical and philological studies, and had attained a high reputation for thoroughness and accuracy in them. He contributed to several of the most important philological works of the present century, among others to the revised edition of Webster's Unabridged Dictionary, to Prof. W. C. Fowler's work on the English language, and to the American Journal of Science, and other critical periodicals. His published works were: a translation of Storr's "Historical Sense of the New Testament," Boston, 1817; a translation of Gesenius' "Hebrew Lexicon of the Old Testament," 8vo. Andover, 1824; "A Manual Hebrew and English Lexicon," (abridged from Gesenius,) Andover, 1828, (2d edition, New Haven, 1832:) "Philological Studies," New Haven, 1857; and "Latin Analyst," New Haven, 1858.

GIBSON, GEN. GEORGE, died at Washington on the 29th of September, 1861. A native of Pennsylvania, he entered the army from civil life as a captain of infantry, in May, 1808. Subsequently he was promoted to the rank of major and lieutenant-colonel, and after having served with distinction through the war of 1812–'15, he was discharged at its close. Reappointed as quartermaster-general in 1816, and subsequently made commissary-general in 1818, he rendered invaluable service in the former capacity to the army of Gen. Jackson in Florida, and thereby earned the enduring friendship of that stern soldier. Brevetted a brigadier-general for faithful service in 1826, and a major-general for meritorious conduct as commissary-general during the Mexican war, he administered the affairs of his department for a period of over forty years, to the entire satisfaction, it was believed, of his superiors and the army.

GORTCHAKOFF, PRINCE MIHIEL or MICHAEL, a Russian general, born in 1792, died May 30, 1861. He was a descendant of one of the oldest and noblest houses of Russia, being of the stock of Rurik, one of the early czars of Russia. His father was the celebrated prince Dimitri Petrowitsch Gortchakoff, well known as a Russian poet. Young Gortchakoff entered the army very early, and served against the French in the campaigns of 1807 and 1812–'14; against the Swedes in 1808–'9, and in 1810 as an artillery officer in Persia. During the cam-

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paign of 1812–'14 he was present at Borodino, Lutzen, Bautzen, Dresden, and Leipzig. In 1828–'9 he was general of brigade, and led the sieges of Shumla and Silistria, capturing the latter city after a long siege, and was advanced to the rank of lieutenant-general; in 1831, he distinguished himself in the war of the Polish revolution at Grochow, where he was severely wounded at the capture of the bridge of Ostrolenka and the taking of Warsaw, and was made chief of staff of the active army, as a testimony of his ability as an officer. In 1843 he was appointed general of artillery, and in 1846 military governor of Warsaw, where he gained the affection of the people by his efforts for the improvement of the capital. In 1849, as major-general, he took part in the war with Hungary. In 1852 he attended the funeral of the Duke of Wellington as representative of the army of Russia, which had honored the duke with an appointment as field-marshal. In 1854 he was appointed commander of the army of the Pruth in the principalities. He besieged Silistria for some months, but finally raised the siege, and subsequently withdrew his troops into Bessarabia, where, a few months later, he received from the emperor the command of the entire Russian forces in the Crimea. He was defeated on the Tchernayo, but more than retrieved his reputation by his gallant defence of Sebastopol, and by his skilful retreat after its capture, which enabled him to avoid a disastrous capitulation. After the death of Paskiewitch he was appointed governor of Poland, and exerted himself, up to his death, to promote the peace of that unhappy country.

GRAHAM, Sir James Robert George, an English statesman, born at Netherby, in Cumberland, June 1, 1792, died at his residence in Netherby, Oct. 25, 1861. He was educated at Westminster, and at Queen's College, Cambridge, and entered public life as secretary to Lord Montgomery, in Sicily, and afterwards served in the same capacity under Lord William Bentinck. In 1818 he was elected to parliament from Hull, coming out in opposition to the political views of his father, who was greatly displeased with his conduct. He soon distinguished himself as an able political writer, and advocated the principles of the liberal school in politics. In 1820 he retired from parliament; in 1824 he succeeded his father as baronet, and in 1826 was elected for Carlisle, and was a member of parliament, as the representative either of that city, Cumberland, East Pembroke, Dorchester, or Ripon, from that time till his death. From 1830 to 1834 he was first Lord of the Admiralty, and a member of the cabinet under the Grey Ministry. In 1831 he was one of the most efficient advocates of the Reform bill in the House. In 1834, in conjunction with Lord Stanley (now Earl Derby) he left the Grey Cabinet, and for some years attached himself to no particular party. In 1841 he was Home Secretary under Sir Robert Peel. In 1844 he was accused of tampering with the letters of the Italian republicans, which passed through the London Post-office, and the accusation was sustained by strong evidence. In 1845 he ably advocated the Free Trade policy of Sir Robert Peel. In 1846, on the defeat of the Irish coercion bill, he retired from office, but was appointed one of the council of the duchy of Lancaster in 1847. In 1852 he again became first Lord of the Admiralty under Lord Aberdeen, but resigned in 1855, under Lord Palmerston, from his opposition to the premier's views relative to the Russian war. Sir Charles Napier brought very severe allegations against him for his mode of fitting out the Baltic fleet during his term of service, and these allegations were sustained by the most convincing evidence. The motives which prompted his action in this matter were never explained. In 1859 he took grounds with the advanced liberals in a speech on Earl Derby's Reform bill, although he had previously acted with the tories. He held no office under the Government after his resignation in 1855.

GREAT BETHEL is about 12 miles from Fortress Monroe, on the road from Hampton to Yorktown, and between two and four miles beyond Little Bethel on the same road. This latter spot, consisting chiefly of a small church, is about ten miles from Hampton and the same distance from Newport News, in Elizabeth City County, Virginia. At Little Bethel a Confederate outpost of some strength was established, the main army being in the vicinity of Yorktown. From Little Bethel the Confederate troops were accustomed to advance, both on Newport News and the picket guards of Hampton, to annoy them. They had also come down in small squads of cavalry and taken a number of Union men, and forced them to serve in their ranks, besides gathering up the slaves of citizens who had moved away and left their farms in charge of their negroes, and sent them to work on the intrenchments at Williamsburg and Yorktown. Gen. Butler, being in command at Fortress Monroe, determined to drive out the enemy and destroy his camp. At Great Bethel, which is a large church near the head of Back River, there was another outpost, and a considerable rendezvous with works of some strength in process of erection. Brig.-Gen. E. W. Pierce was appointed to the command of the expedition, and issued the following orders:

Head-quarters Camp Hamilton,
June 9, 1861.

General Orders, No. 12: A plan of attack to-night is herewith enclosed and forwarded to Col. Duryea, commanding Fifth Regiment New York State troops, who will act accordingly. Col. Townsend, commanding Third Regiment New York State troops, will march his command in support of Col. Duryea; Col. Carr, commanding Second Regiment New York Volunteers, will detach the artillery company of his regiment, with their field-pieces, caissons, and a suitable supply of ammunition, and take their position at the burnt bridge, near Hampton. Cols. Allen, Carr, and McChesney will hold their entire command in readiness, fully prepared to march at a moment's notice. All the troops will be supplied with one day's rations, and each man with twenty rounds of ball cartridges. That no mistake may be made, all the troops, as they charge the

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enemy, will shout "Boston." Cols. Allen, Carr, Townsend, Duryea, and McChesney will take notice, and act accordingly. By command of

Brigadier-General E. W. PIERCE.

Some notes were added to this order, the principal points of which were as follows:

A regiment or battalion to march from Newport News. A regiment or battalion to march from Camp Hamilton, Duryea's; each to be supported by sufficient reserves under arms in camp, and with advance-guard out on the line of march. Duryea to push out two pickets at 10 P. M.; one also two and a half miles beyond Hampton, on the county road, but not so far as to alarm the enemy. This is important. Second picket half so far as the first. Both pickets to keep as much out of sight as possible. No one whosoever to be allowed to pass through their lines. Persons to be allowed to pass inward towards Hampton, unless it appear they intend to go around about and dodge through the front. At 12 M., (midnight,) Col. Duryea will march his regiment, with twenty rounds of cartridges, on the county road towards Little Bethel. Scows will be provided to ferry them across Hampton Creek. March to be rapid but not hurried. A howitzer with canister and shrapnell to go, and a wagon with planks and materials to repair the New Market bridge. Duryea to have the two hundred rifles. He will pick the men to whom they are to be intrusted. Newport News movement to be made somewhat later, as the distance is less. If we find the enemy and surprise them, we will fire a volley if desirable, not reload, and go ahead with the bayonet. As the attack is to be made by night, or gray of morning, and in two detachments, our people should have some token, say a white rag, or nearest approach to white attainable, on left arm.

Accordingly, on that night, the regiment of New York Zouaves, under Col. Duryea, and the Albany (N. Y.) regiment, under Col. Townsend, were despatched from Fortress Monroe, while the New York Steuben (German) regiment, under Col. Bendix, with detachments from the First Vermont and the Third Massachusetts, were ordered from Newport News. With the division from Fortress Monroe, or Camp Hamilton, as it was called, there was a small detachment of United States Artillery, Lieut. Greble commanding, with three pieces of light artillery.

The Zouaves were ordered to proceed over Hampton Creek at 1 o'clock in the morning, and to march by the road up to New Market Bridge; thence, after crossing, to go by a by-road, which would put them in the rear of the enemy, and between Little Bethel and Great Bethel. This was to be done for the purpose of cutting off the enemy and then to make an attack on Little Bethel. This movement was to be supported by Col. Townsend's regiment with two howitzers, which was to march from Hampton one hour later. The companies of Massachusetts and Vermont were to make a demonstration upon Little Bethel in front, supported by Col. Bendix's regiment with two fieldpieces. The regiments of Cols. Bendix and Townsend were to effect a junction at a fork of the road leading from Hampton to Newport News, about a mile and a half from Little Bethel. Col. Townsend, in his report, thus describes the manner in which this junction was made:

"In obedience to these orders, with the concerted sign of a white badge upon our left arm, (at midnight,) I marched my regiment to Hampton, where the general met the command and accompanied it.

"On approaching a defile through a thick wood, about five or six miles from Hampton, a heavy and well-sustained fire of canister and small-arms was opened upon the regiment while it was marching in a narrow road, upon the flank, in easy step and wholly unsuspicious of any enemy, inasmuch as we were ordered to reënforce Col. Duryea, who had preceded us by some two hours, and who had been ordered to throw out, as he marched, an advance guard two miles from his regiment, and a sustaining force half-way between the advance and the regiment; therefore, had Col. Duryea been obliged to retreat upon us before we reached his locality, we should have heard distant firing, or some of his regiment would have been seen retreating.

"The force which fired upon us was subsequently ascertained to be only the regiment of Col. Bendix, though a portion of the Vermont and Fourth Massachusetts regiments was with it, having come down with two 6-pounder field-pieces from Newport News to join the column. These regiments took up a masked position in the woods at the commencement of the defile. The result of the fire upon us was two mortally wounded, (one since dead,) three dangerously, and four officers and twenty privates slightly, making a total of twenty-nine. At the commencement of the fire, the general, captain chamberlain, his aide-de-camp, and two mounted howitzers were about 250 paces in advance of the regiment; the fire was opened upon them first by a discharge of small-arms, and immediately followed by a rapidly returned volley upon my regiment and the field-pieces; my men then generally discharged their pieces and jumped from the right to the left of the road, and recommenced loading and firing. In a few minutes, the regiment was reformed in the midst of this heavy fire, and by the general's directions, retired in a thoroughly military manner, and in order to withdraw his supposed enemy from his position. On ascertaining that the enemy were our friends, and on providing for the wounded, we joined Cols. Duryea and Bendix."

Col. Duryea, who was on the advance, thus describes his movement:

"At half-past 11 o'clock, at night, we commenced the march, and for the first two miles to Hampton Bridge, proceeded leisurely, waiting for the howitzer which should be placed at the head of the column. Arriving at Hampton Creek, much delay was occasioned by the non-arrival of the surf-boats which were to convey the regiment across the river, and it was 1 o'clock before the column was formed, ready to push forward on the other side. We now advanced rapidly, and soon came up with our two companies of skirmishers, who had been despatched ahead an hour and a half previous. Proceeding steadily on without resting a mo-

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ment, we came about 4 o'clock in the morning to Little Bethel, a distance of about ten miles. At this point we discovered and surprised the picket-guard of the enemy, and a mounted officer with four or five foot were taken prisoners. While pushing forward towards Big Bethel, we suddenly heard a heavy fire of musketry and cannon in our rear, bespeaking a severe engagement. Supposing it to be an attempt of the enemy to cut off our reserve, we immediately countermarched in quick and double-quick time, when, having proceeded about five miles, we came upon two of our regiments, and learned that in the darkness of the night they had mistaken each other for enemies, and an unfortunate engagement, accompanied with some loss, had taken place."

Up to the time of this fatal mistake, the plan had been vigorously, accurately, and successfully carried out. As a precaution, the commanding general had ordered that no attack should be made until the watchword had been shouted by the attacking regiment. Ten of Col. Townsend's regiment were wounded, and one mortally. All hope of surprising the enemy above the camp at Little Bethel was now lost, and it was found, upon marching upon it, to have been vacated, and the cavalry had pressed on towards Great Bethel. Gen. Pierce now consulted with his colonels, and it was concluded to attempt to carry the works of the enemy at Great Bethel, and measures were taken for that purpose. The force proceeded on, and Great Bethel was reached about 10 o'clock. Over a small stream twelve miles from Hampton, a bridge, called County Bridge, crosses on the road to Yorktown. On the opposite side, and to the right, the enemy were posted behind sand batteries. In front of their batteries was a broad open field, and nearer to the bridge than that, and on the right of the advancing force, was a wood, and in front and to the left, a corn-field. Between the wood and the corn-field, ran a road connected with that by which the advance was made. Col. Duryea's regiment now advanced over the fence and into the corn-field, and deployed into an apple orchard on the enemy's right flank. The Albany regiment took a supporting position on the right and rear of Col. Duryea, while it in turn was supported in like manner by Col. Allen's regiment. In the road in front of the enemy's batteries, Lieut. Greble's howitzers were placed, having in their rear Col. Bendix's regiment, which deployed on the right, in the wood, and on the enemy's left flank with three companies of the Massachusetts and Vermont regiments. The fire of the enemy became at once incessant and galling on the Federal right. The howitzers of Lieut. Greble, supported only by the ordinary force of gunners, opened fire with great rapidity and effect, and were steadily advanced to within 200 yards of the enemy's position. Several attempts were now made to charge the batteries, but were unsuccessful, owing to a morass in their front and a deep ditch or stream requiring ladders to cross it. The troops were, however, gradually gaining ground, although the action had continued nearly two hours and a half, when the order was given by Gen. Pierce to retreat. The howitzers maintained their position until their ammunition began to give out, when Lieut. Greble was struck on the back part of the head by a cannon ball, killing him instantly. The gunner having been disabled, the pieces were withdrawn by a small force under Col. Washburn.

On the right, the Vermont companies had outflanked the enemy, gaining a position in their rear and pouring such a hot fire as to silence the battery there. A statement by one of the Confederate force, says: "One company under Capt. Winthrop attempted to take the redoubt on the left. The marsh over which they crossed was strewn with their bodies. Their captain, a fine-looking man, reached the fence and leaping on a log, waved his sword, crying, 'Come on, boys; one charge and the day is ours.' The words were his last, for a Carolina rifle ended his life the next moment, and his men fled." The force retired from the field in order, about half-past 12 o'clock, and the enemy on the same day fell back to Yorktown. The number of Federal troops was between three and four thousand, while that of the enemy was nearly fifteen hundred. The loss on the Federal side was sixteen killed, thirty-four wounded, and five missing. The loss on the Confederate side was small.

A statement was made by an officer of Col. Bendix's regiment, that the latter had not received any intimation that the troops would wear white badges round the arm for the purpose of mutual recognition, and if he had, he would not have been able to distinguish such badge at the distance and in the dusk of the morning. Col. Bendix's command did not wear such badges. The uniform of Col. Townsend's regiment was very similar to that of the enemy. It was also further stated, that when Col. Townsend's troops approached the junction over a slight ridge, they appeared to be a troop of cavalry, because Gen. Pierce and staff and Col. Townsend and staff, in a body, rode in advance of their troops, and without any advance guard thrown out.

The expedition was originally undertaken with the object of cutting off a body of the enemy supposed to be near Newport News, and it was undertaken at night in order to surprise their batteries. This surprise was frustrated by the mistaken engagement between the two regiments. Some of the officers were opposed to an advance after this occurrence.

The bravery of the Federal troops was admitted even by the enemy, and if proper knowledge had been obtained beforehand of the position, and no order for retreat had been given, the attack would have been successful. No investigation has ever been made of the affair, nor has the generalship displayed ever been approved.

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GREAT BRITAIN. The year commenced with gloomy apprehensions. The country was involved, in alliance with France, in a costly and, as was then probable, protracted war with China, and though news of a treaty of peace between the representatives of the allied powers and the Chinese Emperor (the treaty of Tien-tsin) soon arrived, yet the flight of the emperor and the wide-spread insurrection of the Tae-ping party, made it doubtful whether another and worse struggle was not to follow. In New Zealand a war had broken out between the natives and the colonists, which the experience of previous colonial wars led the nation to apprehend, might prove lengthy and expensive; in her relations to the European powers, there was much that boded ill for peace; Austria was threatened with an Italian war and insurrection in Hungary, and such a war would almost inevitably involve on one side or the other most of the powers of Europe; Prussia was developing a reactionary tendency, and her hostility to France and connection with England were strong motives to incline Great Britain to sympathize with a Germanic policy; France, by her disruption of diplomatic intercourse with Italy, the retention of her squadron at Gaeta, her persistent occupation of Syria against English remonstrances, her encouragement of the canal project of M. Lesseps, and her armed occupancy of the isthmus of Suez in connection with it; her whispered designs upon Sardinia, and the marked increase of her army and naval forces, had given rise to extreme uneasiness, on the part both of the British Government and people. At home, there was still more cause for depression. The deficiency in the crops of 1860 was very great, far beyond that of any previous year since 1847, and the purchase of grain from foreign countries had produced such a drain of specie, that the rate of discount in the Bank of England had risen to nine per cent., and the disturbances already existing in the United States, the general shortness of crops in France and Germany, and the apprehension of the imminence of war, had so far paralyzed trade, that the manufactories of the country were obliged to suspend or diminish their production. News, too, came from India that, owing to the extreme drought of the preceding season, a terrible famine was prevailing over extensive districts, and the wretched natives were dying daily by hundreds from starvation, and looked to England for help. The Government took measures at once to relieve, in part, this urgent distress, and subscriptions to the amount of $500,000 were made by private individuals, to aid in preventing or alleviating the suffering from the famine. As the months rolled on, some of these causes of disquietude were removed; the Chinese treaty was observed, the Indian famine was relieved, the New Zealand insurgents surrendered to the British commander on the 18th of March, and though hostilities were subsequently renewed, their former prestige of success was lost; the French fleet left Gaeta, and the city surrendered on the 14th of February; and, at the repeated and urgent solicitation of the British Government, the termination of the French occupation of Syria was definitively fixed for the 6th of June. The French Emperor disavowed any intention of obtaining possession of Sardinia, and made such explanations of his increased armament as were partially satisfactory, while his abrogation of the passport system, and his negotiation with Mr. Cobden, of the reciprocal commercial treaty, materially reducing the duties on the productions and manufactures of the two countries, were in some sort guaranties for his peaceful intentions.

The finances of the Government, too, which had given rise to some apprehension, a deficit having occurred the previous year, and a still larger one being expected the present one, had assumed unexpectedly a more favorable aspect; a moderate surplus having taken the place of the previous year's deficiency. But if these causes of solicitude had vanished, others had appeared in their place. Lord John Russell had communicated to the Italian court his sympathy with them, and had avowed the right of a people, situated as the Neapolitans were, to throw off their allegiance to the tyranny that oppressed them, and transfer it to another power. This declaration, intended only to encourage and unite the Italians, and perhaps to rebuke Prussia for her strongly reactionary tendencies, had a wider application than he intended; the Ionian Islands, under the Government of Great Britain, were desirous of transferring their allegiance to the Kingdom of Greece, and had the very good plea to offer, that Great Britain did not understand their needs or legislate for them, and their commissioners adroitly applied the language of the English Foreign Secretary as justifying them in making such a transfer; the Irish members of parliament, delighted with their opportunity, made a similar application of it to their own case; and the commissioners from the Confederate States, who had just appeared, hailed it as perfectly *apropos* to their position. Some awkward explanation was necessary, to avoid the dilemma into which the Secretary had fallen; but it was finally accomplished, without satisfying the claimants for its application to their several cases, that it was not intended to have so wide a range as they sought to give it.

The proposition to repeal the duty on paper, made by Mr. Gladstone, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the preceding year, and then defeated by the House of Lords, was renewed during the session of 1861, and accompanied by a reduction of the income tax one penny on the pound, and the retention of the tea and sugar duties for another year. After a considerable debate, the bill for this purpose passed the House of Commons by a vote of 296 yeas to 281 nays, and the House of Lords without a division.

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On the 29th of April, in answer to some inquiries made by Lord Malmesbury, in the House of Lords, Lord Wodehouse stated on behalf of the Government, that her Majesty's Government, after a mature deliberation, had decided not to obtrude advice or counsel on the Government of the United States; and Lord Lyons had been instructed to give no advice unless asked for by the contending parties, but at the same time, to express on every fitting occasion the earnest desire entertained by her Majesty's Government, that the differences between the North and the South might be peacefully arranged.

It became, with each succeeding month, more and more evident, not only that the manufacturing interests of Great Britain were destined to suffer from the want of a supply of cotton, consequent upon the condition of affairs in the United States, but also, that in a variety of ways the country would be involved in difficulties in connection with it.

The Cotton Supply Association, which had been established in 1857, in consequence of the partial failure of the American cotton crop of that year, for the purpose of encouraging the cultivation of cotton in other countries, and especially in India, but which had been nearly paralyzed in its action by the Indian mutiny and war of 1859, was now stimulated to the highest activity. Large quantities of cotton-seed were forwarded to India, Ceylon, South Africa, Egypt, Turkey, various African ports, Australia, the Phillippine Islands, New Zealand, the Mauritius, and the South American States, and measures for the encouragement of the cultivation by securing the tenure of the land to the cultivator, by improving the facilities of transportation, offering bounties, furnishing cotton-gins, &c., were urgently and, in general, successfully pressed on the Colonial Governments. In June, the Secretary of the Association sailed for India, where he remained for some months, superintending measures for a more extended cultivation of cotton there for the succeeding year. (*See* COTTON.)

On the 13th of May, the Queen issued a proclamation, declaring her determination to maintain a strict neutrality between the two contending parties, to both of which the rights of belligerents were to be accorded, and warning her subjects against aiding or assisting either party, as they would thereby throw themselves out of the pale of British protection, and on conviction of such offence would be punished by fine and imprisonment.

A blockade of the ports in the seceded States having been declared by the U. S. Government, and it being evident that strenuous efforts were put forth to make it effectual, the British Government, though strongly solicited to do so, declared that it could not, in accordance with the principles it had hitherto avowed, make any attempt to break the blockade, or encourage or approve of the efforts of its subjects to do so.

In the early part of the year, the cotton of the crop of 1860 had come forward in large quantities, the receipts of the year from the United States being about 1,750,000 bales, which, though less than usual, was, with the increased receipts from other countries, sufficient to supply the manufacturers for a time; but in the summer and early autumn it became evident that little of the crop of 1861 would reach British ports, and in consequence there was a strong manifestation of hostility towards the U. S. Government on the part of the public prints, with a few honorable exceptions, and on the part of a considerable number of members of parliament and men of wealth and position, and reiterated demands were made for the recognition of the Confederate States. These demands were coupled with gross abuse and misrepresentation of the position of the President and Cabinet of the United States, and it was asserted, not without probability, that several of the leading papers of London were in the pay of the Southern Confederacy.

The British Government, however, remained firm against these demands, and though at times indicating a spirit not wholly friendly, yet abstained from any manifestation of sympathy with the hostile disposition of a portion of the press and people.

Matters were in this condition, when two circumstances occurred, which at first seemed likely to precipitate the two countries into an immediate war; these were, the taking, by Com. Wilkes, of the U. S. frigate San Jacinto, of Messrs. Mason and Slidell and their secretaries, from the British mail steamer Trent, in the Bahama Channel, on the 8th of November, and the countenance and assistance given about the same time, it was said by order of the British Government, to the Confederate privateer steamer Nashville, which had entered Southampton harbor for repairs and supplies, after capturing and burning the American merchant ship Harvey Birch. Against this assistance and protection the American Minister protested; and the American steam-frigate Tuscarora, stationed off the harbor, awaited her coming out, to attack her, but was compelled by British war vessels to give her the advantage of twenty-four hours' start, which, as she was a remarkably swift sailer, of course precluded all hope of her capture.

The capture of Messrs. Mason and Slidell, (*see* TRENT and DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE,) was regarded by the British Government as equivalent to an invasion of her soil; and though that Government had on previous occasions committed precisely the same offence against vessels of other nations, and notably against those of the United States, it now took the opportunity of demanding the restoration of the parties captured, and an apology for the act. The course pursued by the Government was unquestionably influenced, to some extent, by the clamors of the opposition, who thought they had found in the event an oppor-

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tunity for overthrowing the administration, and who denounced the American Government in no measured terms, and demanded immediate preparations for war. The demand for restitution and apology, which was said to have been at first couched in very haughty and menacing language, was, it is asserted, materially modified by the Prince Consort, with the approval of the Queen, and was one of the last acts of that much lamented and excellent personage. As received by the U. S. Government, though somewhat peremptory, it was not wanting in courtesy; its transmission had been accompanied by the forwarding of a body of 13,000 to 14,000 troops to Canada, as if to prepare for immediate war on the frontier.

While, however, the general course of the British Administration towards the U. S. Government had been marked by that dignity and courtesy becoming in such a nation, a painful exception must be made in regard to this affair. Within less than ten days after his knowledge of the capture of Messrs. Mason and Slidell, Mr. Seward, the American Secretary of State, had sent to the American Minister to the Court of St. James, instructions to communicate the fact to Earl Russell, and to inform him of the disposition of the American Government to arrange the affair in such a manner as to obviate any danger of hostilities between the two Governments; yet the ministry kept this fact concealed till the report of the surrender of Messrs. Mason and Slidell reached England, and by their silence and the measures they took, (such as prohibiting the exportation of saltpetre and sulphur, and ordering the putting of the army and navy upon the war footing,) they aroused a feeling of hostility between the two countries which far outlasted its occasion.

The proffered surrender of the parties to the British Minister, restored the concord between the two Governments, though not that between the two peoples, and though the year closed with grievous apprehensions on the part of the English people, the early days of the new year brought to them a relief.

In the internal policy of the Government, there had been circumstances of some interest here passed over, in order to give a more connected view of its American policy. Among these might be named the partial famine in Ireland, the result of a failure of the potato crop, which was the subject of governmental investigation, and to some extent relief; the extraordinary increase of organizations of volunteer riflemen, encouraged by the Government, and stimulated by the apprehension of trouble with France in the early part of the year; the large increase of coöperative associations among the workmen of the different towns and cities, promoted by the fear of loss of work by the shortness of the cotton supply; the extensive strikes, especially among the workers in stone, which at one time produced serious trouble among the building fraternity; and the extensive preparations made for the great International Exhibition of the present year. The building for this exhibition cost over $2,000,000, and contained 25½ acres of flooring. The Prince Consort had taken a lively interest in it, and had indeed been the prime mover in the enterprise. Some statistics are subjoined, which indicate the material condition of the British Empire more forcibly than any description can do. The census of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland was taken on the 8th of April, 1861, and among its results were the following:

TABLE I.—AREA AND POPULATION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

	Population.	Area in sq. miles.
England and Wales	20,061,725	58,320
Scotland	3,061,829	21,824
Ireland	5,792,025	32,512
Islands in the British seas	148,179	394
Out of the country, viz.: Army, navy, and merchant seamen	308,442	
Total	29,362,800	112,550

The population of Ireland had decreased, owing to the large emigration. There were in the United Kingdom twelve cities having above 100,000 inhabitants, and nine of these had above 300,000, while London had a population of 2,861,000.

The other possessions of the British Empire, in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, Australia, and Polynesia, have the following areas and populations, according to the latest census:

British possessions.	Area in sq. miles.	Population.
In Europe:		
Gibraltar	1.67	17,750
Malta and Gozzo	115	186,271
Heligoland	5.25	2,800
Ionian Islands (under British protectorate)	1,041	229,756
Total	1,162.92	386,557
In Asia:		
Possessions of the late East India Company	851,018	185,442,911
Ceylon	24,700	1,759,328
Hong Kong	29.14	75,363
Labuan	50.	1,169
Total	875,797.14	187,279,165
In Africa:		
Gambia	....	5,693
Sierra Leone	300	38,318
Gold Coast, including Lagos	6,000	151,346
Cape Colony	104,921	267,096
Natal	18,000	121,063
Islands—St. Helena, Mauritius, Seychelles, Aden, &c	735?	232,099
Total	129,976?	835,650
In America:		
Labrador	170,000	5,000
Lower Canada	205,860	1,110,664
Upper Canada	141,000	1,396,091
New Brunswick	27,037	193,800
Nova Scotia and Cape Breton	17,846	276,177
Prince Edward Island	2,173	71,494
Newfoundland	86,000	119,854
British Columbia	222,080	64,000
Vancouver's Island	17,256	25,000
Bermudas	20	11,092

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British possessions.	Area in sq. miles.	Population.
West Indies:		
Bahama Islands	3,522	27,619
Turk's Islands	....	3,250
Jamaica	6,400	377,433
Other West India Islands	1,456	408,472
Honduras	17,000	19,000
English Guiana	76,000	127,695
Falkland Isles	19,000	621
Total America	954,170	4,226,744
In Australia and Polynesia:		
New South Wales	53,100	342,062
Victoria	97,000	504,519
South Australia	300,000	1,151,665
Western Australia	?	14,176
Queensland	?	25,000
Tasmania	27,000	84,080
New Zealand	95,000	115,422
Fejee Islands	8,034	133,500
Total	580,134 ?	2,401,024

Total area and population of British Empire.

	Area in sq. miles.	Population.
Great Britain and Ireland	112,550	29,362,800
Other British possessions in Europe	1,162.92	386,557
Other British possessions in Asia	873,797.14	137,279,105
" " " Africa	129,976	885,650
Other British possessions in America	954,170	4,226,744
Other British possessions in Australia, &c.	580,134	2,401,024
Total	2,653,700.06	174,491,880

The budget of Mr. Gladstone, for the year ending April 1, 1862, was as follows:

TABLE II.—FINANCES OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Receipts.

Customs	£23,585,000
Excise	19,468,000
Stamps	8,460,000
Income tax	8,150,000
Other taxes	11,200,000
Post-office revenue	3,500,000
Crown lands	295,000
Miscellaneous receipts	2,200,000
Total	£71,858,000
Or	$359,265,000

Expenditure.

Interest on the floating and consolidated debt	£26,180,000
Charges on the consolidated funds	1,986,000
Army and militia	13,256,000
Navy	12,029,000
Coast guard	995,000
Civil service	7,737,000
Cost of collection	4,780,000
War in Australia and China	1,000,000
Total	£69,907,000
Or	$349,535,000

The debt of Gt. Britain was in 1860—	
Funded debt	£742,986,087
Unfunded debt	16,228,300
Irish debt	43,025,908
To which is added the Indian debt	80,458,765
And a pledge for the capital of the old East India Company and railroad guaranties	12,000,000
Total	£894,644,060
Or	$4,473,220,300

TABLE III.—ENGLISH ARMY FOR 1861-'2.

Cavalry, including Life-Guards, Horse-Guards, and cavalry of the line:

Commissioned officers	677
Subalterns and soldiers	11,433
Horses	7,626

Infantry, including the Guards 3 regiments; the infantry of the line, 100 regiments; 3 West India regiments, and sanitary corps:

Commissioned officers	4,073
Subalterns and soldiers	93,899

Artillery, including horse and foot artillery:

Commissioned officers	848
Subalterns and soldiers	20,899
Horses	4,000

Engineers:

Commissioned officers	834
Subalterns and soldiers	4,151
Horses	120

Train:

Commissioned officers	109
Subalterns and soldiers	1,500
Horses	996

Colonial Troops:

Officers	249
Subalterns and soldiers	5,134
Horses	900

Staff Officers:

Officers	1,048
Attendants	174

INDIAN ARMY.

	Officers	Men.	Horses.
Cavalry	272	4,744	4,696
Infantry	2,038	48,860	..
Horse artillery	29	800	800
Foot artillery	189	5,109	2,226
Regimental garrisons	330	6,358	240
Total of Indian army	2,858	63,871	8,262

Total of army of British Empire.

Officers	10,246
Subalterns and soldiers	202,527
Total of officers and men	212,773
Horses	21,904

Militia in Feb. 1861, including riflemen and artillery, in Great Britain *and Ireland*:

Men	1,430,000
Besides, in Ireland, military police, Men	12,400
Horses	358

In India.—Native military force in the 3 Presidencies:

Men	110,400

Marines, including the regular marine and coast-guard:

Men	27,500

NAVY, April, 1861.

Total number of vessels afloat and building	893
Of which were steam-vessels of the line, all screw-propellers	67
Frigates, three of them screw, the remainder paddle	52
Floating batteries, all screw-propellers	8
Gunboats, all screw-propellers	4
Corvettes, small gunboats, sloops, &c., all, or nearly all, propellers	365
Transport ships, all screw-propellers	66
Total	562
Sailing vessels, viz.:	
Ten line ships, 17 frigates, 18 sloops, 1 small ship, 53 sailing gunboats, in all	129
Total	691

The remaining 202 are storeships, hulks, &c., unfit for service. The number of guns in the whole fleet is 16,411, of which the steam vessels carry 11,137, and the sailing vessels 5,274. Of the whole number, 170 steam gunboats, and 147 sailing vessels are for port and coast-guard service.

There were, at the close of 1861, 4 iron-plated ships completed, and 11 more in process of construction. These were of five classes. The first class were to be 400 feet long, 6,621

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tons burthen, to be fully plated, and were expected to attain a speed of 14 knots an hour; none of them are yet completed. The second class, of which the Warrior, Achilles, and the Black Prince are completed, are partially plated, and have a speed of 14 knots. The third class are 4,060 tons burthen, with a speed of 12 knots. They are fully plated. The fourth class are 3,668 tons, fully plated, and will have a speed of 11.45 knots. The fifth class were begun as wooden line-of-battle ships, but are to be fully plated. Their tonnage is 4,045 tons. Two of them have engines of 1,000 horse-power, and are expected to make 12.41 knots an hour; the other two have engines of 800 horse-power, and will have a speed of 11½ knots.

The Railways of Great Britain.—The following statistics of British railways give some idea of the magnitude of the railway interest. The number of miles of rail track is, in round numbers, 10,000; the number of employées 100,000; the capital invested, $1,750,000,000; the annual revenue, $140,000,000. The number of locomotives is 6,000; of passenger cars, 15,000; of freight cars and trucks, 180,000. The number of miles run in 1861, 195,000,000; the number of cattle and other animals conveyed, 12,600,000; the amount of freight, 90,000,000 tons, for the carriage of which $75,000,000 was paid.

Factory Statistics of Great Britain and Ireland.—In 1861, there were in the United Kingdom 6,378 factories, containing 36,450,000 spindles, and 490,866 power looms, which required the services of 230,564 hand-loom weavers. The whole number of hands employed in these factories was 775,534, of whom 368,273 were males, and 407,261 females; an average of 121 hands to each factory. The aggregate power required for driving the machinery was 404,633 horse-power. In England and Wales there were 5,652 factories, employing 642,607 hands; in Ireland, 158 factories, employing 37,872 persons; in Scotland, 568 factories, with 95,055 operatives. Lancashire is the great manufacturing hive of England, having 2,144 factories, 22,067,703 spindles, and 363,531 power-looms.

Newspaper Statistics of the British Isles.—At the close of the year 1861, there were published in the United Kingdom 1,165 newspapers, a little more than double the number published in 1851. Of these, 845 were issued in England; 33 in Wales; 139 in Scotland; 134 in Ireland; 14 in the islands of the British Seas. In England there were 43 daily papers; 1 in Wales; 9 in Scotland; 16 in Ireland; and 2 in the British Islands. Beside these, there are 516 magazines and reviews, of which 213 are of a decidedly religious character.

Importation of Cotton in 1861.—The following table gives the entire importation of cotton into the United Kingdom during the year 1861, distinguishing the countries from which it was imported. The whole quantity was equivalent to 2,809,277 American bales:

	Cwt.
Russia (southern ports)	4
Sweden (ports within the Baltic)	70
" (ports without the Baltic)	8,824
Prussia	515
Hanover	92
Hamburg	1,517
Bremen	2,125
Holland	8,367
Belgium	4,270
France (ports without the Mediterranean)	8,393
" (ports within ditto)	138
Portugal Proper	3,436
" Azores	2,950
Spain (ports within the Mediterranean)	295
Italy—Sicily	1,288
Illyria, Croatia, and Dalmatia	1,066
Malta	2,473
Greece	415
Turkish dominions—European Turkey	28
" Natolia, or Asia Minor	570
" Syria and Palestine	35
" Egypt (ports on the Mediterranean)	365,108
British possessions on the Gold Coast	7
Western Coast of Africa (not particularly designated)	1,389
St. Helena	819
British possessions in South Africa—	
Cape of Good Hope	6,203
Natal	14
Mauritius	7,288
India (British possessions)—Bombay	3,081,777
" Madras	175,882
" Bengal	462
" Singapore	450
" Ceylon	36,633
India—French possessions	703
Philippine and Ladrone Islands	12
New South Wales	9
New Brunswick	12,515
Nova Scotia and Cape Breton	1,351
Bermudas	40
Bahamas and Turk's Islands	7
St. Christopher	92
Montserrat	8
St. Vincent	486
Barbadoes	352
Grenada	671
Tobago	2
Trinidad	154
Demerara and Essequibo	2,480
Cuba	6
Porto Rico	108
St. Thomas	1
Dutch Guiana	226
Hayti and the Dominican Republic	4,886
United States of America on the Atlantic—	
Northern States	570,531
Southern States	6,746,438
New Granada—ports in the Atlantic	1,685
Peru	3,585
Brazil	154,378
States of the Argentine Confederation	81
Total imported during the year, cwts.	11,223,073

GREAT EASTERN, STEAMER. This steamer was built at London and launched in the year 1859. She is estimated at 20,000 tons burthen, and is propelled by paddles on her sides and a screw at her stern. Her hull is made of iron; her masts are iron cylinders, and her main shrouds are composed of iron wire. Her length is 680 feet, and the breadth of beam 82½ feet.

This great ship, after leaving the Mersey, England, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon of Tuesday the 10th of September, bound to New York, proceeded all well until the afternoon of

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the following Thursday, by which time she was about 280 miles westward of Cape Clear. Then she was met by a fresh breeze, which speedily swelled into a hurricane of most destructive violence, yet seemingly but partial in its range.

At this time one of the forward boats broke from one of her davits, and hung suspended from the other. Efforts were made to secure the boat, but these proving unavailing, the captain ordered it to be cut away, at the same time directing the paddles to be stopped and the helm to be put down, to bring the ship up in the wind, in order that the boat might drift clear of the wheel. The vessel did not answer her helm, but the boat fortunately went clear. The captain then directed several of the head sails to be hoisted for the purpose of bringing her head up, but they had hardly been set when they were blown to ribbons. Very shortly after that a terrific noise was heard in the engine-room, and on looking down, several large sheets of lead were seen knocking about with great violence from side to side. Just then a heavy sea struck the ship as she was lurching, and almost immediately after a grating noise was heard in the paddles. On examination, it was found that they were bent from their true position, and were scraping against the sides of the vessel. They, however, still continued to revolve, but the captain, fearing that they would tear holes in the sides of the ship, ordered them to be stopped, and trusted entirely to the screw to get the vessel on. During the whole of the remainder of the day the gale blew fearfully, the sea running mountains high, and the ship, not being able to head to, rolling frightfully. Things thus continued until the following morning, when it was found that the paddles had been broken clean away. It was at the same time discovered that the top of the rudder-post, a piece of iron 10 inches in diameter, had been smashed. The ship now lay quite helpless, like a log on the water, and tossing and rolling in the most alarming manner. On many occasions her decks were at an angle of 45 degrees. Crockery and culinary utensils went crashing about in all directions, chairs and tables were broken to pieces, chandeliers and mirrors were smashed to fragments, and the whole interior of the vessel presented one scene of utter confusion. Six of her boats were swept away, and two of those remaining were stove so as to be rendered completely useless. On Friday an attempt was made to turn the ship's head by the well-known device of throwing overboard a heavy spar with a hawser attached to each end, the two hawsers being brought up on opposite sides of the vessel. This was found to be entirely useless. On Saturday, after a thorough examination of the working parts of the rudder and the fracture of the post, Mr. Hamilton E. Towle, a civil engineer of Boston, Mass., a passenger, suggested a plan for working the rudder and controlling the vessel.

The rudder of the Great Eastern weighs 30 tons, and instead of being attached to the ship in the ordinary way, by pintles, it is supported by a collar resting upon friction rollers, the lower end being stepped in a shoe which extends backwards from the bottom of the vessel. The arrangement is represented in the accompanying engravings, *a* being the rudder post of wrought iron, 10 inches in diameter, and *c* the supporting collar. This collar is of cast iron, and consists of a central sleeve fitting upon the rudder-post; a flat bottom plate, with a groove for the rollers, and six radiating flanges, 2 inches in thickness. It is 18 inches in height, of conical form, pretty closely resembling in shape a church bell. This conical collar is keyed to the rudder stem and secured by a massive nut, 15 inches in diameter and 12 inches in length, which is screwed on the post above the collar. It was just above this nut that the rudder stem was broken, the fracture extending downward into the nut. The idea occurred to Mr. Towle, that a large chain-cable might be wrapped around the collar and connected with pulleys, and in this way the rudder might be controlled. The objection to this plan was the small size of the collar, (2 feet 9 inches in diameter at the base and 15 inches at the top,) giving a very short lever to resist the tremendous power of the waves against the broad rudder. This difficulty he proposed to overcome by wrapping successive coils of cable around the collar until he had obtained a diameter sufficient to give him the leverage required. He examined the collar to see if the cable could be secured to it, and fortunately found holes some 3 inches in diameter through the bottom plate—a hole between each pair of the radial flanges. The plan formed was to place one end of each alternate link of a heavy cable between each pair of the radial flanges of the collar, and secure the link in place by lashing it with a smaller chain passed repeatedly through the holes and around the flange and link. He measured the several parts and then went down into the hold and measured the largest cable. The tiller was 18 feet long, and the chain provided to operate it was ⅓ the size of the main cable, requiring a drum 4 feet in diameter, in order to give a length of lever proportioned to the strength of the cable. A drawing of the plan was prepared and submitted to the officers of the ship, and although opposed by the engineer, he was authorized by Capt. Walker to proceed with his efforts.

It was 5 o'clock in the evening when his operations commenced, the awful scenes on board the wallowing ship having continued for more than two days and nights. The first step was to screw back the nut to its place, which the engineer had attempted to remove for the purpose of securing the lower tiller to the rudder-post in its place. There was a wrench on board fitted to the nut, having projections for entering holes drilled in the periphery of the nut. In conformity with all the proportions of the great ship, so massive was this wrench

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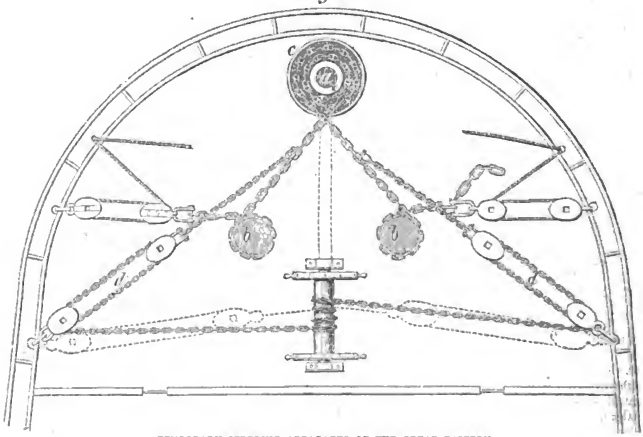
that, in order to handle it, it had to be slung by ropes from a timber overhead. Mr. Towle had the wrench swung in a proper position, with its outer end firmly lashed in place, and then as the rudder was turning the proper way the wrench was pushed into its hold on the nut, when the onward turning of the rudder screwed the post up through the nut. As the rudder started to turn back in the opposite direction the wrench was removed. By three hours' labor in this manner the nut was screwed back to its place, the last turn carrying away the lashings, and sending the wrench rattling along the iron deck. Meantime, Capt. Walker had accomplished the great task of moving the massive cable back to the stern. A hole was cut in the upper deck, the cable passed down, and then commenced the difficult labor of winding it upon the collar.

Besides the rolling of the ship, the rudder was constantly beaten by the waves, turning the collar back and forth with resistless power, and thrashing the massive cable about the iron deck. The chain, too, was enormously heavy, each link weighing some 60 pounds. But the strength, courage, and devotion of the men, overcame all obstacles. The first coil around the collar was secured by lashings of smaller chains, these being passed through the holes in the bottom plate and around the flanges till the holes were filled with the chains. The second coil was secured in the same thorough manner to the first, and the third to the second, till a mass of chain, about 4 feet in diameter, was bound around the rudder. The ends of the cable were now carried around the two stout posts or bits, *b b*, figs. 1 and 2, which were provided for holding the stern cable in mooring

Fig. 1.



TEMPORARY STEERING APPARATUS OF THE GREAT EASTERN.

the ship, and connected with tackle for taking up the slack, while smaller chains attached to the two parts of the cable leading from the rudder-post were connected through the tackle, *d d*, with the steering gear of the lower tiller.

At 3 A. M., Mr. Towle informed the engineer that he was ready to steer the ship, and requested that steam might be put on, and the screw turned. But all of the next day was lost in waiting for the engineer to test another plan of his own. This was a failure and all the labor was lost. It was then 5 o'clock in the afternoon, and the captain was again requested by Mr. Towle to order a few turns at least to be given to the screw. The order was given, and the great ship moved off, again under the perfect control of her commander's will. She swept around in a graceful circle, and then took up her course for Queenstown.

The paddle wheels being destroyed by the waves, the vessel was propelled by the screw alone, but she moved steadily on her course, and made nine knots an hour. During the voyage the steering apparatus required constant attention, great care being needed, especially to take up the slack in the main cable. If this became loose, a sudden turn of the rudder would snap off the smaller chain connected with the steering tackle, as if it were a piece of pack thread. The vessel arrived off Queenstown on Tuesday afternoon at 4 o'clock. On the arrival of the vessel, a meeting of the pas-

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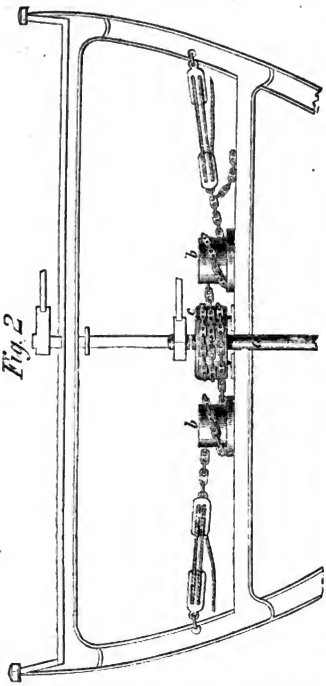

sengers was held, and resolutions passed complimentary to Mr. Towle, to whom also a gold watch was presented.

GREBLE, JOHN TROUT, an officer of the U. S. army, born in Philadelphia, Jan. 19, 1834, and killed in the battle of Great Bethel, Virginia, June 10, 1861. He acquired his early education at the Ringgold Grammar School and the Central High School of his native city, receiving his bachelor's degree at the latter in 1850, and immediately entered the U. S. Military Academy at West Point, where he graduated in 1854, with high rank in his class. On his graduation he was immediately commissioned as brevet second-lieutenant in the second artillery, and stationed at Newport, R. I. In September of the same year he was made second-lieutenant and sent to Tampa, Florida, where he served in the Indian troubles for two years, when he was compelled, in consequence of a severe fever, to return home on sick leave; but in the beginning of 1856 resumed his duties, acting a part of the time as quartermaster and commissary till Dec. 1856, when he was appointed acting-assistant professor of Ethics in the Military Academy, the duties of which professorship he performed with credit and success till Oct. 1860, when, at his own request, he was detailed for active duty at Fortress Monroe. There he rendered efficient service in preventing the seizure of the fortress. On the 26th of May, 1861, he was sent to Newport News as master of ordnance, superintended the fortification of that point, and trained the volunteers to artillery practice. When the disastrous expedition to Great Bethel was planned, he was unexpectedly detailed to accompany it with two guns, and though in his own judgment it was ill-advised, and would probably prove fatal to him, he did not hesitate, but took an active part in its duties, and when the Federal troops were repulsed, by his admirable management of his guns, protected them from pursuit and utter annihilation. Just at the close of the action, when he had given the order to withdraw from the field he was struck by a cannon ball on the right temple and instantly killed.

GREENBRIER RIVER. On this river, in Pocahontas Co., Western Virginia, 13 miles from Cheat Mountain summit, and the same distance from Monterey, at the point where the Staunton turnpike ascends the Alleghany Mountains, the Confederates had an advanced camp after their flight from Tygart's Valley. Their force was said to be about 9,000, with about 5,000 near by as a reserve. Brig.-Gen. J. J. Reynolds, with a force of about 5,000 Federal troops, left his camp on Cheat Mountain summit at midnight of Oct. 2, to make an armed reconnoissance of this camp. They reached it shortly after daylight, drove in the Confederate pickets, and advanced regiments approached to within 700 yards of his intrenchments, and opened fire. A battle followed of about 4 hours' duration. The Confederate force at the camp were driven from their guns, three of which were disabled, and lost heavily in killed and wounded; their reserve came up after the action had continued about two hours, and, thus reënforced, they maintained their position behind their fortifications, but did not sally out to attack the Federal troops. Gen. Reynolds, finding his ammunition exhausted, and having accomplished his purpose, withdrew in perfect order, without being pursued, and returned the same night to his camp. The Federal loss was 8 killed and 32 wounded. The Confederate loss was much larger, and was estimated by Gen. Reynolds as at least 300. Gen. Reynolds brought away 13 prisoners, and completely disabled 3 of the Confederate guns.

GUYANDOTTE is a village in Cabell County, Virginia, situated on the Ohio River, at the mouth of the Guyandotte, 228 miles below Wheeling, and 360 miles west by north from Richmond. It contains from 1,000 to 1,500 inhabitants. A small body of Federal troops occupying the place were attacked by a con-

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siderable Confederate force on the night of Nov. 10th. The Federal force consisted of 250 men, belonging to a Western Virginia regiment, and a few of Col. Zeigler's Fifth Virginia Volunteers. A plot was contrived between the Confederate force in the vicinity and some of the inhabitants of the town, who were their friends, to capture or destroy the Federal force. Accordingly, the latter were kindly received by these citizens, and invited to their houses on various pretexts. Those not on duty accepted the invitations. Meanwhile a body of Confederate cavalry made a dash upon the town. Signals were displayed from the houses in which were the Federal soldiers, who were immediately attacked and killed. Many of these friends of the Confederate troops seized their arms and aided in the slaughter. Most of those who were killed were the unarmd men. Only 50 of the Federal force escaped, the remainder were either killed or taken prisoners. Col. Zeigler, with a Federal force, arrived soon after, and upon learning the facts, ordered the town to be set on fire. Between 15 and 20 of the most valuable stores and dwellings were burned.

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HABEAS CORPUS. This is the title given to a writ issued out of the higher courts of a State, or of the United States, directed to some person who holds, or is supposed to hold in his custody or possession, the body of another person, and commanding him to produce the body of such prisoner, with the day and cause of his capture and detention, to do, submit to, and receive whatsoever the Judge or Court awarding such writ shall consider in that behalf. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* consists in the advantage or privilege to the prisoner of being brought at once before a competent tribunal, and having the cause of his detention inquired into. If such imprisonment is without sufficient legal cause, he is at once set at liberty. The eloquence and learning of the legal profession have been lavished upon this process, as constituting the great bulwark of individual freedom. During the year, a large number of citizens were arrested and imprisoned by order of the Federal Government, without the usual process of law, and whenever the bodies of these prisoners were demanded under a writ of *habeas corpus*, the delivery of them was refused. It is the province of this volume to state the action of the Government and the principles which it avowed, leaving to technical works the discussions of the questions involved.

The Constitution of the United States provides that "the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it." Which department of the Government has the power to suspend this privilege, is the question at issue. What was done is hereafter stated.

On the 25th of May, John Merryman, a most respectable citizen of the State of Maryland, was arrested at his residence, at Hayfields, Baltimore County, and conveyed to Fort McHenry, near Baltimore, and imprisoned. On the same day he prepared a petition to the Chief-Justice of the United States, Roger B. Taney, who resides at Baltimore, praying that a writ of *habeas corpus* might issue, &c. The petition, briefly stating all the details of the arrest, was as follows:

To the Hon. Roger B. Taney, Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court:

The petition of John Merryman, of Baltimore County, and State of Maryland, respectfully shows that, being at home in his own domicile, he was, about the hour of two o'clock A. M. on the 25th of May, A. D. 1861, aroused from his bed by an armed force, pretending to act under military orders, from some person to your petitioner unknown: that he was by the said armed force deprived of his liberty by being taken into custody and removed from his said house to Fort McHenry, near to the City of Baltimore, and in the district aforesaid, and where your petitioner now is in close custody.

That he has been so imprisoned without any process or color of law whatsoever, and that none such is pretended by those who are thus detaining him, and that no warrant from any court, magistrate, or other person having legal authority to issue the same exists to justify such arrest, but, to the contrary, the same, as above is stated, hath been done without color of law and in violation of the Constitution and laws of the United States, of which he is a citizen.

That since his arrest he has been informed that by some order purporting to come from one General Keim, of Pennsylvania, to the petitioner unknown, directing the arrest of the captain of some company in Baltimore County, of which company the petitioner never was and is not captain, was the pretended ground, as he believes, on which he is now detained.

That the person now so detaining him and holding him at said fort is Brigadier-General George Cadwalader, military commander of said fort, professing to act in the premises under or by order of the United States.

The petitioner, therefore, prays that the writ of *habeas corpus* may issue, to be directed to the said George Cadwalader, commanding him to produce your petitioner before you, Judge as aforesaid, with the cause, if any, for his arrest and detention, to the end that your petitioner be discharged and restored to liberty, and as in duty, &c. JOHN MERRYMAN.

FORT MCHENRY, *May* 25, 1861.

This was laid before Chief-Justice Taney with the affidavits of the prisoner's counsel, and the following writ was issued on Sunday and served on General Cadwalader:

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, }
Department of Maryland, to wit. }

To General George Cadwalader, greeting:

You are hereby commanded to be and appear before the Hon. Roger B. Taney, Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, at the United States Court room, in the Masonic Hall, in the City of Baltimore, on Monday, the 27th day of May, 1861, at 11 o'clock in the morning, and that you have with you the body of John Merryman, of Baltimore County, and now in your custody, and that you certify and make known the day and cause of the capture and detention of the said John Merryman; and that you, then and there, do

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submit to and receive whatever the said Court shall determine upon concerning you on their behalf, according to law, and have you then and there this writ.

Witness the Hon. Roger B. Taney, Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court, the fourth Monday in May, in the year of our Lord 1861.

THOMAS SPICER, Clerk Circuit Court.

Issued 26th May, 1861.

On Monday Colonel Lee appeared in Court, and stated that he was instructed by General Cadwalader to present to the Chief-Justice the annexed response to the writ, expressing, at the same time, the regret of General Cadwalader that pressing duties in connection with his command prevented him appearing before the Court in person. Colonel Lee then read as follows:

HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF ANNAPOLIS, }
FORT McHENRY, *May* 25, 1861. }

To the Hon. Roger B. Taney, Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, Baltimore, Md.:

SIR: The undersigned, to whom the annexed writ of this date, signed by Thomas Spicer, Clerk of the Supreme Court of the United States, is directed, most respectfully states—

That the arrest of Mr. John Merryman, in the said writ named, was not made with the knowledge or by his order or direction, but was made by Col. Samuel Yohe, acting under the orders of Major-General Wm. H. Keim, both of said officers being in the military service of the United States, but not within the limits of his command.

The prisoner was brought to this post on the 20th instant by Adjutant James Wittimore and Lieut. Wm. H. Abel, by order of Colonel Yohe, and is charged with various acts of treason, and with being publicly associated with and holding a commission as lieutenant in a company having in their possession arms belonging to the United States, and avowing his purpose of armed hostility against the Government.

He is also informed that it can be clearly established that the prisoner has made often and unreserved declarations of his association with this organized force, as being in avowed hostility to the Government, and in readiness to cooperate with those engaged in the present rebellion against the Government of the United States.

He has further to inform you that he is duly authorized by the President of the United States in such cases to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* for the public safety. This is a high and delicate trust, and it has been enjoined upon him that it should be executed with judgment and discretion, but he is nevertheless also instructed that in times of civil strife, errors, if any, should be on the side of safety to the country.

He most respectfully submits to your consideration that those who should coöperate in the present trying and painful position in which our country is placed, should not, by reasons of any unnecessary want of confidence in each other, increase our embarrassments. He therefore respectfully requests that you will postpone further action upon the case until he can receive instructions from the President of the United States, when you shall hear further from him.

I have the honor to be, with high respect, your obedient servant, GEO. CADWALADER,
Brevet Major-General U. S. Army, commanding.

On finishing the reading of the reply of General Cadwalader, Colonel Lee was preparing to leave the Court, when the following interrogatories were put to him by the Chief-Justice:

Chief-Justice—Have you brought with you the body of John Merryman?

Colonel Lee—I have no instructions except to deliver this response to the Court.

Chief-Justice—The commanding officer declines to obey the writ?

Colonel Lee—After making that communication my duty is ended and my power is ended. [Rising and retiring.]

Chief-Justice—The Court orders an attachment to issue against George Cadwalader for disobedience to the high writ of the Court.

Subsequently, the Chief-Justice wrote and delivered to the clerk the following order:

Ordered, That an attachment forthwith issue against General George Cadwalader for a contempt in refusing to produce the body of John Merryman according to the command of the writ of *habeas corpus* returnable and returned before me to-day, and that said attachment be returned before me at twelve o'clock to-mor row, at the room of the Circuit Court.

ROGER B. TANEY.

MONDAY, *May* 27, 1861.

The Court then adjourned until Tuesday morning.

At 12 M. on Tuesday the Chief-Justice entered the Court, and took his seat upon the bench. The special proceedings of the day were then entered upon, and the following colloquy ensued:

Chief-Justice Taney—Marshal, have you the return, sir?

United States Marshal Bonifant, rising, handed to the Chief-Justice a folded paper, which the latter, after opening, transferred to Mr. Spicer, the Clerk of the Court.

Chief-Justice—Mr. Spicer, read this; read it aloud.

The Clerk then read the writ of attachment, and the Marshal's return thereto, as follows:

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. }
DISTRICT OF MARYLAND, TO WIT. }

To the Marshal of the Maryland District, Greeting:

We command you that you attach the body of General George Cadwalader and him have before the Hon. Roger B. Taney, Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, on Tuesday, the 28th of May, 1861, at 12 o'clock M., at the Circuit Court rooms of the United States, in the City of Baltimore, to answer for his contempt by him committed, in refusing to produce the body of John Merryman, of Baltimore County, according to the command of the writ of *habeas corpus* returnable, and returned before the said Chief-Justice, this 27th day of May, 1861. Hereof you are not to fail, and have you then and there this writ.

Witness, the Hon. Roger B. Taney, Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court, the first Monday in December, in the year of our Lord, 1861.

THOMAS SPICER, Clerk.

Issued 27th May, 1861.

I hereby certify to the Honorable Roger B. Taney, Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, that by virtue of the within writ of attachment, to me directed on the 27th day of May, 1861, I proceeded on the 28th day of May, 1861, to Fort McHenry, for the purpose of serving the said writ. I sent in my name at the outer gate; the messenger returned with the reply "that there was no answer to my card," and therefore could not serve the writ as I was commanded. I was not permitted to enter the gate. So answers

WASHINGTON BONIFANT,
U. S. Marshal for the District of Maryland.

Chief-Justice Taney—Then no answer has been made to the writ?

Deputy Marshal Vance—There was no reply, sir, except that "there was no reply to my card." I was not permitted to enter the outer gate.

Chief-Justice Taney—Well, you should state that. The fact does not appear in your return.

The Deputy Marshal amended the return in compliance with the suggestion, and, handing the paper to the Chief-Justice, the latter proceeded to read from the manuscript the subjoined remarks, previously say-

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ing, It is a plain case, gentlemen, and I shall feel it my duty to enforce the process of the Court.

I ordered the attachment yesterday, because upon the face of the return the detention of the prisoner was unlawful upon two grounds.

1. The President, under the Constitution and laws of the United States, cannot suspend the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*, nor authorize any military officer to do so.

2. A military officer has no right to arrest and detain a person, not subject to the rules and articles of war, for an offence against the laws of the United States, except in aid of the judicial authority and subject to its control; and if the party is arrested by the military, it is the duty of the officer to deliver him over immediately to the civil authority, to be dealt with according to law.

I forbore yesterday to state orally the provisions of the Constitution of the United States which make these principles the fundamental law of the Union, because an oral statement might be misunderstood in some portions of it, and I shall therefore put my opinion in writing, and file it in the office of the Clerk of the Circuit Court, in the course of this week.

After reading the above, the Chief-Justice orally remarked:

In relation to the present return, I propose to say that the Marshal has legally the power to summon out the *posse comitatus* to seize and bring into Court the party named in the attachment; but it is apparent he will be resisted in the discharge of that duty by a force notoriously superior to the *posse comitatus*, and, such being the case, the Court has no power under the law to order the necessary force to compel the appearance of the party. If, however, he was before the Court, it would then impose the only punishment it is empowered to inflict—that by fine and imprisonment.

Under these circumstances the Court can barely say, to-day, I shall reduce to writing the reasons under which I have acted, and which have led me to the conclusions expressed in my opinion, and shall report them with these proceedings to the President of the United States, and call upon him to perform his constitutional duty to enforce the laws; in other words, to enforce the process of this Court. That is all this Court has now the power to do.

After the delivery of this opinion, all further proceedings in the case were suspended, and the court-room was, in a few minutes, vacated by the throng which had occupied it.

The opinion of the Chief-Justice, which was subsequently filed in the office of the Clerk, is devoted to the elucidation of the two positions stated above.

About the 20th of May, Emmett McDonald was arrested by orders of the military commandant at St. Louis, Captain Lyon, and imprisoned. A writ of *habeas corpus* was issued returnable before Judge Trent of the United States District Court. The question raised by the counsel of the respondent was as follows:

Has this Court jurisdiction in a case of *habeas corpus* where the petitioner is in custody under authority of the United States, but not by virtue of any warrant, order, or process of Court, or under a technical "commitment"—in other words, has a United States District Court or Judge, under the acts of 1789 and of 1833, the power to issue a writ of *habeas corpus*, and examine into the cause of the alleged illegal restraint, unless it appears on the face of the petition that there is such a technical or formal commitment?

In his argument the U. S. District Attorney for the respondent took the position that the petition set forth that the petitioner had been arrested by a military authority without legal process. He cited precedents that the Court had no jurisdiction in the matter, as the military authority in time of war, or "rebellion," had the power and might arrest persons in array against the Federal Government for treason, or alleged treason.

The Court gave an elaborate opinion, deciding that it had jurisdiction in the case. Meanwhile General Harney, who had returned to the command of the department from Washington, refused to obey the writ, but on a subsequent day applied to the Court for permission to amend his return by saying that the prisoner never had been under his control; but by orders from Washington he had been removed from that military department. This answer was deemed by the Court to be sufficient.

The Circuit Court of the United States, at Washington, at its opening on the second day of the term, Judge Dunlop presiding, received a communication from one of the Assistant Judges, which was read in Court as follows:

On Saturday, the 19th of October, 1861, Mr. Foley, a lawyer of this city, called upon me with a petition, supported by affidavit in proper form, praying for a writ of *habeas corpus* to the Provost-Marshal requiring him to produce before the undersigned one John Murphy, who it alleged was a minor under the age of eighteen years, and illegally detained by said Provost-Marshal as an enlisted soldier of the United States. The order was given by me to the clerk, who issued the writ in the usual form. I was informed by Mr. Foley, on the afternoon of Saturday, that, by reason of the many engagements of the Deputy Marshal of the District of Columbia, he himself took the writ and served it, as by law he rightfully might do, upon the Provost-Marshal, General A. Porter; that when he delivered the writ to the Provost-Marshal he was told by him that he would consult the Secretary, (I think he said the Secretary of State,) whether he should respect the writ or not, and that he (Mr. Foley) must consider himself under arrest, but for the present might go at large as upon his parole.

Later in the afternoon Mr. Foley again called at my house, with one or two other persons—one, I think, was represented as the elder brother or some near relative of the boy Murphy—and desired to know whether he were now to consider the boy as finally discharged and at liberty to return home to his friends, inasmuch as he had then been dismissed from the guard-house. I declined to make any suggestions to him in the premises, and told him that whatsoever I did in the matter must be done judicially, and after facts had been spread before me upon affidavit, and the appropriate motion, if any, made thereon; and that, as the Court would meet on Monday morning, October 21st, in regular term, I should adjourn all proceedings under the writ into Court for the advice and action of the whole Court. He stated that he would reduce all the facts to writing, make affidavit, and file them, for that he expected to be arrested. He then withdrew.

On Monday morning, just before the meeting of Court, I went into the Clerk's office and asked Charles McNamee, the Deputy Clerk, if Mr. Foley had filed any affidavits in the case. He examined the papers and reported there was none. I then directed him to endorse upon the papers that they were by my order adjourned into the Court for its further action.

After the adjournment of the Court I was informed by a member of the bar that about eleven o'clock that morning Mr. Foley had been arrested and placed in the guard-house by order of the Provost-Marshal, and he announced his purpose to apply for his release. I told him that whatever application he had to make must be

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in writing, upon proper affidavit, and that, as the whole Court was in regular session, he must make it to the Court in full sitting, and he withdrew to confer with some of his brother lawyers on his course.

After dinner I visited my brother Judges in Georgetown, and returning home between half-past seven and eight o'clock, found an armed sentinel stationed at my door by order of the Provost-Marshal. I learned that this guard had been placed at my door as early as five o'clock. Armed sentries from that time continuously until now have been stationed in front of my house.

Thus it appears that a military officer, against whom a writ in the appointed form of law has issued, first threatened with and afterwards arrested and imprisoned the attorney who rightfully served the writ upon him. He continued and still continues in contempt and disregard of the mandate of the law, and has ignominiously placed an armed guard to insult and intimidate by its presence the Judge who ordered the writ to issue, and still keeps up this armed array at his door, in defiance and contempt of the justice of the land.

Under these circumstances, I respectfully request the Chief-Justice of the Circuit Court to cause this memorandum to be read in open Court, to show the reasons for my absence from my place upon the bench, and that he will cause this paper to be entered at length on the minutes of the Court alongside the record of my absence, to show through all time the reasons why I do not, this 22d of October, 1861, appear in my accustomed place. WILLIAM M. MERRICK.

Assistant Judge Circuit Court, D. C.

The reading of the communication having been concluded—

Judge Dunlop announced that the two remaining Judges had, after consultation, decided that the letter should be filed as requested by Judge Merrick, and it was so ordered.

They also thought it right, as the writ (of habeas corpus) had been regularly issued, to state that the matter was now before the Court to be tried.

The statement of their brother Judge (he said) presented a case where the progress of law is obstructed. It was the duty of the Court to afford the remedy, and, if the facts are as stated, to cause the law to be respected.

As the Provost-Marshal had obstructed a process of this Court, it would order a rule to be served on Gen. Andrew Porter to appear before the Court, and show cause why an attachment for contempt of Court should not issue against him.

Judge Morsell said that this was a palpable and gross obstruction to the administration of justice, to prevent a judge of this Court from taking his seat, because he issued a writ just such as the law requires. The placing of a sentinel before Judge Merrick's house was evidently for the purpose of embarrassing him in this particular subject, and to prevent his appearance in Court. He (Judge Morsell) would make the rule broader, so as to have Mr. Provost satisfy the Court as to both matters. The Court had its duty to do, a duty the judges are sworn to do, and that duty is the administration of justice according to law.

What is the real state of things? If martial law is to be our guide, we look to the President of the United States to say so. He (Judge Morsell) did not pretend to controvert the right of the President to proclaim martial law, but let him issue his proclamation. The Judges have their duty to do under the law, and they are liable to be punished if they do not do it.

The Judge then spoke of the rule which would be served on the Provost-Marshal, and in conclusion said: "I intend to do my duty, and vindicate the character of this Court as long as I sit here."

A notice was accordingly made out to be served on Gen. Porter, requiring him to appear before the Court on a subsequent day, to show cause why a writ of attachment for a contempt of Court should not issue against him.

On the day appointed, the Court being in session, the Deputy Marshal, Geo. W. Phillips, appeared and presented through the District Attorney the following paper:

To the Honorable the Judges of the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia:

George W. Phillips, in whose hands the rule hereinafter mentioned was placed as Deputy Marshal, respectfully represents to your Honors that he did not serve the rule issued by your honorable Court on the 22d day of October, 1861, to be served on Gen. Andrew Porter, Provost-Marshal of said district, because he was ordered by the President of the United States not to serve the same, and to report to your honorable Court that the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus has been suspended for the present, by the order of the President of the United States, in regard to soldiers in the army of the United States within said district; and that he respectfully disclaims all intention to disobey or treat with disrespect the orders of this honorable Court. GEO. W. PHILLIPS.

District of Columbia, Washington County, to wit:

On this 26th of October, 1861, personally appeared in open Court George W. Phillips above named, and made oath in due form of law that the matters and things stated in the foregoing and annexed answer are true. GEO. W. PHILLIPS.

Test—JNO. A. SMITH, Clerk.

This return was held under advisement until the 30th of October, when Judge Dunlap announced his decision in the case as follows:

The return made by Deputy Marshal Phillips the 26th of October, 1861, we will order to be filed, though we do not doubt our power to regard it as insufficient in law, and to proceed against the officer who has made it.

The existing condition of the country makes it plain that that officer is powerless against the vast military force of the Executive, subject to his will and order as commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States.

Assuming the verity of the return, which has been made on oath, the case presented is without a parallel in the judicial history of the United States, and involves the free action and efficiency of the Judges of this Court.

The President, charged by the Constitution to take care that the laws be executed, has seen fit to arrest the process of this Court, and to forbid the Deputy Marshal to execute it. It does not involve merely the question of the power of the Executive, in civil war, to suspend the great writ of freedom—the habeas corpus. When this rule was ordered to give efficiency to that writ, no notice had been given by the President to the courts or the country of such suspension here, now first announced to us, and it will hardly be maintained that the suspension could be retrospective.

The rule in this case, therefore, whatever may be the President's power over the writ of habeas corpus, was lawfully ordered, as well as the writ on which it was founded. The facts on which the rule was ordered by the Court are assumed to be true as respects the President, because the President had them before him, and has not denied them, but forbade the Deputy Marshal to serve the rule on Gen. Andrew Porter.

The President, we think, assumes the responsibility of the acts of Gen. Porter set forth in the rule, and sanctions them by his orders to Deputy Marshal Phillips not to serve the process on the Provost Marshal.

The issue ought to be and is with the President, and we have no physical power to enforce the lawful process of this Court on his military subordinates against the President's prohibition.

We have exhausted every practical remedy to uphold the lawful authority of this Court.

It is ordered, this 30th day of October, 1861, that this opinion of the Court be filed by the Clerk, and made part of the record, as explaining the grounds on

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which we now decline to order any further process in this case.

Judge Morsell, the Associate Judge then on the bench, submitted the following:

As a member of this Court, and on its behalf, I wish it understood that, notwithstanding the blow levelled at this Court, I do distinctly assert the following principles:

1st. That the law in this country knows no superior.

2d. That the supremacy of the civil authority over the military cannot be denied; that it has been established by the ablest jurists, and, I believe, recognized and respected by the great Father of the Country during the Revolutionary War.

3d. That this Court ought to be respected by every one as the guardian of the personal liberty of the citizen, in giving ready and effectual aid by that most valuable means, the writ of habeas corpus.

4th. I therefore respectfully protest against the right claimed to interrupt the proceedings in this case.

This opinion of Judge Morsell was also ordered to be placed on the record.

A writ of habeas corpus was also issued by Judge Garrison of Brooklyn, N. Y., and served upon the officer in charge of the prisoners at Fort Lafayette, commanding that one of them should be brought before him, but without any success.

The declarations of the Government coincide with the evidence of these facts.

On the 5th of July, Attorney-General Bates prepared an opinion, at the request of the President, on the suspension of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus. He commences his opinion with these words:

SIR: You have required my opinion in writing upon the following questions:

I. In the present time of a great and dangerous insurrection, has the President the discretionary power to cause to be arrested and held in custody persons known to have criminal intercourse with the insurgents, or persons against whom there is probable cause for suspicion of such criminal complicity?

II. In such cases of arrest, is the President justified in refusing to obey a writ of habeas corpus issued by a court or a judge, requiring him or his agent to produce the body of the prisoner, and show the cause of his caption and detention, to be adjudged and disposed of by such court or judge?

Both questions were answered in the affirmative by the Attorney-General. The basis of his argument is in these words:

To make my answer to these questions at once consistent and plain, I find it convenient to advert to the great principle of government as recognized and acted upon in most, if not all, the countries in Europe, and to mark the difference between that principle and the great principle which lies at the bottom of our National Government.

Unity of power is the great principle recognized in Europe; but a plan of "checks and balances" forming separate departments of government, and giving to each department separate and limited powers, has been adopted here. These departments are coördinate and co-equal; that is, neither being sovereign, each is independent in its sphere, and not subordinate to the others, either of them or both of them together. If one of the three is allowed to determine the extent of its own powers, and that of the other two, that one can in fact control the whole government, and has become sovereign. The same identical question may come up legitimately before each one of the three departments, and be determined in three different ways, and each decision stand irrevocable, binding upon the parties to each case, for the simple reason that the departments are coördinate, and there is no ordained legal superior with power to revise and reverse their decision. To say that the departments of our Government are coördinate, is to say that the judgment of one of them is not binding upon the other two, as to the arguments and principles involved in the judgment. This independence of the departments being proved, and the Executive being the active one, bound by oath to perform certain duties, he must be, therefore, of necessity, the sole judge both of the exigency which requires him to act, and of the manner in which it is most prudent for him to employ the powers intrusted to him, to enable him to discharge his constitutional and legal duty. Such is the outline of the preliminaries upon which this opinion rests.

When it first became evident that the Government would arrest citizens, and refuse the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, consternation seized the public. What constitutes treason, and what rules will control the action of the Government in ordering the arrest of any individuals, became at once most important questions. The clause of the Constitution of the United States relating to treason is in these words: "Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or confession in open court."

The following letter from the Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, to the agent of the New York and Virginia steamship company, G. Heineken, furnishes an official statement of the views of the Government relative to the particular act to which it refers:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, *May* 16, 1861.

SIR: I have received your letter of yesterday's date, asking me to give you in writing my reasons for considering an acceptance on your part of Governor Letcher's proposition to purchase the steamships Yorktown and Jamestown, recently seized by his orders, and now in his possession, an act of treason. With this request I readily comply.

An insurrection has broken out in several of the States of this Union, including Virginia, designed to overthrow the Government of the United States. The executive authorities of that State are parties to that insurrection, and, so, are public enemies. Their action in seizing or buying vessels to be employed in executing that design is not merely without authority of law, but is treason. It is treason for any person to give aid and comfort to public enemies. To sell vessels to them which it is their purpose to use as ships-of-war, is to give them aid and comfort. To receive money from them in payment for vessels which they have seized for those purposes, would be to attempt to convert the unlawful seizure into a sale, and would subject the party so offending to the pains and penalties of treason, and the Government would not hesitate to bring the offender to punishment.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

To G. HEINEKEN, Esq.

On the 17th of August Mr. Seward writes to Mr. Adams, the American Minister at London, as follows:

On the 5th instant I was advised by a telegram from Cincinnati that Robert Muir, of Charleston, was on his way to New York to embark at that port for England, and that he was a bearer of despatches from the usurping insurrectionary authorities of Richmond to

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Earl Russell. Other information bore that he was a bearer of despatches from the same authorities to their agents in London. Information from various sources agreed in the fact that he was travelling under a passport from the British Consul at Charleston.

Upon this information I directed the police at New York to detain Mr. Muir and any papers which might be found in his possession until I should give further directions. He was so detained, and is now in custody at Fort Lafayette, awaiting full disclosures. In his possession were found seventy letters, four of which were unsealed, and sixty-six sealed. There was also found in his possession a sealed bag, marked "Foreign Office, 3," with two labels, as follows: "On Her Brit. Maj. service. The Right Honorable the Lord John Russell, M. P., &c., &c., &c. Despatches in charge of Robert Mure, Esq.," signed Robert Bunch. "On Her Brit. Maj. service. The Right Honorable the Lord John Russell, M. P., H. B. M.'s Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Foreign Office, London, R. Bunch." The bag bears two impressions of the seal of office of the British consul at Charleston, and seems to contain voluminous papers.

There were also found upon Mr. Muir's person, in an open envelope, what pretends to be a passport.

Also a letter of introduction.

There were also found several unsealed copies of a printed pamphlet, entitled "A narrative of the battles of Bull Run and Manassas Junction, July 18th and 21st. Accounts of the advance of both armies, the battles and rout of the enemy, compiled chiefly from the detailed reports of the Virginia and South Carolina press; Charleston, Steam Power Presses of Evan & Cogswell, No. 3 Broad, and 103 East Bay streets, 1861."

This pamphlet is manifestly an argument for the disunion of the United States. Several copies of it were found addressed to persons in England.

The marks and outward appearance of the bag indicate that its contents are exclusively legitimate communications from the British consul at Charleston to H. B. M.'s Government. Nevertheless, I have what seem to be good reasons for supposing that they may be treasonable papers, designed and gotten up to aid parties engaged in arms for the overthrow of this Government, and the dissolution of the Union. These reasons are: 1st. That I can hardly conceive that there can be any occasion for such very voluminous communications of a legitimate nature being made by the consul at Charleston to his Government at the present time. 2d. Consuls have no authority to issue passports, the granting of them being, as I understand, not a consular but a diplomatic function. Passports, however, have, in other times, been habitually granted by foreign consuls residing in the United States. But soon after the insurrection broke out in the Southern States a regulation was made by this department, which I have excellent means of knowing was communicated to the British consul at Charleston, to the effect that, until further orders, no diplomatic or consular passports would be recognized by this Government, so far as to permit the bearer to pass through the lines of the national forces or out of the country, unless it should be countersigned by the Secretary of State, and the commanding general of the army of the United States. Mr. Muir had passed the lines of the army, and was in the act of leaving the United States in open violation of this regulation. Moreover, the bearer of the papers, Robert Muir, is a naturalized citizen of the United States, has resided here thirty years, and is a colonel in the insurgent military forces of South Carolina. 3d. If the papers contained in the bag are not illegal in their nature or purpose, it is not seen why their safe transmission was not secured, as it might have been by exposing them in some way to Lord Lyons, British Minister residing at this capital, whose voucher for their propriety, as Mr. Bunch must well know, would exempt them from all scrutiny or suspicion. 4th. The consul's letter to the bearer of despatches attaches an unusual importance to the papers in question, while it expresses great impatience for their immediate conveyance to their destination, and an undue anxiety lest they might, by some accident, come under the notice of this Government. 5th. The bearer is proved to be disloyal to the United States by the pamphlet, and the letters found in his possession.

I have examined many of the papers found upon the person of Mr. Muir, and I find them full of treasonable information, and clearly written for treasonable purposes. These, I think, will be deemed sufficient grounds for desiring the scrutiny of the papers, and surveillance of the bearer on my part.

The remainder of the letter contains instructions to Mr. Adams, and is not important in reference to this subject. The opinion of the Courts of the United States has been often and very clearly expressed. On the 27th of April Judge Betts, of the U. S. District Court at New York, in a charge to the Grand Jury, thus stated acts which were treasonable:

Giving aid or comfort to the enemies of the country consists in furnishing the military supplies, food, clothing, harbor or concealment, or communicating information to them, helping their hostilities against the country and its Government.

It is most probable that complaints will be laid before you under this branch and definition of the crime. Within it will be included acts of building, manning, or in any way fitting out or victualling vessels to aid the hostilities of our enemies; sending provisions, arms, or other supplies to them; raising funds or obtaining credit for their service; indeed, every traitorous purpose manifested by acts, committed in this district by persons owing allegiance to the country, will be acts of treason. It is not necessary that the accused should have raised or created war by his own acts; he levies war by acting with those who have set it on foot, or by seizing or holding ports, or like acts of hostile aggression. The kindred crime of misprision of treason is this: If any person owing allegiance to the Government has knowledge of acts of treason committed by others within the jurisdiction of the Court, and does not make it known to the President of the United States, or one of the Judges of the United States, or the Governor of the State, or a judge or magistrate thereof, he becomes guilty of misprision of treason, and subject to seven years' imprisonment and a fine of one thousand dollars for the offence; and it is the duty of the Grand Jury to present for trial therefor such offender, whatever may be his individual connection or relationship with the offender.

In the Circuit Court of the United States for New York, Judge Nelson at a later day thus defined the overt act of treason:

There is more difficulty in determining what constitutes the overt act under the second clause of the Constitution—namely, adhering to the enemy, giving him aid and comfort. Questions arising under this clause must depend very much upon the facts and circumstances of each particular case. There are some acts of the citizen in his relations with the enemy which leave no room for doubt—such as giving intelligence, with intent to aid him in his act of hostility; sending him provisions or money; furnishing arms, or troops, or munitions of war; surrendering a military post, &c., all with a like intent. These and kindred facts are overt acts of treason, by adhering to the enemy. Words, oral, written, or printed, however treasonable, seditious or criminal of themselves, do not constitute an overt act of treason within the definition of the crime. When spoken, written, or printed in relation to an act or acts which, if committed with a treasonable design, might constitute such overt act, they are admissible as evidence, tending to characterize it, and show the intent with which the act was committed. They may also furnish some evidence of the act itself against the accused. This is the extent to which such publications may be used, either in finding a bill of indictment or on the trial of it.

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Except in the cases of persons captured from privateers or who were placed as prize crews on board of vessels captured by privateers and subsequently recaptured, there were no trials for treason in any court of the United States.

The course pursued by the Government was to arrest persons suspected of treasonable actions or sympathies upon satisfactory information. They were then imprisoned and subsequently released on taking the oath of allegiance to the Government, or upon its becoming evident that the information was exaggerated. The manner in which arrests were at first made, and the information given to the public respecting the cause, are indicated by a few examples.

Mr. Ross Winans, a respectable citizen of Baltimore, when on his way from Frederick to Baltimore in Maryland, after the adjournment of the Legislature, of which he was a member, was arrested at the station called Relay House. An officer entered the cars and courteously inquired his name of him and stated, upon being informed, that he held an order for his arrest. He was taken from the cars across the track to an office and placed under military guard until the next day, when through the unremitting efforts of his friends he was released. The public were informed that he was arrested by order of the President, upon the charge of furnishing ammunition to the South.

Mr. Faulkner, ex-Minister to France, was arrested upon an order from the State Department and confined in Fort Lafayette, in New York harbor, and subsequently was removed to Fort Warren at Boston. He afterwards was allowed to proceed on his parole to Richmond, and effect an exchange of a Federal prisoner for himself. No cause for his arrest has ever been made public.

The Mayor of Washington, James G. Berret, was arrested and confined in Fort Lafayette, and subsequently in Fort Warren. Afterwards he was released. The only fact of which the public were made acquainted was, that he had declined to take the oath prescribed by act of Congress to the Police Commissioners at Washington.

At the same time, Captain Robert Tansill, and Lieutenant Thomas S. Wilson, of the Marine Corps, who had tendered their resignations, were arrested and conveyed to Fort Lafayette. No further facts were given to the public.

Two parties existed in the Legislature of Maryland—one sympathizing with the South, and the other devoted to the Union. Numerous adjournments were made for a short period, after which that body would again meet. At the close of the last adjournment the Senate refused to re-assemble. There was a formal opening of the House by the clerks, only a few members being present, and a recess taken. At this time small squads of a Wisconsin regiment stationed at Frederick, were observed moving through the city, all taking different directions towards the outskirts. Thus in about a half-hour a cordon of armed pickets circled the entire town, with instructions to allow no one to pass out without a written permit from a member of General Banks' staff, who had been appointed provost-marshal. This had scarcely been accomplished before a squad of police officers from Baltimore commenced to search the city for parties they were ordered to arrest. In the course of twenty-four hours, nine members of the House of Delegates were arrested, and also the officers of both Houses and the State Printer. Of the latter persons, however, all except one took the oath of allegiance and were then discharged. The others were sent to Fort Lafayette. The public were told, that the arrested members of the Legislature were informed that their vote in favor of certain resolutions was the cause of their arrest.

Marshal Kane, at the head of the Police Department at Baltimore, was arrested by a military force and finally sent to Fort Lafayette. The commanding General issued a proclamation at the time stating the cause of this arrest. (See page 58.) The Mayor and the Board of Police Commissioners were subsequently arrested and sent to Fort Lafayette.

In short, the process of arresting and confining in Fort Lafayette actually began in July. The routine was nearly the same in all cases. An order from Washington was received, generally by telegraph, to arrest and confine a person designated. The arrest, being forcibly made by the U. S. Marshal with armed attendants, the prisoner was conveyed to Fort Hamilton and turned over to Colonel Burke; an aid and guard of soldiers then conveyed him by boat to Fort Lafayette, where he was taken charge of by Lieutenant Wood, who gave a receipt for the prisoner, who was then divested of any weapons, money, valuables, or papers in his possession. His baggage was opened and searched. A soldier then took him in charge to the designated quarters, which was a portion of one of the embrasures for guns, lighted only from the port-hole, and occupied by seven to eight prisoners. "For each of these there was furnished a straw mattress on an iron bed; one blanket, one pillow and two sheets, which were never changed. One basin and pitcher served for all their morning ablutions in salt water. The breakfast was composed of one pint chiccory-water sweetened in milk, a piece of salt pork and a piece of bread. Such papers and letters as had been opened, read, and approved of by the officer, were allowed the prisoners. At dinner was allowed rice or bean soup in tin plates, with iron spoons, bread and pork, or beef; and at supper, chiccory-water in tin cups and one slice of bread." Occasionally, water becoming scarce, the prisoners were put upon allowance. Candles were allowed until 9 P. M., when they were generally burned out. The prisoners could write to their friends, but the letters were not sent if the contents were not approved by the officer. To this institution persons were committed by *lettres de cachet*, and discharged as mysteriously.

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LIST OF PRISONERS CONSIGNED TO FORT LAFAYETTE, COMMENCING JULY, TO OCTOBER 19, 1861.

Names.	Where from.	Arrived.	Left.
E. S. Ruggles	Fredericksburg, Va.	July 20	—
Pencell M. Quillian	Charleston, S. C.	"	Aug. 7
Thomas Fitzpatrick	Baltimore, Md.	July 31	Aug. 18
James C. Murphrey	Portsmouth, Va.	"	—
John H. Cusick	Woodville, Md.	"	—
Dr. Edw'd Johnson	Baltimore, Md.	"	Sept. 17
Charles M. Hagelin	"	"	—
Samuel H. Lyon	"	"	—
John W. Davis	"	"	—
Charles Howard	"	"	—
Wm. H. Gatchell	"	"	—
Richard H. Alny	Hagerstown, Md.	"	—
Austin F. Smith	San Francisco, Cal.	Aug. 3	—
John Williams	Norfolk, Va.	Aug. 11	—
Robert Muir	Charleston, S. C.	Aug. 14	Oct. 18
Charles Kopperal	Carroll Co., Miss.	Aug. 18	—
F. S. Serrill	New Orleans, La.	"	Sept. 5
Pierce Butler	Philadelphia, Pa.	Aug. 20	Sept. 24
Louis D. Bibran	Wilmington, N. C.	"	Sept. 17
George Miles	Richmond, Va.	Aug. 22	Oct. 5
James G. Guthery	Petersburg, Va.	Aug. 23	Oct. 3
J. R. Barbour	Lake Providence, La.	Aug. 24	—
F. M. Fiske	New Orleans, La.	Aug. 25	Oct. 2
D. C. Lowber	"	"	—
James G. Berrett	Washington, D. C.	"	Sept. 14
Patrick McCarthy*	Norfolk, Va.	"	Oct. 3
James Riley*	"	"	"
John Williams	"	"	—
Archibald Wilson*	"	"	Oct. 3
John Marshall*	Charleston, S. C.	"	"
George O. Gladden*	"	"	"
John Joannalle*	"	"	"
Charles Forrester*	"	"	"
J. P. N. Calvo*	"	"	"
Samuel Eakins	Richmond, Va.	Aug. 26	—
David Keno	Columbia, S. C.	"	Sept. 4
Samuel J. Anderson	New York city	Aug. 27	Oct. 11
Robert Tansill	Pr. William Co., Va.	Aug. 28	—
Thomas S. Wilson	Springfield, Mo.	"	—
Henry B. Claiborne	New Orleans, La.	"	—
Hilary Cenas	"	"	—
William Patrick	Brooklyn, N. Y.	"	Sept. 13
Ellis B. Schnabel	Lycoming, Pa.	Aug. 29	—
Uriah B. Harrold	Macon, Ga.	Aug. 30	Sept. 18
Richard S. Freeman	"	Aug. 31	—
William H. Ward	Norfolk, Va.	"	—
Julius A. De Lagnel	Alexandria, Va.	"	Sept. 20
B. F. Grove	New York city	Sept. 1	Oct. 8
Frank E. Williams	Choctaw, Ark.	"	Sept. 7
H. L. Reynolds	Mobile, Ala.	"	Sept. 13
J. C. Rahming	New York city	Sept. 3	Sept. 18
Henry A. Reeves	Greenpoint, L. I.	Sept. 4	Oct. 5
James Chapin	Vicksburg, Miss.	Sept. 5	Oct. 18
Edward B. Wilder	Newark, N. J.	Sept. 7	Oct. 14
Robert Elliott	Freedom, Me.	"	—
Algernon S. Sullivan	New York city	Sept. 8	—
Charles Barkley	Charleston, S. C.	"	†Oct. 14
Benjamin Congar	England	"	Sept. 26
Stephen Bennett	New York city	"	Oct. 9
Richard Ravil	England	"	Sept. 26
William Williams	"	"	"
William Simms	"	"	"
J. Clifton	"	"	"
A. Strombo	Denmark	"	"
Arthur D. Wharton	Nashville, Tenn.	Sept. 9	—
Charles J. Faulkner	Martinsburg, Va.	"	—
George L. Browne	Key West, Fla.	Sept. 10	Sept. 24
James W. Wall	Burlington, N. J.	Sept. 11	—
R. R. Walker	New York city	Sept. 12	—
Marc Cicero Stanley	"	"	Sept. 21
John K. Milner	Danville, Va.	"	—
George P. Kane	Baltimore, Md.	Sept. 13	‡Oct. 11
Robert Drain	Loudon Co., Va.	"	—
Arthur Dawson	"	"	—
Benj. Eggleston	Washington, D. C.	"	Sept. 17
Benj. F. Corlies	Brooklyn, N. Y.	"	Sept. 18
Bethel Burton	"	"	—
E. C. Myatt	Charleston, S. C.	"	—
Charles Williams	"	"	Oct. 9
Peter Reilly	"	"	—
Thomas Kelly	Nassau, N. P.	"	Oct. 9
William Perry	England	"	Sept. 26
John Angar	"	"	"
Chas. McClenahan	"	"	"
William Smith	"	"	—
John L. Newton	Wilmington, N. C.	"	—
William St. George	"	"	—
William H. Winder	Philadelphia, Pa.	Sept. 14	—
Benj. F. Longley	New Orleans, La.	Sept. 16	—
Jas. A. McMasters	New York city	"	—
Moses Stanard	Madison, Conn.	Sept. 16	Oct. 14
Daniel Corey	Somerset, N. J.	Sept. 17	—
Leonard Startevant	New Orleans, La.	Sept. 19	Sept. 27
George A. Hubbell	Bridgeport, Conn.	Sept. 20	Sept. 26
John Bateman	Camden, Ala.	Sept. 21	Oct. 2
William Gilchrist	Philadelphia, Pa.	Sept. 23	—
Francis Wyatt	"	"	—
James M. Haig	Baltimore, Md.	"	—
John J. Heckart	Cecil County, Md.	"	—
Elb. G. Kilbourne	Anne Arundel Co., Md.	"	—
Josiah H. Gordon	Alleghany Co., Md.	"	—
William E. Salmon	Frederick Co., Md.	"	—
Andrew Kessler	"	"	—
Thomas J. Claggett	"	"	—
Dr. Bernard Mille	Carroll Co., Md.	"	—
Clark J. Durant	St. Mary's Co., Md.	"	—
Joseph H. Maddox	"	"	—
Thomas H. Maddox	Washington, D. C.	"	Oct. 4
J. W. Maxwell	Cecil Co., Md.	"	—
William R. Miller	"	"	—
Philip F. Raisin	Kent Co., Md.	"	—
J. Lawrence Jones	Talbot Co., Md.	"	—
George W. Landing	Worcester Co., Md.	"	—
John M. Brewer	Baltimore, Md.	"	—
C. F. Sargent	Yarmouth, Me.	Sept. 24	—
Chas. F. Morehead	Louisville, Ky.	Sept. 25	—
R. F. Denvett	"	"	—
Martin W. Barr	"	"	—
H. M. Warfield	Baltimore, Md.	Sept. 26	—
Lawrence Sangston	"	"	—
F. Parkin Scott	"	"	—
J. Hanson Thomas	"	"	—
George W. Brown	"	"	—
F. Key Howard	"	"	—
Thomas W. Hall	"	"	—
Henry May	Baltimore, Md.	Sept. 26	—
S. Teakle Wallis	"	"	—
Wm. G. Harrison	"	"	—
Charles H. Pitts	"	"	—
R. M. Dennison	"	"	—
Leonard J. Quinlan	Baltimore Co., Md.	"	—
Andrew A. Lynch	"	"	—
John C. Brain	Nashville, Tenn.	Sept. 28	—
B. P. Loyall	Norfolk, Va.	Oct. 2	—
M. K. Stevens	South Carolina	"	—
W. R. Batt	Portsmouth, Va.	"	—
Dr. Charles McGill	Hagerstown, Md.	Oct. 5	—
H. G. Thurber	Oldham Co., Ky.	"	—
F. M. Crow	"	"	—
J. W. Griffith	"	"	—
Anderson McDowell	"	"	—
J. W. Roberts	Harrodsburg, Ky.	"	—
S. H. Woolridge	"	"	—
W. E. Kearney	Clarke Co., Ky.	"	—
Joseph Back	Marion Co., Ky.	"	—
J. F. McFent	Harrodsburg, Ky.	"	—
C. P. Pessey	New York city	"	—
Edward Payne	Lexington, Ky.	"	Oct. 4
William Grubbs	Madison Co., Ky.	"	—
W. E. Wright	Marion Co., Ky.	"	—
Lewis S. Holsclaw	Bullitt Co., Ky.	"	—
Edward Bann	Currituck Co., N. C.	Oct. 7	—
Joseph A. Douglass	Edenton Co., N. C.	"	—
Edward O'Neil	Currituck Co., N. C.	"	—
Elijah Sibern	"	"	—
Sterling F. Newton	Wilmington, N. C.	"	—
Robert S. Grisson	"	"	—
Isaac Sumdell	Washington, N. C.	"	Oct. 9
George Barker	Lemington, (Eng)	"	"
Edward Hendricks	Prussia	"	"
John Johnson	Sweden	"	"
Eric Brunden	"	"	"
William Brown	"	"	"
Perry White	Plymouth, N. C.	"	"
James B. Hoggard	"	"	"
Cartwr't Thompson	"	"	"
John Murphy	Oswego, N. Y.	"	"
Wm. F. Capehart	Plymouth, N. C.	"	"
George W. Barnard	Newbern, N. C.	"	—
George Shackleford	Beaufort, N. C.	"	—
G. O. Vanamringe	Wilmington, N. C.	"	—
Michael Berry	Brooklyn, N. Y.	Oct. 8	—
Alfred DeCosta	Charleston, S. C.	Oct. 11	—
A. R. Carter	Baltimore, Md.	Oct. 12	—
J. W. Packard	Bridgewater	Oct. 13	—

RECAPITULATION.

Imprisoned	175
Released to October 14, inclusive	67
In Fort Lafayette to October 19	108

* Taken to New York for trial. † Removed to Bedloe's Island. ‡ Removed to Fort Columbus.

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Mr. Pierce Butler, who was confined Aug. 20 and released Sept. 24, subsequently commenced action against Mr. Simon Cameron, ex-Secretary of War, for assault and false imprisonment. Mr. Butler was liberated in five weeks from the time of his incarceration, without reason being given for his discharge any more than for his arrest; and speaks in his complaint of being locked with nine other gentlemen in a cell twenty-six feet long by fourteen wide, in one of the casemates of Fort Lafayette, where he was allowed egress only at meals, and during one hour in the morning and evening for exercise in the quadrangle of the fort.

The fellow-occupants of Mr. Butler's cell were Charles J. Faulkner, James W. Wall, of Burlington; Thomas S. Serril, of Philadelphia; McMasters, of the New York "Freeman's Journal," De Bebin, of Wilmington, N. C., and others.

On the 30th of October all the prisoners at New York were removed to Fort Warren at Boston, a large and commodious structure. There were one hundred and nine political prisoners from Fort Lafayette; also six hundred and thirty-three of the prisoners taken at Hatteras Inlet. Others were subsequently added to this number.

HACKLEY, Rev. Charles W., professor of mathematics and astronomy in Columbia College, N. Y., born in Herkimer Co., New York, in 1809, died at his residence in New York, Jan. 10, 1861. He entered West Point Academy in 1825, graduated in 1829, and was assistant professor of mathematics at West Point until 1832. He then studied law, and subsequently theology, and was ordained as a clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1835. He was professor of mathematics in the University of New York until 1838, and afterwards President of Jefferson College, Mississippi, and rector of St. Peter's church in Auburn, N. Y. In 1843 he was elected professor in Columbia College, and from that year until the time of his death filled the chair in mathematics in that college. He was the author of the following works: a "Treatise on Algebra," New York, 1856; "Elementary Course on Geometry," New York, 1847; "Elements of Trigonometry," New York, 1850. He was also a large contributor to scientific periodicals, as well as to the weekly and daily journals, and exerted himself particularly in behalf of the establishment of an astronomical observatory in New York City.

HAMPTON is the capital of Elizabeth City County, Virginia. It is situated on the left bank of the James River, about 2 miles from its entrance into the Chesapeake Bay, and 96 miles southeast of Richmond. The part of the estuary of James River situated between this town and Norfolk is called Hampton Roads. It is an old town, possessing much historic interest. The distance from Fortress Monroe is two and a half miles. The town contained about 1,400 inhabitants, and early experienced the effects of the war. On the 2d of July about thirty inhabitants remained.

The quaint old church was occupied as a guard-house by Federal troops, and two companies were stationed in the graveyard, which was surrounded by a high brick wall. Its tombstones bore date from the 17th century. In the new cemetery four companies of Col. Packard's regiment were posted, while the Federal force occupied the town.

It was subsequently evacuated by these troops, and then burnt by the Confederate force on the order of Gen. Magruder, to prevent its reoccupation. A few minutes after midnight on the 7th of August the torch was applied. The greater part of the five hundred houses having been built of wood, and being very dry, were soon in flames, and a strong south wind fanned them into a terrible conflagration. The fire raged all night, and on the next day, at noon, only seven or eight buildings remained. Among the buildings were four churches, and about four hundred and seventy houses. Thus was a pleasant town almost deserted and laid in ashes. From the inhabitants of this county six companies were furnished to the Confederate army to serve through the war.

HARPER'S FERRY. The situation of this town is at the confluence of the Shenandoah River with the Potomac, in Jefferson County, Virginia. The united stream at this point breaks through the Blue Ridge. It is 160 miles north of Richmond and 53 miles northwest of Washington. It is on the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. On the other side of the Potomac passes the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. The village is compactly though irregularly built around the base of a hill.

A United States Armory and a National Arsenal were located here. At the armory 10,000 muskets were made annually, and the arsenal often contained 80,000 to 90,000 stand of arms. On the 2d of January, orders were received from Washington for the Armory Guard, Flag Guard, and Rifles to go on duty, as a precautionary measure. A few days afterwards a detachment of unmounted U. S. Dragoons, numbering sixty-four, under command of Lieut. Jones, arrived there. Affairs remained in a quiet condition until the excitement created through the country by the capture of Fort Sumter, and the issue of the first proclamation by the President calling out troops. A movement was immediately made by friends of the Southern Confederacy in Northern Virginia, to take possession of Harper's Ferry Arsenal. As early as the 18th of April, Lieut. Jones was informed that between 2,500 and 3,000 State troops would reach the ferry in two hours. Deeming the information positive and reliable, he gave orders to apply the torch to the buildings. In three minutes or less both the arsenal buildings, containing nearly 15,000 stand of arms, together with the carpenters' shop, which was at the upper end of a long and connected series of workshops of the armory proper.

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were in a complete blaze. Lieut. Jones then withdrew his small force, and marching all night, arrived at Carlisle barracks at half-past 2 o'clock the next afternoon. This was done by orders of the Government. The place was then taken possession of by the Virginian troops. Most of the machinery which was not destroyed was removed to Richmond. About six hundred arms were recovered. The official report of Lieutenant Jones to the War Department was as follows:

CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA, April 20, 1861.

Assistant Adjutant-General, &c.:

SIR: Immediately after finishing my despatch of the 18th instant, I received positive and reliable information that 2,500 or 3,000 State troops would reach Harper's Ferry in two hours, from Winchester, and that the troops from Hulltown, increased to 300, were advancing, and even at that time—a few minutes after 10 o'clock—within twenty minutes' march of the ferry. Under these circumstances I decided the time had arrived to carry out my determination, as expressed in the despatch above referred to, and accordingly gave the order to apply the torch. In three minutes or less, both of the arsenal buildings, containing nearly 15,000 stand of arms, together with the carpenters' shop, which was at the upper end of a long and connected series of workshops of the armory proper, were in a blaze.

There is every reason for believing the destruction was complete.

After firing the buildings I withdrew my command, marching all night, and arrived here at 2½ P. M. yesterday, where I shall await orders. Four men were missing on leaving the armory and two deserted during the night. I am, sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant, R. JONES,
First Lieutenant R. M. Rifles.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, April 22, 1861.

Lieutenant R. Jones:

MY DEAR SIR: I take pleasure in apprising you that, in consideration of your very skilful and gallant conduct at Harper's Ferry, I have ordered a commission to be issued to you as assistant quartermaster-general, with the rank of captain. SIMON CAMERON,
Secretary of War.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, April 22, 1861.

Lieutenant R. Jones:

MY DEAR SIR: I am directed by the President of the United States to communicate to you, and through you to the officers and men under your command at Harper's Ferry armory, the approbation of the Government of your and their judicious conduct there, and to tender you and them the thanks of the Government for the same. I am, sir, very respectfully,

SIMON CAMERON,
Secretary of War.

Southern troops marched for the ferry immediately, and on the 20th of May, there were on the spot 8,000, made up from Kentucky, Alabama, South Carolina, and Virginia. They occupied all the neighboring heights on both sides of the Potomac and Shenandoah rivers, and claimed to hold an impregnable position against 40,000 men, so eligible were the points of defence. They expected accessions to their number, under the belief that the United States Government intended to make an effort to replant the national flag wherever it had been displaced.

A small force was thrown over the river to the heights on the Maryland shore, thus occupying a position important to the security of Harper's Ferry. The invasion of Maryland by Virginia caused a remonstrance from Governor Hicks, addressed to Governor Letcher, of Virginia. The latter replied that the movement was unauthorized and should be countermanded. On the 14th of June the ferry was evacuated by the Confederate troops. Their total force on that day in and around the place was about 10,000.

The population of Harper's Ferry, previous to its occupation, and the adjacent towns of Bolivar and Virginius, consisted of about 5,000 people. About 350 armorers and laborers were employed in the arsenal, and the whole population depended for their support upon the Government's annual expenditure in the fabrication of arms. Besides, the place afforded a market to the neighboring farmers of Loudon and Jefferson counties in Virginia, and of Washington in Maryland, for wood and produce of field and garden. The workmen and others who were not forced into the army, have been scattered, and their families mostly left in a state of destitution.

The region had once been called "the garden spot of Virginia." On the day the evacuation commenced, the bridge over the Potomac was destroyed, having been partly blown up and then set on fire by the retiring force. It was a long and costly structure. This retreat arose in consequence of the movement of Union troops up the Potomac, from Washington, and from Chambersburg, in Pennsylvania, towards Harper's Ferry. At a later day, a small force of Confederate troops returned and burned the bridge over the Shenandoah and other property. After the passage of the Union troops across the Potomac at Williamsport, under Gen. Patterson, the Confederate force retired, and the ferry remained in possession of the former until the 29th of July. Subsequently the entire Union force under Gen. Banks, who had succeeded to the command in place of Gen. Patterson, recrossed the Potomac to the Maryland side, except one regiment left as a guard. This movement was in consequence of the indefensible nature of the place from the south. The army stores and provisions were removed to the Maryland side, about three miles from Sandy Hook, and five miles from the ferry. The construction of the bridge was also stopped. Previous to the close of the year, however, the bridge was rebuilt, and the town relieved of all apprehensions of an approach of the Confederate troops.

HARRISONVILLE, a village in Cass County, Missouri, 115 miles in a direct line west from Jefferson City. On the 13th of July, a body of Home Guards, in the United States service as a reserve, were attacked about three miles north of this place by a considerable Confederate force. The fight continued for four hours, when the latter retreated, having had fourteen killed.

HARVEY BIRCH, SHIP. This ship, owned and registered in the city of New York, sailed for Havre on the 20th of September, with a

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cargo of wheat, and arrived on the 9th of October. Having discharged her cargo and taken in ballast, the captain sailed for New York on the 16th of November. On the morning of the 19th, the ship then being in about lat. 40.6 N., long. 9.52 W., a steamer was made out, bearing for her, which was found to be an armed vessel, and hoisted at the peak the flag of the Confederate States. When within hailing distance a person on board hailed the ship, saying: "Haul down your colors and heave the ship to," the ensign of the United States being at this time set at the peak. This order was complied with, and the captain received the order, "Lower your boat and come on board," which he also complied with, taking the ship's papers with him. After arriving on board the steamer he was introduced by the first lieutenant, by name Fauntleroy, to Capt. Pegrim, commander of the Confederate States steamer Nashville, to whom he produced all the papers of the ship for examination. Capt. Pegrim took the ship's papers, and then told the captain that he should hold him as a prisoner of war by authority of the Confederate States. Capt. Nelson soon returned to his ship, with orders from the captain of the Nashville for all the crew to get their things ready as soon as possible, and go on board the Nashville, as they intended to destroy the Harvey Birch. They were allowed an hour or an hour and a half for this purpose, and got part out. The men from the steamer took most of the provisions, with the ship's chronometer, barometer, and some of the charts, permitting Capt. Nelson to retain his own chronometer, but he lost $1,200 or $1,400 of personal effects, books, charts, &c. They then set fire to the ship fore and aft, apparently in the deck-houses, and the vessel was soon in flames from stem to stern. The three masts were seen to go over the side, and the hull was still burning when the steamer left her. The Harvey Birch was a full-rigged ship of 1,487 tons, American measurement. She had a total of 29 souls on board. The men were put in irons on board the steamer, (with the exception of the captain and mate, who were treated with great politeness,) and kept as prisoners until the arrival of the vessel at Southampton, when they were immediately landed in the docks, and set at liberty with all the personal effects belonging to them.

HATTERAS INLET. From Cape Henry, Va., which is the southern point at the entrance of Chesapeake Bay, low sand islands and shoals lie between the shore of the mainland and the Atlantic Ocean. These extend for 200 miles along the coast, forming between themselves and the mainland the Currituck, Albemarle, and Pamlico sounds, navigable for vessels of light draft. The first practicable ocean inlet is 135 miles south of Cape Henry. It is a narrow and difficult entrance, known as Hatteras Inlet, with seven feet of water on the bar. A single vessel of light draft would be sufficient for the closing of this channel. It was to this entrance that the military and naval expedition under Gen. Butler and Com. Stringham was destined. (*See* EXPEDITIONS.)

HATTERAS ISLAND. The occupation of Hatteras Inlet was followed by some events of interest. Hatteras Island, upon which the forts are situated, extends in a northeastern direction 13 miles to Cape Hatteras light-house, thence north nearly 30 miles to Loggerhead Inlet, making a total length of about 40 miles. Its width varies from half a mile to two miles and upwards in various parts. It has an irregular sandy surface, interspersed with marshes and occasional spots covered with dwarf oak trees. The population is about 500 in number, who subsist by fishing, piloting, and similar pursuits. There are a few schools and a church upon the island.

Col. Hawkins, commander at Fort Hatteras, having learned that a Confederate force had taken possession of Roanoke Island, with the intention of making it a permanent stronghold, and also for the purpose of guarding an important inlet at that point, so that their privateers might have undisputed entrance, determined to place a force in that vicinity for the double purpose of protecting the loyal citizens and watching the enemy and preventing him from landing on the island, and also to prevent, if possible, their privateers from entering the channel which runs from the ocean at the junction of Albemarle and Pamlico sounds. On the 29th of September the Twentieth Indiana Regiment left on the small steamers or gunboats Putnam and Ceres, and arrived at their destination on the same afternoon—but on account of the shallowness of the water, they could not get nearer the shore than three miles. On the next morning the regiment was landed by means of small barges, but with only a few days' provision. Their camp equipage, intrenching tools, and supply of provisions were to be brought up the next day by the tug Fanny; which did not leave, however, until Tuesday, two days after, and arrived early that afternoon. No sooner had she come to anchor than three Confederate gunboats made their appearance and captured her with all her stores, consisting of 60 barrels of flour, 1,000 new overcoats, 9,000 pounds of beef, and all the sutler's goods. Learning now the true position of affairs, a Confederate expedition of between two and three thousand men was fitted out to capture the Indiana regiment. Their plan was to land part of this force above and the remainder below the regiment. Thus placed between the two forces it would be compelled to surrender. This movement was attempted on Friday morning the 4th of October. A part of the force was landed above and the steamers proceeded to land the remainder a few miles below, but were detained so that a landing was not effected until dark. Meantime Col. Brown of the Indiana regiment, perceiving the object of the enemy, commenced a retreat, with a small loss of pickets, and passed the lower force in the dark just after it had landed, and

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reached Hatteras Light at midnight, having marched 28 miles. The first 10 miles were terrible. The sun was shining upon the white sand of the beach, heating the air as if it was a furnace. The men had neither provisions nor water. Having at first rushed out in haste to repel the enemy, and then being unable to return to their camp, they were prevented from taking a supply. They were unused to long marches; the sand was heavy, and the soldiers sank into it at every step. As the regiment pushed along, man after man would stagger from the ranks and fall upon the hot sand. A large number of the islanders left their homes through fear of the enemy. They could be seen in groups, sometimes with a little cart carrying their provisions, but mostly with nothing, fleeing for life—mothers carrying their babes, fathers leading along the boys, grandfathers and grandmothers straggling from homes they had left behind. Relying upon Federal protection, they had been friends to the regiment, which in an evil hour was compelled to leave them.

At Hatteras Light they were joined by Col. Hawkins, with 600 men, supported by the frigate Susquehanna and the gunboat Monticello. The latter proceeded up the beach, and soon found the enemy marching down with bands playing and flags flaunting in the breeze. The Monticello then ran within a half or three-quarters of a mile of the shore and sent a 10-inch shell into the enemy's front ranks, which exploded with apparent destruction. They attempted to retreat, but the gunboat kept on with them, pouring in a storm of shot and shell. They sought shelter in a small copse of wood, but were compelled to break from cover and rush in squads of hundreds across the barren beach, exposed to the fire of the guns. This continued for three hours and a half, and 180 shells were thrown at the enemy. The sand was covered with swords, accoutrements, and clothing thrown away. Finally the Confederate gunboats came down inside, and with barges the troops were taken on board under the cover of night; not, however, without some loss in embarking, and serious injury to one or two of the vessels by the shells thrown from the Monticello. The loss of the Confederate force was unknown, but stated by them to have been one man. They made a prize of the Fanny, estimated at $80,000, and a part of the camp of the Indiana regiment, and took a few prisoners.

But the force on the island had occasion to contend with the elements, by which they were threatened with greater destruction than by the Confederate troops. On the night of the 1st of November, a gale of wind commenced with rain, which in the morning had reached a fearful violence. About 3 o'clock before daybreak, the waves of the ocean began to sweep over the island into the sound, and at daylight these two bodies of water appeared to be united. Not a spot of land was to be seen. All the lower portion of the island where Forts Hatteras and Clark were situated was under water, and all chances of escape were cut off. It was not until a breaker swept across that the soldiers were aware of the presence of a great flood. The waters commenced to decline about 7 o'clock in the morning; otherwise if they had continued to rise a few hours more, all must have perished. Much property was destroyed, consisting of army stores, &c. A new inlet or channel was also cut between the forts nearly six feet deep.

HERBERT, SIDNEY, BARON HERBERT OF LEA, an English statesman, born in Wiltshire, Sept. 16, 1810, died near Wilton, England, Aug. 2, 1861. He was the second son of the 11th Earl of Pembroke by his second wife, a daughter of the Russian Count Woronzoff. He was educated at Oriel College, Oxford, where he graduated with high honors as a classic in 1831. In Dec. 1832 he was elected to parliament for the southern division of the county of Wilts, and continued to represent that county till his elevation to the peerage in 1861. His family connections had given him a strong leaning towards the Conservatives, but he gradually approached nearer to the Liberal party, and in 1841 supported Sir Robert Peel in his changes of the commercial policy of the Government. He became Secretary of the Admiralty in the Peel Ministry, and held this post till 1845, when he accepted the office of Secretary at War, with a seat in the Cabinet. In 1846 he explained to the House of Commons the views of the Government in relation to the repeal of the corn laws, and the introduction of the principles of free trade. During the premierships of Lord John Russell and Earl Derby, Mr. Herbert remained in opposition, but on the accession of Lord Aberdeen to power, in Dec. 1852, having been sworn a privy-councillor, he again accepted the portfolio of Secretary at War. In 1855 he resigned on a partial reconstruction of the Cabinet, and for a few weeks under the administration of Lord Palmerston held the Secretaryship of the Colonies. On the appointment by the House of Commons of a committee of inquiry into the state of the army before Sebastopol, he retired from the Government, regarding the raising of that committee as implying a censure on the Aberdeen Cabinet, though he had been very earnest in that Cabinet in his efforts to promote reform in the management of the army. He remained out of office till 1859, when Lord Palmerston urged his acceptance of his former post of Secretary at War, which he retained till his death, which was said to have been caused by excessive labor. He was raised to the peerage as Baron Herbert of Lea early in 1861. He was an able and elegant writer, and his contributions to the reviews on State questions were models of political writing. In private life he was distinguished for his abundant charities and his hearty zeal in the organization and promotion of schemes of social benevolence and general

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utility. In the efforts of Florence Nightingale and others to promote the welfare and relieve the sufferings of the soldiers in the Crimea, they had no more zealous and efficient assistants than the Hon. Sidney Herbert and his amiable and accomplished lady. One of his later acts of benevolence was the erection of a beautiful church in the Lombardic style for the people of his native town of Wilton.

HOUSTON, a town of Southern Missouri, capital of Texas Co., situated on the Piney fork of Gasconade River, at the foot of the northern slope of the Ozark Mountains. Here, on the 4th of November, an expedition, under command of Col. Gresnel, sent by Col. Dodge, attacked a Confederate force stationed here, and captured 32 prisoners, several of them officers, 500 cattle, 90 horses and mules, a considerable amount of stores, and a large mail for the Confederate army, containing information respecting the position of the entire Confederate force in Missouri.

HOUSTON, SAM, a general, president, and governor of Texas, born near Lexington, Virginia, Mar. 2, 1793, reported as having died at Austin, Texas, Oct. 8, 1861. His life was one of remarkable adventures and sudden changes. His father was a soldier of the Revolution, and held the post of brigade-inspector at the time of his death in 1807. Soon after his death, his widow, with nine children, removed to Blount Co., Tennessee, on the very borders of civilization, within eight miles of the Cherokee settlements. Sam was sent to an academy, and made rapid progress in his studies, and begged permission of his teacher to be allowed to add Greek and Latin to his other studies. He was refused, and thereupon left the school, and could not be persuaded to return. After a short stay in a store as clerk, a situation not at all to his liking, he absconded, crossed the Tennessee River, and took up his abode with the Indians, with whom he remained for three years; Oolooteka, one of their principal chiefs, adopting him as his son. In 1811 he returned to his family, and opened a school for his maintenance; he soon had an abundance of pupils, though his price was high for the country and time. In 1813 he enlisted as a common soldier in the U. S. Army, distinguished himself by his good conduct, and was soon promoted to an ensigncy; and in 1814, at the battle of the great bend of the Tallapoosa, led the forlorn hope in a storming party to capture the Creek fortification, and was three times severely, and as it was supposed, mortally wounded. His daring attracted the attention, and secured him the lasting friendship of Gen. Jackson. For nearly three years he suffered severely from his wounds, and finally underwent a painful and dangerous operation, which nearly cost him his life. He had been promoted to a lieutenancy in 1815, and in November, 1817, was appointed as a subordinate Indian agent to carry out a treaty with the Cherokees. The next winter he conducted a delegation of Indians to Washington. His zeal in preventing the unlawful importation of negroes from Africa through Florida, then a Spanish province, into the Southern States, had made him enemies who were loud in their complaints against him. The Government acquitted him of all blame, but as its justification and approval of his course were not so decided as he thought it should have been, he threw up his commission on the 1st March, 1818, and returning to Tennessee, settled in Nashville, and began to study law. Applying himself to his studies with great earnestness, he was admitted to the bar within six months, after a rigid examination. He was soon appointed adjutant-general with the rank of colonel, and in Oct. 1819, one year after his admission to the bar, elected district-attorney of the Davidson district. He was remarkably successful as a prosecuting officer, and rose rapidly in reputation, although the bar of Nashville at that time was composed of an unusually large number of men of superior ability. In Dec. 1821, he was elected major-general of militia, and in 1823 chosen to Congress without opposition; he was reëlected in 1825 by an almost unanimous vote, and in Aug. 1827 chosen Governor of Tennessee by a majority of 12,000. His popularity was such that he had not a single opponent in the State Legislature. In Jan. 1829, he was married, and in April of the same year, for reasons never publicly explained, separated from his wife, resigned his office, and went to the Indian Territory, whither his old friends the Cherokees had removed, and presented himself before the old chief Oolooteka, who received him kindly, and through whose influence he was formally admitted to all the rights and privileges of the Cherokee nation. He remained among the Indians till 1832, when he went to Washington to protest against the wrongs which had been inflicted on them by the Government agents, and to demand redress. The President ordered an investigation, which resulted in the removal of five of the Government Indian agents from office. This action involved Houston in numerous personal difficulties and annoyances, and led to a personal rencontre between him and Mr. W. R. Stansbury, of Ohio, in consequence of a charge of fraud made by him against Gen. Houston. In this rencontre Mr. Stansbury was severely beaten, and Gen. Houston was arrested, brought before the House, and publicly censured by the Speaker; he was also indicted and tried for the assault and fined $500 and costs, but the fine was remitted by the President. The charge of fraud made against him was investigated and effectually disproved. Houston, on quitting Washington, returned to his Cherokee friends, but soon after removed to Texas with a few companions, professedly for the purpose of rearing herds of cattle on its prairies, but, as was commonly reported and believed, to take part in the impending revolution there. Soon after his arrival there he was a delegate from Nacogdoches to a Convention, to form a Constitution

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for the new State of Texas, and exerted a powerful influence on its deliberations. At the commencement of the Texan war with Mexico, he was appointed general of the troops raised east of the Trinity River, and in Oct. 1835, was elected commander-in-chief of the Texan army, and after the Texan Declaration of Independence he resigned, but was immediately reëlected. He took a leading part in all the subsequent measures of Texas; retreated with his handful of men before the Mexican army till he could be reënforced, secure a stronger position, and divide the enemy, whom he utterly defeated in the battle of San Jacinto, taking Santa Anna prisoner; was severely wounded himself in that battle, but recovering, was elected in September following President of the Republic of Texas, and as the Constitution did not permit him to serve two successive terms, he became a member of Congress at the expiration of his term of service, leaving the government and finances of the Republic in a prosperous condition. His successor, M. B. Lamar, was less fortunate or less able in his administration, and at its close the Republic was involved in a costly and disastrous war with the Indian tribes and Mexico, had incurred a debt of from ten to fifteen millions of dollars, and its credit was completely gone. In 1841, Gen. Houston was reëlected, and during his administration secured the payment of a considerable portion of the debt, had reduced the expenditure, restored the credit of the Republic, and negotiated its annexation to the United States; which was finally consummated a few months after the expiration of his term of office. On her admission into the Union, Gen. Houston was elected one of her Senators in the U. S. Senate, and reëlected in 1853. While in the Senate he distinguished himself as an advocate for justice and humanity to the Indians. He opposed the Kansas and Nebraska bill, and on the 3d of March, 1854, made an able speech, in which he denounced the repeal of the Missouri compromise as a flagrant breach of faith, which would involve the country in great future trouble and distress. In the same speech he defended the 3,000 New England clergymen, who had signed a memorial against the bill, and avowed himself an adherent to the "American" party. He was soon after proposed by many of the papers of that party as a candidate for the presidency, and was also recommended for that office by the Democratic General Committee of New Hampshire. In 1858 he sustained the Lecompton Constitution for Kansas by his vote. In 1858, J. W. Hemphill was elected to the Senate in his place, but on his return to Texas in 1859, he became a candidate for Governor, and was elected Aug. 1, 1859. He opposed the secession movement from the beginning, and withstood for a long time the pressure which was exerted to induce him to call an extra session of the Legislature. To avoid collision, he acquiesced in the actions of the Legislature and those of the Convention, although each had been illegally called. Finally, he retired from office in preference to taking the oath required by the State Convention, and was succeeded by Lieut.-Gov. Clark. (*See* TEXAS.)

I

ILLINOIS, one of the interior States, was admitted into the Union in 1818. It is situated between latitude 36° 56′ and 42° 30′ N., and longitude 87° 35′ and 91° 40′ W. from Greenwich. Extreme length from north to south 388 miles; extreme breadth from east to west 212 miles. Area 55,405 square miles, or 35,459,200 acres. Population in 1860, 1,711,753. It is bounded north by Wisconsin, northeast by Lake Michigan, east by Indiana, south by Kentucky and the Ohio River, and west by the Mississippi River, which divides it from Missouri and Iowa. It is divided into 102 counties. The real and personal property of its citizens was valued, in 1850, at $156,265,006, and in 1860 at $871,860,282.

The Legislature of the State met at Springfield, on the 7th of January, 1861, and Gov. Yates' Message was delivered on the 8th. He recommended a complete reconstruction of the present military plan, by dividing the State into three divisions of battalion, regimental, and brigade formation, and that the most liberal legislative encouragement should be given to the formation of volunteer companies throughout the State. He advised also that the banks of the State should be required to secure their circulation exclusively by the United States and Illinois stocks.

In regard to the difficulties at present existing south, he said: "If grievances to any portion of our Confederation have arisen within the Union, let them be redressed within the Union. If unconstitutional laws, trenching upon the guaranteed rights of any of our sister States, have found place upon our statute books, let them be removed. If prejudice and alienation towards any of our fellow-countrymen have fastened upon our minds, let them be dismissed and forgotten. Let us be just to ourselves and each other, allowing neither threats to drive us from what we deem to be our duty, nor pride of opinion prevent us from correcting wherein we may have erred." He recommended that, if Illinois had passed any laws tending to obstruct the operation of Federal authority or conflicting with the constitutional rights of others, they should at once be repealed.

Speaking not merely for himself, but reflecting what he assumed to be the voice of the whole people of Illinois, irrespective of party, as it reached him from all quarters, he adopt-

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ed the sentiment of President Jackson, "The Federal Union: it must be preserved;" to which sentiment, he trusted, the Legislature would give emphatic expression at an early day.

On the second of February the Senate Committee on Federal Relations reported a series of resolutions, requesting the Governor to appoint five commissioners to attend the Peace Conference to be held at Washington on the 4th of that month, declaring that this appointment was not intended as an expression of opinion in favor of any change in the Federal Constitution as requisite to secure to the slaveholding States adequate guarantees of their rights, nor as an approval of the basis of settlement proposed by Virginia, but simply as an expression of their willingness to unite with that State in an earnest effort to adjust the present unhappy controversy in the spirit in which the Constitution was formed. They further avowed their belief that the appropriate and constitutional method of considering and acting upon the grievances complained of by the slaveholding States was by the call of a convention for the amendment of the Constitution as contemplated by the 5th article of that instrument. The resolutions passed by a vote of 13 to 10.

On the requisition of the Secretary of War for troops in April, the Governor issued a proclamation calling for six thousand volunteers, and in less than a day forty companies were officially reported as ready and anxious for service. Up to the 20th of April sixty-one companies had been positively accepted, and eight others conditionally, so that the complement of Illinois was then exceeded.

On the 12th of April (the day of the attack on Fort Sumter) Governor Yates had issued the following proclamation, convening the Legislature in extra session on the 23d of that month:

I, Richard Yates, Governor of the State of Illinois, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution, hereby convene the Legislature of said State, and the members of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly are hereby required to be and appear in their respective places at the Capitol, in the city of Springfield, on Tuesday the 23d day of April, A. D. 1861, for the purpose of enacting such laws and adopting such measures as may be deemed necessary upon the following subject, to wit: The more perfect organization and equipment of the militia of this State, and placing the same on the best footing to render efficient assistance to the General Government in preserving the Union, enforcing the laws, and protecting the property and rights of the people; also, the raising such money and other means as may be required to carry out the foregoing object, and also to provide for the expenses of such session.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand, and have caused the great seal of the State to be hereunto affixed at the city of Springfield, this 12th day of April, 1861. RICHARD YATES.

On the 25th of April, Gov. Yates sent to the Legislature a Message, in explanation of his having taken military possession of Cairo and garrisoned it with Federal troops. He said in this Message:

"The transfer of part of the volunteer forces of the State to the city of Cairo was made in compliance with an order from the War Department, directing a force to be stationed at Cairo. Simultaneously with the receipt of the order, reliable information reached me of the existence of a conspiracy of disaffected persons in other States to seize upon Cairo and the southern portion of the Illinois Central Railroad, and cut off communication with the interior of the State. It was my desire that the honor of this service should have been given to the patriotic citizens of the counties in the immediate vicinity, but as these were not at that time organized and armed for patriotic duty, and the necessity for speedy action was imperative, the requisition was filled from companies previously tendered from other portions of the State."

At this extra session, the amount appropriated for war purposes was $3,500,000. Of this sum $1,000,000 was to organize and equip ten regiments called out by the State, $500,000 was appropriated to purchase arms for the State, and to build a powder magazine, and $2,000,000 for general purposes of State defence and national aid.

The entire militia of the State, consisting of all the able-bodied men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years, were to be immediately organized. A bill defining and punishing treason to the State was passed. The telegraph was put under restraint, and measures taken to prevent its rendering aid to opponents of the Government, and every thing was done that was deemed necessary "to place the State in a condition to suppress insurrection, repel invasion, and render prompt assistance to the United States Government."

The Governor was indefatigable in his efforts to provide for the army which Illinois was raising, to aid in the maintenance of the Federal Government. On the 17th of August he issued a proclamation to the people of Illinois, stating that he had obtained permission from the Secretary of War to accept all companies that offered themselves for the three years' service, and announcing that all companies which should report themselves fully organized within twenty days from that date would be received; that orders for the transportation, sustenance, and equipment of troops had already been given, and that both equipments and arms of the best quality would be furnished at the earliest possible moment. The proclamation was eloquent and replete with patriotic feeling, and it awakened a hearty response in the hearts of the people of the State. The companies reported much faster than they could be armed and equipped, and on the 21st of November it was stated by authority that the State had 53,000 troops in the field, or ready for marching orders, of whom six regiments and two independent squadrons were cavalry. This was 8,600 more than her quota. The number was subsequently largely increased, and on the first of January, 1862, her force in actual service considerably exceeded 60,000.

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The expenses of the war in the State in 1861 were nearly five million dollars, of which the United States Government would refund about $3,400,000, besides the tax of August, 1861, which was assumed by the State, and which would amount to about $1,700,000.

Late in the year, in accordance with a vote of the Legislature, an election was held for delegates to a convention to revise the Constitution; 75 members were elected, of whom 55 were democrats and 20 republicans. The convention did not commence its session till January, 1862, and continued in session nearly three months.

Illinois has made gigantic strides in material progress within the past ten years. With the exception of Ohio, she has more miles of railroad actually in operation than any other State in the Union, and another decade will probably enable her to surpass even that State, on whose heels she now treads closely. The number of miles completed and in progress in Illinois, January 1, 1862, was 3,849; the number of miles open for traffic was 3,024; the cost of the roads now constructed, with their equipments, &c., was $113,591,014. Of these railroads 2,770 miles have been constructed since 1852. By means of these railroads she is able to bring her vast grain crops, for the culture of which her broad acres of prairie are so admirably adapted, into market with great facility. The amount of this crop is marvellous. The deliveries of grain at Chicago in 1861 were 33,214,294 bushels, being three-fifths of the whole amount exported to Europe under the extraordinary demand of that year. When we consider that for large portions of the crop St. Louis, Cairo, and Cincinnati are more convenient markets than Chicago, and take into account also the immense export down the Mississippi in the winter of 1860–61, and the large quantity required to supply the home consumption of 1,700,000 people, some idea can be formed of the productiveness of the State.

Abundant, however, as is the product of grain, it has been discovered of late that in the southern portion of the State, at least, other crops can be raised with greater profit and more uniform success. The culture of the sorghum, both for fodder and for the production of syrup and sugar, has been constantly on the increase for several years, and the supply of Louisiana sugar, which has been largely consumed in the West, having been cut off by the war, a greatly increased production of the sorghum followed.

The culture of cotton, long practised on a small scale in Southern Illinois, was greatly stimulated last year, and will be still more the present year, by the high price at which that great staple is held, in consequence of the war. It has been ascertained that the Tennessee cotton, or, better, that procured from China above the 35th parallel, can be cultivated successfully anywhere below 40° N. latitude in Illinois, and will yield an average crop of 300 to 500 lbs. to the acre. Before 1840 it was cultivated on almost every farm in Southern Illinois for home consumption, but the low price of cotton goods, and the demand for other products, led to the neglect of the cotton crop. Many thousand acres have now been planted with it, and should the season prove favorable, the cotton crop of Illinois, in 1862, will probably be of considerable value.

INDIA AND FARTHER INDIA. Of the events of 1861, in these remote countries, there are but few which particularly interest our readers. The intrigues of Russia with Dost Mohammed Khan, one of the most formidable of the princes of Turkistan, were manifested at the beginning of the year, in the refusal of that prince to meet Lord Canning, the Governor-General of India, during his "progress" through Northern India. The reason assigned by Dost Mohammed for his absence, was a deceptive one, and the fact gave some uneasiness to the British authorities.

The autumn of 1860 and the winter of 1860–61 were marked by a terrible famine prevailing over extensive districts of India, in consequence of the absence of the usual rains in the preceding summer. The famine made terrible ravages in Delhi and other districts, and many thousands perished from starvation. Extraordinary efforts were made for their relief, and a subscription of $500,000 was made for supplying their wants, in England.

The Fifth European Regiment at Dinapore, previously under the East India Company's government, was incorporated with the British army of India, on the assumption of direct sway over India by the British Government. Dissatisfied with the amalgamation, which associated them with the faithful native regiments, they mutinied; the Governor-General caused the ringleaders of the mutiny to be seized, tried by court-martial, and hanged, and the regiment to lose its name, and its companies to be distributed among the other regiments. This prompt action saved the country from what appeared at first to threaten serious trouble.

The cultivation of indigo, though profitable to the large proprietors, is not so to the ryots or tenants of the lands, especially on the rich lands of Bengal, which yield better crops of cotton or other articles, with less severe labor. The indigo crop must be planted at a particular time, (in the inundated lands immediately on the recession of the waters, and on the dry land three or four days after the first rains,) and if not sown at that precise time the crop is a failure. The labor is very severe and the returns small; the English proprietors had been accustomed to use the most oppressive measures towards the ryots, imprisoning them, and subjecting them to cruel punishments for the slightest neglect or delay in sowing the indigo, and reducing them and their descendants to peonage for the small advances made to them. Contracts with them had often had conditions of peonage interpolated in them, unknown to the ryots, and these had been enforced by im-

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prisonment. The Governor of Bengal, Mr. Grant, had, in a journey of 60 miles, met with thousands of the families of the ryots, who implored him on their knees to repeal the ordinance compelling them to cultivate indigo. He promised to do this, by a public proclamation; but the planters prevailed on the Council of India, at Calcutta, to nullify this proclamation. On an appeal to the Great Council of India, at London, however, Gov. Grant was sustained, the ryots relieved, and the planters severely rebuked.

The finances of India were at the commencement of the year in a deplorable state. The debt of India was £80,000,000, and a further sum of £12,000,000 was still to be paid to the old East India Company, and for the liquidation of other claims. The deficit for the year 1861, was estimated at £6,500,000. Mr. Wilson, an able financier, sent by the English Government in the spring of 1860, to examine the finances of the country, after careful investigation, proposed a scale of duties and an income tax, which he believed would raise the necessary revenue, in connection with a banking system, more comprehensive than had previously been introduced; but before his plans could be acted upon, he died from overwork, and his successor, Mr. Laing, adopted a different policy, retaining the bank, but diminishing the imports, and raising the amount needed by a stamp duty and a capitation tax.

The scarcity of cotton in 1861, in Great Britain, and the probability of a still greater scarcity in 1862, induced the greatest exertions to increase the crop in India, which, it was evident, must be the principal or at least the largest source of supply. In 1861, it furnished nearly one-third of the whole amount imported, and its capacity for a vastly increased production was well known, if it could be properly prepared, and brought into market without too great cost. For this purpose efforts have been made, and with considerable success, to open new lines of railway penetrating into the cotton districts; to furnish ample seed of the best quality to the planters and ryots, to relieve the latter from the oppression they have suffered, and thus impart a new stimulus to their industry; to introduce cotton gins of the best patterns, and improved methods of packing, that the cotton might come into market in better condition, and by offering bounties to encourage the culture. For the better attainment of these objects, the Secretary of the Cotton Supply Association went out to India in the spring of 1861, and remained till October. For the purpose of facilitating the plans of the association, arrangements were made with the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, and with parties in Egypt for shipping from Egypt four tons of cotton seed monthly to India. The Egyptian seed is said to produce on India soil a cotton of larger and stronger fibre than the American, and consequently will yield an article more nearly like the American cotton than the Surat is at present. The result of these efforts will not be fully seen till the amount of cotton received from India in the winter and spring of 1862, is known; that the production has been greatly increased, is, however, certain.

The railway enterprises in India, which, in connection with the common roads being made as feeders for them, must greatly develop the industrial resources of that country, are on a gigantic scale, and are constructed mainly by British capital. On the 31st December, 1860, 842 miles were opened for traffic, and 1,353½ miles more were contracted to be completed in 1861, and 1,579 more in 1862. The cost of these lines is estimated at £49,000,000, or $245,000,000. Besides these, the French Government were constructing a railroad to bring their town of Karikal into connection with the great Southern India line. One of the inclines on the Ghaut Mountains near Bombay, called the "Bhore Ghaut Incline," is 3,662 feet in height, and extends 15¾ miles, being built up with a solid mass of masonry on an almost inaccessible mountain scarp. Its construction employed over 40,000 laborers for many months. Another marvel of engineering skill on one of these railroads is the Brahminee bridge on the line between Calcutta and Rajrushal. It consists of nine iron girders of 60 feet span, and seven brick arches of thirty feet span each. Its total length from abutment to abutment is 950 feet, and the height of the rail level above the bed of the river is about thirty feet, the foundations being sunk ten feet below the bed of the river. The fuel for burning the brick used had to be brought 70 miles on the native carts. Notwithstanding the numerous difficulties incident to a country without roads, and without fuel, Messrs. Perry and Powell, the engineers, succeeded in completing this noble bridge in a single season.

In Anam, one of the States of Farther India, France has, during the year, made considerable conquests. The strongly fortified town of Saigon, on the coast of Anam, was captured, and the region adjacent, for a considerable distance, ceded to the invaders, who have already commenced establishing a colony there.

INDIANA, one of the interior States of the American Union, was admitted in 1816. It is situated between latitude 37° 47′ and 41° 46′ north, and longitude 84° 49′ and 88° 2′ west from Greenwich. Its extreme length from north to south is 276 miles, its average breadth 140 miles, and its area 33,809 square miles, or 21,867,641 acres. Its population in 1860 was 1,350,479. It is bounded north by the Lake and State of Michigan, east by Ohio, south by Kentucky and the Ohio River, and west by Illinois. It is divided into 92 counties. The valuation of the real and personal property of its citizens, in 1850, was $202,650,264; in 1860, $528,835,371.

The sessions of the Legislature are biennial, and the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor are elected for four years.

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The Report of the State Auditor for the year 1860 gives the following statement of the aggregates of the assessment of real and personal property in Indiana for the year 1860:

Number of acres	21,867,641
Value of lands without improvements	$219,661,788
Value of improvements	$55,491,249
Value of lands and improvements	$275,153,082
Value of town lots and improvements	$47,473,326
Total value of railroad assessment	$6,619,842
Other corporation stocks	$1,819,246
Other personal property	$122,944,432
Total valuation	$455,011,878
Number of polls	208,098

On the above-stated amount of property and number of polls, there is levied the following amount of taxes, which were collected in 1861:

State tax	$659,159 12
County tax	1,192,487 95
School tax	596,044 86
Road tax	338,847 81
Township tax	141,641 21
Sinking fund tax	88,736 88
Railroad tax	41,889 92
Other corporation tax	607,721 99
Total amount of taxes on assessment of 1860	3,768,426 87
Delinquent tax	702,699 64
Total amount of taxes	4,471,126 51

The banks of Indiana, on the 1st of January, 1861, were 39 in number, and reported their condition as follows: Capital paid in, $4,744,570; loans and discounts, $8,158,038; stocks, $1,297,828; real estate, $316,024; other investments, $77,293; due by other banks, $1,198,961; notes of other banks, $355,025; cash items, $105,875; specie, $2,296,648; circulation, $5,755,201; deposits, $1,841,051; due to other banks, $117,868; other liabilities, $152,650. At the time of the suspension of specie payment by the banks generally throughout the country in December, 1861, the banks of Indiana refused to suspend, and have maintained their condition as specie-paying banks up to the present time. The State debt in 1860 was $10,286,855 57. Besides this, the State is holder for the canal stocks of the Wabash and Erie Canal, $7,017,807 50; but the interest and a portion of the principal of this are paid from the canal revenues.

According to the United States census of 1860, the products of Indiana in the summer of that year were as follows:

Live Stock.—Number of horses, 409,504; asses and mules, 18,627; milch cows, 491,033; working oxen, 95,982; other cattle, 582,990; sheep, 2,157,375; swine, 2,498,528. Value of live stock, $50,116,964.

Produce.—Bushels of wheat, 15,219,120; corn, 69,641,591; oats, 5,028,755; Irish potatoes, 3,873,130; sweet potatoes, 234,304; flax seed, 158,272. Pounds of rice, 1,219; tobacco, 4,657,964; wool, 2,466,264; butter, 17,934,767; cheese, 569,574; flax, 17,112. Tons of hay, 635,322. Value of home manufactures, $847,251; value of slaughtered animals, $9,592,322.

The Report of the Superintendent of Public Institutions, Professor Miles J. Fletcher, to the Governor, on the 1st of January, 1862, presents the following statistics in regard to the condition of popular education in the State:

Number of Children at the Enumeration of 1861.

Number of males	270,073	
Number of females	258,118	
Whole number		528,191
Number of children attending public schools during 1861	337,390	
Number attending private schools	18,270	
Number attending schools of all kinds		355,660
Number not attending schools of any kind		163,231

Amount of school revenue for tuition, collected and ready for apportionment in April, 1861	$555,196 82
Amount collected and ready for apportionment in October, 1861	106,182 82
Total during the year	$661,379 64
Amount apportioned in April	$533,577 66
Amount apportioned in October	102,890 20
Amount apportioned during the year	$636,467 86
Balance in State Treasury	$4,911 78
Amount of Congressional Township revenue collected during the year	$168,375 15
The Spring apportionment was	$1 08 to the child.
The Fall apportionment was	20 " "
Whole amount per child	$1 28

This is common school revenue. Congressional township revenue of 1861, $168,175 16, added to the common school revenue, gives a total of $1 60 per child.

There is now due the school revenue from the State, $350,000. This amount was an unapportioned accumulation of said revenues, which was drawn from the State Treasury and "used for other purposes" prior to the year 1861. The Legislature, at the last session, made arrangements to repay it, at the rate of $50,000 a year, commencing April, 1862.

It may seem that the number of children who did not attend school during the year is remarkably large. But it should be remembered that the enumeration includes all single persons between the ages of five and twenty-one years; that many of these are already in the active pursuits of life; that many parents, convinced of the evil of sending children to school at the tender age of five years, have abandoned it, and that near one-fourth of the schools have not been open during the year.

Early in their session the Legislature appointed commissioners to the Peace Convention held at Washington on the 4th of February, a decided majority being in favor of the movement. When the call of the President for troops was made, on the 15th of April, the Governor and people of Indiana responded with the utmost promptness to the summons. Within one week after the call the six regiments asked for were raised and mustered into the service, and ready to march, and would have been on their way to the field if they could have been provided with arms. They received them and were despatched to Western Virginia and other points before the middle of May.

The Legislature also authorized the raising and arming of six regiments for one year for home service, to be transferred to the Government service at the discretion of the Governor.

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They were armed with State arms. More than twice as many companies as were needed for these six regiments were tendered the Governor.

The requisition for six regiments for three years' service was filled in twenty-four hours after the order came. Nearly the whole number were tendered the Governor in anticipation of the call.

Besides these eighteen regiments, raised by official requisition, there were about thirty regiments organized as "Home Guards," with one name or another. They held themselves in most cases subject to the call of the Government, and were armed as fast as the arms could be procured.

As renewed calls for troops were made, Indiana responded with a promptness and patriotism unsurpassed by any State in the Union. She sent into the field considerably more than her quota of troops, and they were admirably equipped and provided, and in the severe battles in which they were engaged exhibited the most undaunted and persistent bravery. In the war with Mexico, one of the Indiana regiments, at Buena Vista, had become panic-stricken, and its flight had brought a reproach upon the reputation of the State for courage. This stain it was the especial desire of the soldiers of the Indiana regiments to efface, and more than one regiment, on being sworn into the service, took a solemn oath to "remember Buena Vista," an oath they have kept most religiously, for whenever they have been engaged in battle, they have been eager to advance, steady in the fight, and utterly averse to retreating.

The forces raised in the State and sent into the field before the 1st of January, 1862, were, in round numbers, about 60,000. Of these 53,500 were infantry, 4,500 cavalry, and about 2,000 artillery. The following statement shows the arms that were distributed by the State to the different regiments during the year:

Muskets and Rifles.

Prussian muskets	4,006
United States rifles	5,290
Padrel "	5,000
Belgian "	957
New percussion muskets	7,299
Altered " "	8,800
Long range rifles	500
Springfield "	1,830
Short Enfields	950
Long "	13,808
Saxony rifles	1,000
Austrian rifles, 54 cal	3,822
Mississippi " "	862
Total	53,666

Cavalry Arms.

Colt's navy revolvers	2,547
Cavalry pistols	1,077
Cavalry sabres	4,411
Burnside's carbines	480
Sharpe's carbines	346
Hall's carbines	50
Musicians' swords	626
Non-commissioned officers' swords	922

The most of the cavalry arms were sent to the Indiana cavalry regiments direct by the Government after they left the State.

To this must be added the following pieces of ordnance:

Six-pounders	27
Twelve-pound howitzers	15
Six-pound rifle guns	20
Ten-pound Parrott guns	10

The Indiana troops have been, perhaps, more widely scattered through the different *corps d'armée* than those of any other State; they were with Gen. McClellan and his successors in Western Virginia; fought at Bull Run; garrisoned the forts at Hatteras Inlet, and were plundered of their clothing and supplies by the Confederates; participated in the victories of Gen. Lyon, and in the masterly retreat of Siegel; defended Lexington under Mulligan; formed a part of Fremont's army which went in pursuit of Gen. Price; were, indeed, in every considerable action in Missouri, and in most of those on the Potomac, and, during the present year, have been in the actions of Mill Spring, Roanoke Island, Fort Donelson, Pea Ridge, Pittsburgh Landing, and at the capture of Island Number Ten.

The Indiana Legislature, at its session in 1861, passed, on the 7th of May, a law for the reorganization of the militia, which greatly facilitated the subsequent supplying of troops on the demand of the Government. Some features of this law are worthy of notice. The militia were divided into two classes, sedentary and active. The sedentary militia comprised all white male persons liable to bear arms under the State constitution except those enrolled in the active militia. The active militia, styled also the Indiana Legion, consisted of all such able-bodied white male citizens of the State between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, as should enroll themselves and take the oath of allegiance to the United States and the State of Indiana. These persons were required to provide themselves with a uniform, but the State furnished them with arms, equipments, ammunition, &c., and paid the expenses of company and regimental drills; and when called into active service, either in behalf of the State or the General Government, they were to receive the same pay as corresponding grades in the United States army. They were required to parade four times a year, and in addition, to have not less than twelve company drills in the course of the year. The uniforms and equipments being similar to those of the United States troops, the members of the companies, on being received into the United States service, received compensation for the cost of their uniforms from the Government.

Under this act large numbers enrolled themselves in the active militia, and, from the regiments thus enrolled it was comparatively easy to supply, as they were needed, the troops required by the General Government.

On the 7th of September a terrible railroad accident occurred on the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, by which over 100 volunteers of the Nineteenth Illinois Regiment, on their way to Western Virginia, were killed and wounded.

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INDIANS, WESTERN. The population west of the United States, inhabiting that vast region known as territories, consists, with few exceptions, of Indians in various stages of civilization. Some, in naked savage bands, adorned with paint and feathers, armed with the tomahawk and scalping knife, roam the wilderness. Others differing from the planter or farmer only in their tawny complexion, possess cultivated lands, flocks, and herds.

The number of these Indians in direct connection with the Government of the United States is 239,506 souls, seven-twelfths of whom are females.

The large tribes of Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws, occupy lands in the southwestern part of the United States. These lands are west of Arkansas and north of Texas, and being within the limits of the southern superintendency, and under the supervision of agents who sympathized with the Government of the Confederate States, all intercourse was suspended by them with the agents of the United States. After the 4th of March, when a new administration had been inaugurated, the superintendent and agents were removed, and others appointed to discharge their duties. These new officers were unable to reach their posts, or to hold any intercourse with the tribes under their charge. The superintendent and some of the agents of the southern superintendency united with the Confederate States, and incited the Indians to acts of hostility. At the same time they claimed to exercise the same authority by virtue of commissions from the Confederate Government. These influences upon the Indians were sufficient to induce a portion of them to renounce the authority of the United States, and acknowledge the Confederate States. A treaty was ratified by the Confederate Congress with the Choctaws, by which two delegates from that nation received the privilege to sit in the Congress. Sampson Folsom and Eastman Loman were the delegates. Two regiments were raised and joined the Confederate army, and a third was organized during 1861. The hostile attitude assumed by some portions of the above-mentioned tribes was produced, it was supposed, by the threats of emissaries sent among them. A large proportion of these tribes are in comfortable circumstances; one very far advanced in the arts of civilization, and many of them are slaveholders. This last circumstance, the lack of information relative to the purposes of the new administration, the surrender of the posts in their vicinity, and the withdrawal of the Federal troops, are sufficient reasons to explain a change of allegiance on the part of any of them. Among the first to yield to such influences were the Choctaws and Chickasaws; amongst the last were the Cherokees, at the head of whom is John Ross, who resisted these movements as long as it was in his power. The following is his proclamation of neutrality:

I, John Ross, principal Chief, hereby issue this my proclamation to the people of the Cherokee Nation, reminding them of the obligations arising under their treaties with the United States, and urging them to the faithful observance of said treaties, and peace and friendship towards the people of all the States. The better to attain these important ends, I earnestly impress on all my fellow-citizens the propriety of attending to their ordinary avocations, and to abstain from political discussions of the events transpiring in the States, and from partisan demonstrations in regard to the same.

They should not be alarmed with false reports, thrown into circulation by designing men, but cultivate harmony among themselves, and observe good faith and strict neutrality between the States threatened with civil war. With these means alone can the Cherokee people hope to maintain their own rights unimpaired, and have their own soil and firesides spared from the hateful effects of devastating war. There has not been a declaration of war between the opposing parties, and the conflict may yet be avoided with a compromise or a peaceable separation. The peculiar circumstances of their condition admonish the Cherokees to the exercise of prudence in regard to a state of affairs to the existence of which they have in no way contributed, and they should avoid the performance of any act, or the adoption of any policy, calculated to destroy or endanger their territorial and civil rights. With an honest adherence to this course, they can give no just cause for aggression or invasion, nor any pretence for making their country the scene of military oppression, and will be in a situation to claim all their rights in the final adjustment that will take place between the several States.

For these reasons I earnestly urge on the Cherokee people the importance of non-interference with the people of the States, and the observance of unswerving neutrality between them;—trusting that God will not only keep from our own borders the desolation of war, but that He will, in His infinite mercy and honor, stay its ravages among the brotherhood of the States.

Given under my hand at the Executive office at Park Hill, this 17th day of May, 1861. JOHN ROSS, Principal Chief.

The number of the Cherokee nation is 22,000, among whom 30 schools are established. The number of the Choctaws is about 18,000, and that of the Chickasaws 5,000. Among the Choctaws there are numerous schools and churches; the proportion is about the same with the Chickasaws.

Notwithstanding the position taken by the Chief Ross, yet the unfavorable course of affairs connected with the Federal military movements in Missouri, and the activity of the Confederate agents, so strengthened the party in favor of an alliance with the Confederate States that Ross was overborne by their pressure. On the 20th of August he called the Council together at Tahlequah, and sent in a message recommending a severance of their connection with the Federal Government, and an alliance with the Confederate Government. The Council approved of these recommendations, and appointed commissioners to make a treaty of alliance. At the time of this change of views on the part of the Chief and Council, the Confederate Commissioners had made propositions offering to assume the payment of the regular annuity which the Cherokees had hitherto received from the United States, and which they now feared would be lost by an alliance with the Confederacy; threats of an invasion from Arkansas and Texas were also

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made, without any hope of succor from the Federal Government. The wife of Ross held out to the last moment, and when an attempt was made to raise a Confederate flag over the Council House, her opposition was so spirited that it was prevented. A Home Guard of 1,200 men was raised and drilled. The Creeks, a nation of 13,550 persons, also raised 1,200 men.

The Delaware Indians, on a reservation in the State of Kansas, number 1,034. Their personal property averages almost $1,000 to each individual. Many amongst them have become traders with other Indians, both reclaimed and wild, and travel even to the boundaries of California. Some of the more thrifty of the farmers hold more than a hundred acres subject to the plough.

The Pottawatomies have a reservation 30 miles square, rich in soil, and beautifully located on the Kansas River, near Topeka, the present seat of Government for the State. A division of sentiment exists in the tribe, which numbers 2,143 persons, as to holding land in severalty or in common. While the latter system prevails, they are dependent in a measure upon the chase for support. They are intelligent and happy, and have schools and mission churches.

The Sacs and Foxes are a vigorous and powerful race, refusing to adopt the costume of the whites. They accept the theory, but reject the practices of civilized life, and choose to rely upon their buffalo hunts and annuities for subsistence. They number over 1,300 persons.

The Shawnees, who own their lands in severalty, are estimated to hold as individual property a million and a half dollars in value. They number 810 persons, and are intelligent, of gentlemanly bearing, and prosperous.

The Ioways of the Missouri have almost entirely abandoned the chase, and devoted themselves to agriculture. They number 300, and have had during the year 225 acres of land under cultivation. Their individual wealth is estimated at $16,000.

The Omahas are a prosperous agricultural community. Although the tribe numbers less than a thousand souls, they have, in addition to a thousand acres of land fenced for pasture, six hundred and seventy acres under cultivation. Their individual wealth is estimated at $40,000. During the year they adopted a regular code of laws, established an internal police selected among themselves, and are making rapid advances in the manners and customs of civilization. The culture of sorghum has been commenced, from which they expect to obtain sugar and molasses.

The Kickapoos, upon whom famine, in consequence of the drought of 1860, pressed sore during the winter of 1860–'61, rejoiced in bountiful crops in 1861. They number 350, and own an aggregate of property worth $40,000. Their efforts in raising wheat have been very satisfactory.

In the northern superintendency, the animosities which have in former years existed among the various tribes still slumber. The land of the Winnebagoes on the northern frontier has been divided among them in severalty, giving to each head of a family eighty acres, and to each male adult forty acres. They number 2,256, and their aggregate individual wealth is $70,000.

The Yanctonnais band of the Sioux has hitherto been a wild and intractable people, manifesting no disposition to abandon in the least their savage mode of life. They have exercised a powerful and pernicious influence upon the neighboring tribes, who are less wild, and are disposed to cultivate more intimate relations with the whites. Now they are beginning to surrender their prejudices, and are disposed to arrive at a better understanding with the Government. Their band numbers 3,650.

Some of the Sioux located upon reservations, have made a fair beginning in the customs of civilized life. They have adopted the costume of the whites, and rely for a subsistence upon the arts of husbandry. This class is known as "Farmer Indians," a term which distinguishes them from the other class, known as "Blanket Indians." The "Farmer Indians" are met in each step in their endeavors to attain the arts of civilization by the constant opposition of the "Blanket Indians," who regard them as innovators upon their ancient customs, wanting in manliness, a discredit to their race, and "degenerate sons of noble sires." The Sioux number over 6,500, and their individual wealth is estimated above $220,000, a part of which consists of horses. Ordinary and manual labor schools exist among them. Whiskey everywhere seems to possess for the Indian an irresistible attraction, and having no just appreciation of values, he readily exchanges the most valuable of his possessions to gratify his uncontrollable desire for this stimulant.

In the Colorado Territory, the agents of the Confederate States and the disaffected resident whites have made a strong impression on the minds of the Indians, and, although no acts of hostility were committed, they have begun to waver in their loyalty to the Federal Government. The Cheyennes and Arapahoes, numbering 1,250, have treaty relations with the Government.

Those formidable tribes between the Upper Arkansas and Texas have heretofore scorned the restraints of civilization. For two years past they have rendered the passage of the plains perilous to emigrants. Within the last year they have manifested a disposition to assume friendly relations, and upon receiving the annual present of goods, which had been withheld for the two previous years, they entered into a preliminary treaty. Thus the travel upon the great plains between the frontier and New Mexico has again been made secure, and its worst dangers averted. The recent discovery of gold within this territory has drawn thither a rapid tide of emigration, which, being precipitated amongst the tribes occupying the

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gold-bearing regions of the territory, has mingled the white and red races, and forbids future difficulty. The change from savage to civilized life is very great, and is beset with difficulties and perplexities requiring the aid of soil, climate, and seclusion to encounter them successfully.

In Nevada Territory a talk was held with the Pah-Ute tribe on Walker River, which numbers 700, and with another tribe of the same Indians on Trackee River. Wunu-Mucka, their chief, made satisfactory declarations of his purpose to prevent all interference on the part of his people with the overland stage and the telegraph, which pass through their country between the Atlantic and the Pacific States.

The Washoe tribe presents a painful contrast to the other Indians, even of that region. They are a poor and degraded race, living on insects and spontaneous products.

The Apaches and Navajoes in New Mexico have been arrayed in hostility towards the whites. On the part of the former the hostility was open and undisguised, while the latter were more insidious but not less dangerous. On the other hand, the Pueblos and Mohuache Utahs have been friendly. The former are peaceable and loyal towards the Federal Government, and largely engaged in agricultural pursuits, and the latter are formidable in numbers, enterprising, intelligent, and loyal to such a degree that they tendered their services for the protection of white settlers against assaults of Confederate squads from Texas, as well as savage foes. The number of the Pueblos is 10,000; of the Navajoes, 9,000; Apaches, 10,000; Mohuache Utahs, 6,000.

In Utah Territory an unfavorable state of affairs exists among the Indians. The natural poverty of the country, the destruction of the wild game by the introduction of white men, and the selfish policy of the Mormon people, have deprived the bulk, of from 15,000 to 20,000, of the original proprietors of the country of their accustomed means of subsistence, and driven them to the alternative of laying violent hands on the property of the whites, or of perishing by want. Cattle husbandry is regarded as the surest means of relieving these Indians.

In California, a law has been passed by the Legislature, by which large numbers of Indians have been nominally indentured for a long term of years to white masters. By the operations of this law, Indians of any age under thirty, and of either sex, without their consent, or, if they be minors, that of their parents, are "indentured" to white masters, who thereupon become entitled to "the care, control, custody, and earnings" of those thus "indentured," whom, in consideration thereof, they undertake to "feed, clothe, care for, and protect;" but no security is required that this undertaking shall be performed, nor any penalties prescribed for its violation.

In Oregon, ill-disposed persons have asserted to the Indians that the Government of their "Great Father" was destroyed, and that no more annuities would be paid. The consequence has been that the Rogue River Indians abandoned their reservation, and the Indians of other reservations threatened to follow their example. The Cayuses, numbering less than four hundred, own property valued at more than $100,000.

The number of Indians in Washington Territory with whom treaties have been negotiated, is about 14,000. There are many tribes and bands besides who live in their neighborhood. About ten thousand whites have gone into the Nez Perces country in search of gold, but no trouble has arisen between them and these Indians.

At the Mackinac post, the greatest evil with which the Indians have to contend is whiskey. Those who live on the borders of the great lakes divide their time between the old pursuits of hunting, fishing, and trapping, and those of the interior depend on the cultivation of their farms. Large quantities of maple sugar are manufactured by them. Numbers of those Indians have been eager to manifest their good will to the Federal Government by enlisting in its military service, if the Government should desire it.

The number of the Indians holding relations with the Federal Government has been stated. The schools of all kinds among them are 162, having 5,950 pupils, under 186 teachers. The station best furnished with educational opportunities is that of New York; then follow, in the order of excellence, the Northern, Central, Southern California, Oregon, and Washington. In New Mexico and Utah there are no schools, nor in Nevada or Colorado territories. There are two hundred and forty-one farms in cultivation by Indians or for Indian use, comprising an area of 6,112 acres, of which 3,156 are worked by Indians alone.

The aggregate value of the movable personal property owned by the aforesaid Indian tribes, is $4,670,053. Those in the most prosperous circumstances are the Shawnees, Wyandots, and Delawares, who average more than $1,000 to each individual; the poorest are the tribes and bands in Utah. Indian wealth consists chiefly in horses, ponies, and mules; but cattle, farming implements, and household furniture are rapidly becoming important objects of acquisition.

The moral and religious cultivation of the Indians is under the care of seventy-seven missionaries, twenty-five of whom are under the care of the Methodist Episcopal Church, north and south; nineteen are in the communion of the Roman Catholic Church; nine are Baptists; five are members of the Society of Friends; three are Congregationalists; two are of the Protestant Episcopal, and one of the Lutheran Church. The remainder are undesignated. Their presence imparts to the Indians, by example as well as precept, lessons in industry of all kinds: in the arts and sciences;

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in agriculture; in domestic economy; in temperance, manner of life and behavior, dress and deportment. How great are the advantages thus communicated to those children of the forest and prairie, the imagination can more easily picture than the pen describe.

States.	Tribes.	Shares.	Interest, last date paid up to.
Arkansas...	Chickasaw orphans*	$8,000 00	Jan. 1, 1855.
Florida.....	Cherokees, national fund.....	7,000 00	July 1, 1861.
	Cherokees, schools...	7,000 00	" "
	Delawares, gen'l fund	59,000 00	" "
	Iowaya†.....	22,000 00	" "
	Kaskaskias, Peorias, &c.....	37,000 00	" "
		132,000 00	
Georgia.....	Cherokees, national fund.....	1,500 00	Jan. 1, 1861.
	Delawares, gen'l fund	2,000 00	" "
		3,500 00	
Louisiana...	Kaskaskias, Peorias, &c.	10,000 00	Oct. 1, 1860.
Louisiana...	Cherokees, national fund.....	7,000 00	Nov. 1, 1860.
	Cherokees, schools...	2,000 00	" "
	Delawares, gen'l fund	4,000 00	" "
	Iowaya	9,000 00	" "
	Kaskaskias, Peorias, &c.....	5,000 00	" "
		27,000 00	
N. Carolina.	Delawares, general fund.....	121,000 00	Oct. 1, 1860.
	Iowaya.....	17,000 00	" "
	Kaskaskias, Peorias, &c.....	41,000 00	April 1, 1861.
		179,000 00	
N. Carolina.	Cherokees, national fund.....	7,000 00	July 1, 1860.
	Cherokees, schools...	13,000 00	" "
	Iowaya.....	4,000 00	" "
	Kaskaskias, Peorias, &c.....	2,000 00	" "
		26,000 00	
S. Carolina..	Cherokees, national fund.....	117,000 00	July 1, 1860
	Cherokees, schools...	1,000 00	" "
	Delawares, gen'l fund	1,000 00	" "
	Iowaya	3,000 00	" "
	Kaskaskias, Peorias, &c.....	3,000 00	" "
		125,000 00	
Tennessee..	Cherokees, national fund.....	125,000 00	Jan. 1, 1861.
	Creek orphans.....	20,000 00	July 1, 1861
	Menomonees	19,000 00	" "
	Ottawas and Chippewas	1,000 00	" "
		165,000 00	
Virginia....	Cherokees, national fund.....	90,000 00	Jan. 1, 1861.
	Cherokees, schools...	135,000 00	" "
	Cherokee orphans...	45,000 00	" "
	Choctaw gen'l fund...	450,000 00	" "
	Creek orphans.....	73,800 00	" "
	Ottawas and Chippewas.....	3,000 00	" "
		796,800 00	

* 64 years' interest, at $150 per annum.
† $20,000 paid on, leaving half year's interest due on $2,000.

The Federal Government has steadily pursued the plan of purchasing of the Indian tribes their surplus land, after a portion has been reserved, sufficiently large for them to occupy. A portion of the purchase money has generally been retained by the Government, with their consent, and invested in such securities as would yield to the tribe an annuity. The amount of such investments in the securities of the seceded States, the tribes to which they belong, the amount of interest due, and the time when the last payment of interest by these States was made, are shown in the preceding table.

INSURANCE. The amount of insurance in the United States has of late years grown to be very large, following the increase in property and the amount of general business, as well as the more strict adherence to the rule of insurance as a means of covering credits. The value of property covered by insurance risks in the United States is about $2,500,000,000, and a large proportion of that insurance is effected in New York and the Eastern States, under the two general systems of insurance, proprietary and mutual. Before the formation of the present government, insurance seems in this country to have been confined to individual underwriters. In 1792 there was a company incorporated in Philadelphia, and in 1806 the Eagle Company in New York. Marine risks were the most sought after at those early dates in the New England States, where the interests were commercial. As the wealth and trade of the country continued to accumulate, and the operations of commerce were conducted on credits, the value of which depended in a great measure upon the safety of the goods, insurance became a necessary element in most transactions, and the demand for policies called into being a large number of companies. These have been the victims of frauds to a large extent, and have also been the means of victimizing the public through fraudulent organizations. If, on rightly conducted principles, they are the means of great benefit to the world, giving birth to numberless enterprises that would not have been undertaken if the individuals had no means of securing themselves from utter ruin through the unavoidable accidents of the elements; so also have they been the cause of a much larger destruction of property than would have taken place had they not been in existence. The total loss by fires in the United States in usual years is not far from 20 millions per annum; and in the year 1861, it has, through the operations of war, been more than double that amount.

The following is a record of the fires which occurred throughout the United States during each month of the year 1861, together with the value of the property destroyed, when the loss at each was estimated to be equal to, or to have exceeded, the sum of twenty thousand dollars, and also the day of the month on which the fire took place.

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JANUARY.

Date.	Place.	Lost.
1	Victoria, Texas	$100,000
2	Washington City	100,000
5	Detroit, Mich.	40,000
4	Alton, Ill.	50,000
5	Boston	20,000
6	Fulton, N. Y.	150,000
7	Philadelphia	40,000
9	Buffalo	40,000
13	Uxbridge, Mass.	20,000
13	Manchester, Pa.	20,000
14	Boston	83,000
14	Water'n, Mass.	20,000
15	Ashland, N. Y.	40,000
15	Newbern, N. C.	40,000
17	San Francisco	40,000
17	Dadeville, Ala.	40,000
18	Chic. Falls, Mass.	60,000
19	Toledo, Ohio	20,000
19	Chicago	20,000
21	Worcester, Mass.	35,000
23	Louisville, Ky.	40,000
24	Racine, Wis.	20,000
24	Sacramento, Cal.	150,000
27	Greenville, Ala.	30,000
30	Jamestown, N. Y.	152,000
30	Milwaukee, Wis.	45,000
31	Alton, Ill.	25,000
31	Louisville, Ky.	30,000
	Total	$1,420,000

FEBRUARY.

Date.	Place.	Lost.
4	Painsville, Ohio.	$20,000
7	New Orleans	30,000
8	New York	20,000
12	Baldwinsv'e, N. Y.	140,000
15	Portland, Me.	12,000
17	Buffalo	22,000
19	Mansfield, Conn.	30,000
20	New York	80,000
21	Richmond, Va.	30,000
	Total	$410,000

MARCH.

Date.	Place.	Lost.
1	West Pt., N. Y.	$100,000
1	Cincinnati	20,000
6	Dundee, N. Y.	150,000
6	Berlin, Wis.	20,000
8	New York	20,000
8	Sandusky, Ohio	55,000
10	Cincinnati	150,000
11	New York	80,000
12	Glouces'r Co., Va.	30,000
14	Suffield, Conn.	20,000
15	Brooklyn	20,000
15	Hartford	30,000
15	Newport, Fla.	100,000
16	Madisonv'le, Ky.	30,000
17	New Orleans	100,000
18	Freeport, Ill.	25,000
18	Jefferson, La.	30,000
23	New'b'port, Mass.	20,000
24	New York	30,000
26	New York	20,000
28	Sumter, S. C.	25,000
29	New York	60,000
30	New Orleans	100,000
31	Troy	30,000
	Total	$1,265,000

APRIL.

Date.	Place.	Lost.
2	Minneapolis, Min.	$22,000
11	New York	23,000
16	Milford, N. J.	87,000
18	New York	25,000
18	Macon, Ga.	30,000
18	Houston, Texas	20,000
19	Harp. Ferry, Va.	200,000
20	Leaven'h, Kansas	125,000
21	Horseheads, N. Y.	30,000
22	Centralia, Ill.	25,000
	Havana, N. Y.	25,000
	Total	$562,000

MAY.

Date.	Place.	Lost.
2	Boston	$20,000
3	Philadelphia	50,000
8	New Orleans	125,000
8	Meriden, Conn.	80,000
5	Wheeling, Va.	40,000
7	Norwalk, Conn.	40,000
7	East Sag'w, Mich.	50,000
8	Memphis, Tenn.	80,000
8	Richmond, Va.	50,000
9	Washington City	20,000
18	New Orleans	60,000
19	Nashville, Tenn.	30,000
22	Albany	20,000
23	N. Bedford, Mass.	60,000
25	Dunkirk, N. Y.	25,000
26	Manches'r, Conn.	40,000
27	Cleveland, Ohio.	60,000
27	Galesburg, Ill.	35,000
28	San Francisco	70,000
30	New Orleans	100,000
31	Ashuelot, N. H.	75,000
	Total	$1,130,000

JUNE.

Date.	Place.	Lost.
2	Marshall, Mich.	$25,000
3	Oswego, N. Y.	30,000
6	Winch'ter, N. H.	72,000
7	Lane, Ill.	22,000
10	Pittsfield, Mass.	40,000
18	Milton, N. C.	24,000
14	Bangor, Me.	40,000
15	Peoria, Ill.	35,000
16	New Orleans	60,000
18	Person Co., N. C.	20,000
20	Cottonwood, Cl.	400,000
20	Houghton, Mich.	25,000
20	Cold Spring, N. Y.	25,000
21	Donaldson's, La.	200,000
25	E. Saginaw, Mich.	50,000
25	E. Haddam, Con.	40,000
27	New York	125,000
30	Woodbury, Con.	30,000
	Total	$1,265,000

JULY.

Date.	Place.	Lost.
4	New York	$25,000
4	Boston	500,000
5	E. Albany, N. Y.	500,000
5	New Orleans	35,000
5	Pittsfield, Mass.	30,000
5	Milwaukee, Wis.	100,000
13	St. Joseph, Mo.	48,000
14	Milwaukee, Wis.	25,000
27	Columbia, Cal.	$27,000
27	De Porta, Cal.	168,000
27	New York	20,000
30	Pittsburg, Pa.	150,000
	Total	$1,628,000

AUGUST.

Date.	Place.	Lost.
1	Brooklyn	$25,000
1	Orville, Cal.	35,000
3	Boston	50,000
4	Troy	30,000
5	Saco, Me.	20,000
6	Schenectady	100,000
7	Sonora, Cal.	85,000
8	Hampton, Va.	500,000
11	Kankakee, Ill.	30,000
12	BoundBrook, N.J.	35,000
13	Ogdensb'g, N. Y.	40,000
19	Buffalo	25,000
19	New York	35,000
20	New York	22,000
21	New York	40,000
23	S. Reading, Mass.	25,000
30	Bishop Hill, Ill.	25,000
30	Boston	100,000
	Total	$1,222,000

SEPTEMBER.

Date.	Place.	Lost.
1	Boone C. H., Va.	$40,000
2	New York	150,000
3	Philadelphia	20,000
7	Jersey City	50,000
9	New York	130,000
10	Pittsburg	60,000
11	Concord, N. H.	30,000
11	Boston	100,000
17	East Bloomfield, N. J.	20,000
22	Lacon, Ill.	30,000
26	Sacramento, Cal.	100,000
28	Brooklyn	30,000
29	Memphis, Tenn.	30,000
	Total	$790,000

OCTOBER.

Date.	Place.	Lost.
5	Cincinnati	$25,000
15	Columbus, Ohio.	20,000
17	St. Joseph, Mo.	30,000
19	Milton Mills, N. H.	30,000
21	Newark, N. J.	20,000
25	Bangor, Me.	25,000
26	San Francisco	50,000
30	Philadelphia	100,000
	Total	$310,000

NOVEMBER.

Date.	Place.	Lost.
2	Gr't Falls, N. H.	$30,000
4	Norfolk, Va.	100,000
7	St. Louis	120,000
9	Chicago	40,000
10	Memphis, Tenn.	50,000
10	Guyandotte, Va.	50,000
14	Concord, N. H.	60,000
19	Warsaw, Mo.	53,000
23	Warrington, Fla.	100,000
23	N. Providence	30,000
24	Alton, Ill.	20,000
25	R. Corners, N. Y.	25,000
26	Philadelphia	20,000
	Total	$630,000

DECEMBER.

Date.	Place.	Lost.
12	Charleston	$7,000,000
16	Platt City, Mo.	40,000
16	Plattsburg, N. Y.	26,000
17	Buffalo, N. Y.	25,000
22	New York	70,000
22	Spr'field, Mass.	25,000
26	Wash'n City	25,000
26	Brooklyn	110,000
26	N. W'ford, N. Y.	20,000
	Total	$7,341,000

RECAPITULATION.

The following additional table shows the above losses during each month, compared with those of 1860:

Months.	1861.		1860.	
	Number of Fires.	Loss.	Number of Fires.	Loss.
January	28	$1,420,000	25	$1,276,000
February	9	412,000	18	907,000
March	23	1,265,000	38	2,172,000
April	11	562,000	23	1,302,000
May	21	1,130,000	20	1,161,000
June	18	1,265,000	9	481,000
July	12	1,628,000	30	1,608,000
August	18	1,122,000	12	1,273,000
September	13	790,000	10	771,000
October	8	310,000	19	825,000
November	13	680,000	25	2,517,000
December	9	7,341,000	22	1,304,000
Total	183	$18,020,000	251	$15,579,000

The following is the value of property destroyed by fires in the loyal and seceded States:

Months.	Loyal States.	Seceded States.
January	$1,210,000	$210,000
February	352,000	60,000
March	880,000	385,000
April	312,000	250,000
May	685,000	445,000
June	960,000	305,000
July	1,558,000	35,000
August	722,000	500,000
September	750,000	40,000
October	310,000	—
November	580,000	100,000
December	841,000	1,000,000
Total	$8,690,000	$9,330,000

Add to the above the value of property destroyed by fires in the United States during the year where in each instance the loss was estimated at less than twenty thousand dollars, and also the value of property destroyed in the South and West, such as the destruction of the products of Southern plantations, the burning of railroads and other bridges, together with private houses, barns, haystacks, &c., which have been destroyed by order of military commanders on both sides, and the aggregate would be increased over forty-five millions. We add the following table of estimates:

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Losses as shown above	$18,020,000
By fires that destroyed less than $20,000 each	6,000,000
Products of Southern plantations burned	10,000,000
Bridges destroyed	5,000,000
Vessels burned	3,000,000
Buildings burned by military orders	2,000,000
Farm products destroyed	1,000,000
Total value of property destroyed in 1861	$45,020,000

The following figures show the losses by fires in the United States during the past eight years:

Years.	Loss twenty thousand dollars and upwards.	Total Loss by all Fires.
1854	$20,578,000	$25,500,000
1855	13,040,000	17,000,000
1856	21,159,000	27,000,000
1857	15,792,000	20,000,000
1858	11,561,000	16,000,000
1859	16,058,000	22,000,000
1860	15,597,000	22,000,000
1861	18,020,000	45,000,000
Total in eight years	$131,814,000	$194,500,000

This, although insured, is a positive destruction and utter loss of so much of the national capital, amounting very nearly to $200,000,000 in 8 years, or one half of the value of the gold raised in California in the same period. Under the supposition that the productions of the United States are worth $2,000,000,000, which is the census estimate, and that the dwellings are worth an average of $500 each, the aggregate of goods and dwellings would be $5,000,000,000, and the annual loss by fire would average two-fifths of one per cent.

The tonnage value of the United States is about $250,000,000, and the loss of vessels is about $13,000,000 per annum, which would be about 5 per cent.

The marine losses for three years were as follows:

Months.	Losses in 1859.	1860.		1861.
	Vessel and freight.	Vessel and freight.	Vessels.	Value.
January	$1,178,300	$1,229,900	42	$1,565,000
February	1,230,600	1,295,000	48	1,291,820
March	699,400	1,537,450	68	2,125,655
April	642,400	783,100	57	1,357,405
May	1,165,300	946,300	48	1,344,100
June	1,413,400	613,300	18	1,079,500
July	1,975,100	749,200	31	659,600
August	2,170,155	498,900	23	565,150
September	1,023,400	976,600	14	177,600
October	1,791,700	1,759,000	25	548,300
November	3,203,100	1,800,100	35	1,299,900
December	1,233,900	1,192,750	47	754,000
Total vessels and freight	$17,901,150	$13,825,000	452	$12,765,000
Total cargoes	19,578,420	15,050,700	..	16,181,101
			..	
Total Marine	37,479,570	28,882,000	..	28,946,101
Total Fire	15,577,000	16,058,000	..	45,020,000
Total Lake	1,081,011	1,156,015	..	867,347
			..	
Total loss	$54,157,581	$45,596,015	..	$74,833,448

This immense loss of property in a single year testifies to the abundance of the national wealth, as well as to the risks that are incurred through the elements in the possession, transmission, and exchange of property. The agency of the insurance companies is very important in dividing up this loss in such a manner that the whole capital of the country bears it rather than individuals. In respect of the fire risks, each State has different laws that govern the companies. In Massachusetts, where the most strict regulations prevail, the mutual principle has been most successful, while in New York the joint stock principle has been most popular. Where the business is skilfully conducted on sound principles, the mutual system seems to offer the most advantages, but each has its partisans, and in different States the local prejudices decide to some extent.

The difficulties of the year 1861 have had a marked effect upon Insurance, as upon most other business. The decline in the business for the year, as indicated in the amount of risks, seems to have been about 10 per cent., while the losses have not declined proportionately. Less marine business was done, because our shipping trade was interfered with by the operations of war, and what was done was more hazardous; and less fire business was done, because merchants held less stock, and people generally had less money to pay for premiums, while the events in the disturbed districts involved greater loss. The Massachusetts reports for the year 1861, as compared with the year 1860, give results as follows:

	1860.		1861.	
	RISKS.	LOSSES.	RISKS.	LOSSES.
Marine	$114,350,563	$3,714,093	$94,024,701	$3,451,520
Fire	379,624,707	1,493,941	355,987,306	1,340,060
Total	$493,975,270	$5,208,035	$450,012,007	$4,791,580
Decrease	....	..	43,963,263	416,455

The decrease in marine business was, it appears, $24,000,000, and in fire business $20,000,000 in these Massachusetts companies. The business was divided among the several companies of that State as follows:

Massachusetts Insurance.

RISKS AND LOSSES.	1860.	1861.
Marine Risks.		
In 18 Stock Companies	$52,154,961.50	$39,265,893.00
In 13 Mutual Marine and Mutual Fire and Marine	62,195,601.50	54,758,808.50
Total Marine	$114,350,563.00	$94,024,701.50
Fire Risks.		
In 30 Stock Companies	146,710,128.70	126,101,635.06
In 5 Mutual Fire and Marine	10,932,414.00	11,327,310.00
In 61 Mutual Fire Companies	221,982,165.12	218,558,361.00
Total Fire	$379,624,707.82	$355,987,306.37
Total Risks, Fire and Marine	493,975,270.82	450,012,007.87
Marine Losses.		
In 19 Stock Companies	1,834,893.06	1,500,605.80
In 13 Mutual Marine and Mutual Fire and Marine	1,879,200.25	1,950,914.43
Total Marine Losses	$3,714,093.31	$3,451,520.23
Fire Losses.		
In 27 Stock Companies	927,831.96	963,266.62
In 3 Mutual Fire and Marine	9,453.75	27,528.10
In 56 Mutual Fire	556,676.05	340,265.55
Total Fire Losses	$1,493,941.76	$1,340,059.97
Total Losses, Fire and Marine	5,208,035.07	4,791,580.20

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The commissioners, in respect to the cost of insurance, remark: "It would be interesting to infer the average cost to policy-holders and profit to the companies of each branch of insurance, but the returns lack the completeness and distinctness necessary to give a proper basis of facts. In the marine business, we have no means of knowing the whole or the average amount of risk borne or business done during the year, and in a year of disturbance like the past, the amount of risk outstanding at the close is hardly an indication of it. As to average profits, a question which really pertains only to Stock Companies, nothing can be determined, because the companies are chiefly mixed, insuring both fire and marine risks, while the expenses of each are not distinguished. In regard to the average cost to the policy-holder of the dollar of indemnity for loss by fire, it is possible more nearly to approach it, in regard to the two classes of Stock and Mutual Fire Companies. In the Stock Companies, the cash received for fire risks during the year, and in the Mutual Fire Companies, the cash received less the cash dividend returned during the year, represent very nearly the whole premium for the risks borne during the year on which the losses paid have occurred. From this we can easily infer how much the policy-holder has on the average had to pay in each year, in each class of companies, for every dollar of indemnity he has received."

In 1860.	Premiums.	Losses.	Cost of each $ of indemn'y.
Stock Companies	$1,345,045.00	$927,832.00	$144.97
Mutual Fire Companies	538,780.00	456,676.00	117.96
Total	$1,883,825.00	$1,384,508.00	136.06
In 1861.			
Stock Companies	1,283,326.00	963,266.00	133,22
Mutual Fire Companies	454,446.00	349,265.00	130,11
Total	$1,737,772.00	$1,312,531.00	132.40

The whole number of home companies reported in this year compared with last is as follows:

	1860.	1861.
Stock Companies	35	34
Mutual Marine and Fire and Marine Companies	14	13
Mutual Fire Companies	65	61
Total	114	108

The laws of New York, where the largest amount of insurance has been effected, indicate the changes which have taken place in the course of business. Up to the revision of the State Constitution in 1846, it was usual to grant special charters for the incorporation of companies, and fire, marine, and life powers were often granted to one and the same company. The growing jealousy of the people in respect to all corporations, led to the enactment of general laws, and in 1849 a general insurance law was passed by which any number of persons exceeding fifteen might organize into a company for fire and marine insurance, but it was expressly ordered that no company insuring lives should take any other kind of risks. In 1853 a new law was passed, enacting that no fire company should take any but fire and internal navigation risks.

In 1836, when the great fire of 1835 had swept down all the companies of that day, 11 companies on the mutual plan were organized; these still exist. In 1837, 4 more were started, and 4 others were added up to 1849, when under the general law 42 were started, of which 9 only remain. Of late years, the increase of companies has been very rapid, and the profits large. In the last 8 years the 21 companies organized prior to 1838 have declared an average of 142 per cent., or 18 per cent. per annum average. The dividends of other companies are not so large, but give very good investments. In 1861 the New York State companies were as follows:

	No.	Assets.	Net Premiums.	Losses.	Dividends.	Risks.
New York Joint Stock Fire	96	$26,860,190	$7,261,595	$3,984,441	$2,469,000	$829,238,848
" Mutual "	25	4,560,159	1,029,167	120,486	..	87,136,107
" Marine	13	21,867,198	14,335,079	..	..	..
" Life Insurance	11	12,772,662	2,376,660	748,403	..	..
Total New York		$66,060,209	$25,002,501	$4,853,330	$2,469,000	$916,474,955

The Mutual Fire Companies, now in New York State, compare as follows:

	No.	Assets.
1853	62	$11,621,914
1859	24	4,798,506
1860	27	4,128,101
1861	25	4,560,159

This indicates the decline of the mutual principle in the State as applied to Fire Insurance. These are mostly, however, in the interior of the State, while the Stock Companies are more in the city of New York. Of the existing Stock Companies 21 were organized prior to 1838; under the act of 1849, 38; and under the act of 1853, 37 were organized, making the total of 96. Of these 11, with a capital of $1,900,000, were organized in 1859. In addition to the New York companies doing business in New York, there are English companies, and also large institutions chartered in other States. Formerly, or up to 1836, foreigners could do business in New York only by paying a tax of 10 per cent. This was reduced to 2 per cent., and this tax gave a revenue of $3,183, or $813 per annum more than was derived from the 10 per cent. tax. The two great fires of 1835 and 1845 demonstrated the importance of having as much capital applied to the insurance of city property as possible. Instead of keeping foreign capital out by a high tax, it was manifestly advantageous that a portion of the city losses should be borne by that capital.

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FIRE INSURANCE COMPANIES OF NEW YORK AND BROOKLYN, FOR THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 31, 1861, *according to the Official Returns made to the State Insurance Department.*

Date of Organization	Name of Company.	Chartered Capital.	Total Assets on Dec. 31, 1861.	Total Premiums received in 1861.	Total Income.	Prior Losses paid in 1861.	Losses paid for 1861.	Stock Dividends.
1824....	Etna.....	$200,000	$257,928	$45,768	$61,185	$5,480	$17,672	8½
1858....	Adriatic.....	150,000	170,659	20,865	31,264	....	7,717	8
1860....	Albany City.....	100,000	107,228	5,671	10,438	....	465	..
1811....	Albany, of Albany.....	150,000	206,063	48,849	60,456	135	14,744	..
1857....	American.....	200,000	266,306	60,680	78,924	1,192	11,797	10½
1850....	American Exchange.....	200,000	269,078	54,745	68,216	7,618	28,117	..
1853....	Arctic.....	250,000	256,751	74,525	94,171	27,907	44,815	5
1851....	Astor.....	150,000	210,721	51,486	68,792	1,800	15,780	16
1851....	Atlantic, Brooklyn.....	150,000	249,801	94,879	115,777	5,695	41,686	20
1853....	Beekman.....	200,000	225,698	29,664	44,118	4,202	9,785	8
1857....	Brevoort.....	150,000	163,299	26,754	34,919	2,500	11,061	8½
1849....	Broadway.....	200,000	272,409	68,972	92,048	4,483	11,889	14
1824....	Brooklyn.....	153,000	213,978	76,745	91,067	9,061	9,992	20
1860....	Central Park.....	150,000	162,066	13,191	22,062	....	7,645	..
1846....	Citizens', Brooklyn.....	150,000	332,618	50,069	100,831	6,876	19,416	22½
1853....	City.....	210,000	324,703	47,524	69,937	1,365	21,662	14½
1850....	Clinton.....	250,000	300,235	49,834	63,616	4,617	8,545	14
1858....	Columbia.....	200,000	226,358	44,237	59,177	6,823	10,247	8½
1859....	Commerce, Albany.....	200,000	226,227	32,250	46,303	2,158	11,971	..
1859....	Commerce, Fire, N. Y.....	200,000	218,435	22,660	36,227	7,399	18,206	..
1850....	Commercial.....	200,000	273,521	66,299	84,530	7,326	28,693	16
1853....	Commonwealth.....	250,000	280,754	67,070	86,316	26,198	50,232	12
1854....	Continental.....	500,000	1,071,518	275,640	342,267	24,215	108,610	14
1853....	Corn Exchange.....	200,000	299,637	123,751	150,045	13,360	54,710	20
1806....	Eagle.....	300,000	411,878	59,235	87,261	6,886	5,955	20
1855....	East River.....	150,000	286,027	54,844	73,019	8,064	15,857	12
1853....	Empire City.....	200,000	270,054	48,183	63,353	9,255	3,548	14
1853....	Excelsior.....	200,000	244,235	58,215	67,586	9,318	38,818	..
1853....	Exchange.....	150,000	171,707	41,873	50,686	9,703	20,868	7
1861....	Farmers' Joint Stock.....	50,000	64,635	17,050	17,076	....	3,486	..
1825....	Firemen's.....	200,000	261,051	59,687	74,423	7,695	24,402	12
1853....	Firemen's Fund.....	150,000	157,818	20,052	30,448	5,757	12,618	..
1859....	Firemen's Trust, Brooklyn	150,000	175,038	27,832	37,388	227	5,247	5
1853....	Fulton.....	200,000	286,217	156,240	172,606	3,049	65,580	14
1857....	Gallatin.....	150,000	157,319	14,246	25,880	6,263	8,036	..
1857....	Gebhard.....	200,000	216,114	31,880	44,567	10,696	11,775	3
1859....	Germania.....	200,000	229,166	53,303	68,666	6,978	16,892	6
1857....	Goodhue.....	200,000	236,376	42,471	57,142	9,175	31,077	..
1854....	Greenwich.....	200,000	248,510	37,485	52,777	....	8,267	11
1849....	Grocers'.....	200,000	222,490	20,094	35,173	2,145	2,816	10
1852....	Hamilton.....	150,000	181,268	23,483	45,613	4,150	10,076	4
1852....	Hanover.....	200,000	251,835	45,198	59,738	6,062	5,793	12
1853....	Harmony.....	150,000	184,691	47,814	63,430	10,050	14,493	8
1853....	Home.....	1,000,000	1,521,263	829,943	919,299	131,982	403,843	10
1856....	Hope.....	200,000	216,072	39,489	57,671	13,836	14,229	..
1856....	Howard.....	250,000	356,727	98,247	122,013	15,104	84,861	20
1857....	Humboldt.....	200,000	245,218	64,064	79,158	6,204	35,121	5
1859....	Importers' and Traders'...	200,000	217,792	19,133	33,113	3,289	1,023	4
1856....	Indemnity.....	150,000	160,230	22,963	29,997	8,806	9,858	4
1852....	Irving.....	200,000	234,807	64,682	79,259	1,569	26,422	10
1824....	Jefferson.....	200,000	312,485	52,465	73,271	9,891	4,024	20
1858....	Kings County, Brooklyn..	150,010	168,179	33,599	48,570	1,020	8,442	..
1787....	Knickerbocker.....	300,000	350,972	43,149	66,291	2,138	7,570	12
1856....	Lafayette, Brooklyn.....	150,000	181,200	54,466	64,626	5,400	20,261	4
1856....	Lamar.....	300,000	341,205	94,552	114,469	12,938	62,464	4
1853....	Lenox.....	150,000	182,900	38,485	52,889	7,182	15,468	4
1853....	Long Island, Brooklyn.....	200,000	318,185	48,799	69,692	6,411	13,904	20
1852....	Lorillard.....	500,000	596,999	139,062	171,941	13,539	58,388	7½
1821....	Manhattan.....	250,000	361,920	219,688	241,826	9,345	125,228	20
1853....	Market.....	200,000	263,269	110,217	127,609	5,589	47,851	10
1857....	Mechanics', Brooklyn.....	150,000	187,429	42,911	55,275	1,800	4,219	14
1853....	Mechanics' and Traders'...	200,000	259,302	43,638	70,756	9,414	22,190	20
1852....	Mercantile.....	200,000	247,570	43,091	58,884	8,663	13,728	12
1850....	Merchants'.....	200,000	368,269	94,493	113,021	2,480	31,009	20
1852....	Metropolitan.....	300,000	383,414	118,748	148,619	31,784	62,282	5½
1851....	Montauk, Brooklyn.....	150,000	181,888	41,859	58,564	5,856	14,076	9
1852....	Nassau, Brooklyn.....	150,000	216,023	32,391	46,239	2,034	7,286	20
1808....	National.....	200,000	283,177	47,616	65,591	2,046	14,352	20
1853....	New Amsterdam.....	200,000	248,586	63,457	81,475	5,400	30,732	14
1856....	New World.....	200,000	218,177	29,204	43,485	5,658	2,709	8
1835....	New York—Bowery.....	300,000	387,872	65,905	90,550	1,535	9,861	20
1823....	New York Equitable.....	210,000	316,238	79,759	91,059	5,268	26,414	20
1852....	N. Y. Fire and Marine.....	200,000	256,313	38,605	71,109	8,495	17,610	12
1850....	Niagara.....	200,000	287,131	82,599	101,143	6,550	37,100	20
1853....	North American.....	250,000	276,514	69,640	87,183	29,740	29,467	8
1852....	North River.....	350,000	414,848	46,713	73,483	94	4,241	12
1854....	North Western, Oswego...	150,000	260,592	143,631	184,896	46,915	107,690	5
1851....	Pacific.....	200,000	284,958	71,895	88,829	8,394	26,581	20
1853....	Park.....	200,000	250,558	101,347	118,291	19,300	55,467	17
1851....	People's.....	150,000	160,066	33,918	47,883	5,269	16,725	..
1853....	Peter Cooper.....	150,000	171,879	25,911	34,719	1,000	7,811	10
1853....	Phœnix, Brooklyn.....	200,000	298,233	194,192	209,714	44,186	83,722	6
1855....	Relief.....	200,000	254,583	82,145	100,409	5,247	38,674	12
1852....	Republic.....	150,000	306,048	66,748	87,856	12,217	34,140	7
1857....	Resolute.....	200,000	247,993	113,529	129,012	18,594	81,610	8
1853....	Rutgers.....	200,000	245,473	56,099	72,613	4,384	31,776	14

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FIRE INSURANCE COMPANIES OF NEW YORK AND BROOKLYN—CONTINUED.

Date of Organization.	Name of Company.	Chartered Capital.	Total Assets on Dec. 31, 1861.	Total Premiums received in 1861.	Total Income.	Prior Losses paid in 1861.	Losses paid for 1861.	Stock Dividends.
1836....	Security.....	$500,000	$648,045	$300,360	$388,674	$42,285	$147,416	7
1838....	St. Marks.....	150,000	176,204	88,016	49,287	8,569	16,785	5
1852....	St. Nicholas.....	150,000	169,615	40,480	53,138	5,967	15,696	7
1839....	Standard.....	200,000	228,089	88,207	53,532	4,451	12,849	5
1851....	Stuyvesant.....	200,000	250,153	84,436	49,428	3,850	5,747	12
1848....	Tradesmen's.....	150,000	176,252	88,177	43,766	725	5,040	7½
1841....	United States.....	250,000	328,344	44,203	68,642	1,598	9,321	10
1850....	Washington.....	400,000	498,178	131,240	161,582	85,752	29,812	5½
1852....	Williamsburgh City.....	150,000	204,164	61,172	78,077	4,852	27,065	14
	Total 1861.....	$20,427,010	$26,734,901	$7,221,926	$8,487,488	$935,133	$2,828,498	..
	Total 1860.....	20,482,850	26,560,190	7,261,595	....	....	3,934,441	..

PROFIT DIVIDENDS IN 1861—The American, 50; Continental, 35; Lorillard, 30; Market, 45; Resolute, 20 per cent.

FIRE AND MARINE INSURANCE COMPANIES OF OTHER STATES IN NEW YORK IN 1861.

Returns to Superintendent of New York Insurance Department, for Year ending Dec. 31, 1861.

Date of Incorporation.	Name and Location.	Capital.	Total Assets.	Premiums received in 1861.	Losses paid prior to 1861.	Losses paid for 1861.	Net amount of Risks written in 1861.	Rate p. c. of dividend paid in '61.
1819....	Ætna, Hartford.....	$1,500,000	$2,158,140	$1,887,705	$167,986	$647,679	$138,874,218	12
1810....	American, Philadelphia...	277,500	719,388	66,017	8	12,627	11,787,963	13
1852....	Atlantic Fire and Marine, Providence.....	150,000	213,818	84,020	24,556	66,000	7,881,324	..
1818....	American, Boston.....	300,000	672,400	207,168	....	72,851	4,653,270	20
1831....	American, Providence.....	150,000	245,924	55,745	22,572	68,050	5,235,834	16
1847....	City Fire, Hartford.....	250,000	302,314	149,645	33,170	105,084	13,292,973	8
1855....	City Fire, New Haven.....	200,000	293,645	85,185	6,504	48,331	10,654,404	10
1850....	Connecticut, Hartford.....	200,000	224,049	69,543	2,600	42,869	6,622,521	10
1835....	Delaware Mutual Safety, Philadelphia.....	350,000	784,778	275,366	42,496	139,078	41,812,731	10
1854....	Eliot, Boston.....	200,000	313,189	58,675	..	28,018	9,163,266	10
1829....	Franklin, Philadelphia.....	400,000	2,320,005	150,053	24,174	45,794	24,167,769	32
1810....	Hartford, Hartford.....	500,000	890,520	559,585	67,765	319,224	60,296,705	10
1851....	Hampden, Springfield.....	150,000	195,872	75,881	21,187	59,212	7,465,470	6
1848....	Hope, Providence.....	150,000	175,518	48,228	9,361	25,501	4,612,863	..
1859....	Home, New Haven.....	200,000	238,804	152,649	8,413	118,264	9,209,693	11
1794....	Insurance Co. of North America, Phila.....	500,000	1,188,246	357,120	37,056	275,467	31,883,494	13
1847....	Jersey City, Jersey.....	150,000	171,525	82,105	1,816	12,233	5,276,752	10
1822....	Manufacturers', Boston....	400,000	1,009,431	89,131	9,074	66,371	26,362,224	30
1857....	Massasoit, Springfield.....	150,000	193,764	77,377	7,424	63,932	9,365,167	6
1816....	Merchants', Boston.....	500,000	738,269	119,202	17,914	73,757	16,663,534	12
1857....	Merchants', Hartford.....	200,000	237,387	92,974	20,529	53,279	9,564,383	4
1851....	Merchants', Providence...	150,000	244,796	53,514	30,659	50,507	6,462,020	24
1852....	North American, Boston..	200,000	362,787	42,727	3,865	51,677	6,346,244	10
1857....	North American, Hartford.	300,000	297,209	140,421	20,725	128,284	14,249,160	5
1803....	Norwich, Norwich.....	200,000	201,167	56,191	12,518	26,694	6,510,248	13
1825....	National, Boston.....	300,000	536,554	117,810	13,067	81,544	8,313,737	10
1854....	Phœnix, Hartford.....	400,000	500,701	379,459	57,411	260,610	35,613,000	5
1820....	Providence Washington, Providence.....	200,000	365,515	115,273	24,895	64,711	11,906,606	9
1849....	Springfield Fire & Marine.	200,000	412,686	174,511	16,495	111,083	20,908,143	18
1859....	Thames, Norwich.....	113,900	120,677	24,067	174	8,950	2,317,181	4
1852....	Western Massachusetts, Pittsfield.....	150,000	212,990	113,765	16,667	101,109	11,108,557	..
	Total 1861.....	$9,101,400	$16,510,518	$5,441,111	$731,926	$3,172,460	$578,840,723	..
	Total 1860.....	9,191,100	17,412,196	6,148,106	..	4,466,028	558,479,426	..

ÆTNA.—$13,227,534 of risks was inland navigation; premium thereon, $173,282 63, and loss $15,346 18; fire losses, $700,269 30.

DELAWARE MUTUAL.—Marine portion of risks written $26,831,752; perpetual fire ditto, $26,600.

AMERICAN, BOSTON.—Fire premium, $22,542 59; marine, $184,624 50.

FRANKLIN, PHILADELPHIA.—Amount of risks written as in this table represents only the temporary fire risks. The Company holds $36,652,985 of perpetual fire risks. The officers of Franklin did give an estimate of "reinsurance," and the Superintendent put it down at 50 per cent.

HOME, NEW HAVEN.—Marine risks written in 1861, $1,998,893 75, and inland navigation, $120,445. This Company has given up marine business.

JERSEY CITY FIRE.—Perpetual fire risks written $9,000.

MANUFACTURERS', BOSTON.—Marine risks written $12,271,915; premium thereon, $213,619 48; fire premium, $71,917 10.

MERCHANTS', BOSTON.—Marine risks, included in returns, $3,964,859; fire premium, $60,496 78.

MERCHANTS', PROVIDENCE.—Marine risks, included in returns, $2,188,130.

NATIONAL, BOSTON.—This Company returned $200,000 of capital to stockholders in 1861. Marine premium, cash and note, $87,457 49.

INSURANCE COMPANY OF NORTH AMERICA, PHILADELPHIA.—Marine portion of premium returned, $357,120 77; fire $36,405 31; marine loss paid, $260,911 66; fire ditto, $51,612 91.

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Number of Fires in New York, 1854–1860. Amount insured on property damaged and lost by fire. Amount paid for loss and damage by fire.

Years.	No. of Fires.	Amount Insured.	Amount paid for loss and damage.
1855	344	$3,140,930	$941,147
1856	315	4,011,843	1,267,812
1857	336	4,056,092	732,914
1858	302	2,948,483	632,103
1859	310	2,643,795	1,100,290
1860	397	5,416,700	1,890,594
Average of six years..	2,064	$22,217,845	$6,064,260
	334	3,702,974	1,010,710

With the exception of the year 1860, during which the number of fires was excessive, the return shows the normal regularity which the result of similar statistics in the Old World naturally led us to expect. The average number of fires per annum, as shown in the above table, is 334, from which 1860 differs by an excess of 63. The average in the years 1855–1859 is 321, and the greatest variation in any one year is reduced from over 15 per cent. to less than 7 per cent.

Column 2 exhibits the amount reported as insured on the property damaged, or destroyed by the fires. Taking the years from June, 1854, to May, 1860, as a basis, the *amount paid* is to the *amount insured* on the property as 27.96 : 100.

There are many interesting deductions which might be made from this table, though until much more detailed records are preserved, it will be impossible to reduce fire insurance to a mathematical basis similar to that which is now the groundwork of life insurance. The Fire Marshal is doing much, but his labors are not so valuable as they would be, were the companies to publish a detailed report of the risks and losses of their respective business. A rough estimate may be made of the amount of property insured in New York City by assuming the amount of premiums on risks "up town" and "down town" as the total premium received for insurance in New York. This was stated in Mr. Birney's "Assessment Report for account of Fire Patrol," as follows:

1859	$2,196,367
1860	2,142,500

If we assume the average rate per cent. of all the companies and for all hazards to be 40 cents, then the total amount of property insured in this will be—

In 1859	$549,091,750
In 1860	535,625,000

The assumption here is necessarily wide of the truth, because the two districts do not embrace all the property insured in the city, and the supposed rate per cent. is quite as likely to be in error as is the valuation of the property. On the basis of these figures the amount paid for loss is to the total amount insured in the city as 2003836 : 100.

The insurance on inland transportation has been increased in proportion to the extension of western commerce. The Lake losses in the past year were as follows:

1860.

	Vessels.	Cargo.	Total.
Steam	$336,808	$160,575	$497,383
Sail	327,773	330,859	658,632
Total	$664,581	$491,434	$1,156,015

1861.

	Vessels.	Cargo.	Total.
Steam	$217,280	$85,345	$302,625
Sail	256,120	308,602	564,722
Total	$473,400	$393,947	$867,347
Decrease	191,181	97,487	288,666

The value of steam tonnage on the Lakes has been $5,473,800, and of sail tonnage, $6,388,650. From this statement it will be seen that there is a great disproportion between the losses by steam and sail vessels; also, that the loss of life and property last year was much less than in 1860.

In ocean navigation, the past has been by no means a favorable year. The great loss of business growing out of the stoppage of the trade was followed by many disasters through the enemy's privateers, which however did not fall upon the insurers. The marine companies, however, were enabled to charge and obtain higher rates for war risks, which greatly improved their condition.

The premiums and losses of the New York City companies were as follows:

	Premiums.	Losses.
Marine Insurances	$7,621,913	4,234,470
Fire Insurances	7,231,926	1,758,631
Total	$14,853,839	5,993,101

The leading marine companies of New York were as follows:

	Total Premium.	Premium marked off as earned.	Losses paid.
Atlantic	$5,314,576 83	$4,155,165 78	$2,811,650 29
*Union	725,744 22	518,982 84	162,077 78
Pacific	680,185 67	589,093 48	336,696 37
†Mercantile	1,085,002 34	847,972 68	515,088 61
‡Columbian	982,695 61	993,073 41	545,990 86
Neptune	447,791 57	348,856 19	239,791 81
Washington	259,999 81	205,689 37	123,180 07
Anchor	223,661 67	....	176,925 67
Commercial	845,534 93	682,405 83	492,589 16
Gt. Western	2,960,610 97	2,418,110 84	1,240,770 62
N. Y. Mutual	1,041,071 82	799,058 50	684,792 83
Orient "	510,304 76	....	438,454 00
Sun "	1,494,160 00	1,356,426 00	1,094,566 00
Total, 1861	$15,521,340 20	$12,827,911 92	$7,902,168 58
" 1860	17,859,948 16	12,620,210 04	10,748,814 28

On the results of the year the trustees of the Atlantic, after reserving two and a quarter million dollars and paying six per cent. interest on outstanding scrip, direct payment of the scrip of 1860, on 4th February, and declare a new scrip dividend of 30 per cent. on the net earned premiums of 1861. This makes the total profits of the company for nineteen and a half years, $12,940,210.

* The premium includes $45,400 46 for fire risks, and the losses $16,758 44, on same account.

† Losses include "estimate of losses not adjusted."

‡ The Columbian statement is for fourteen months' business, owing to alteration of closing period for financial year. Pacific losses include estimate of claims ascertained but not due.

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The Union, however, upon a less extent of business, declared a dividend of 31 per cent. on the net earnings for 1861; also a payment of six per cent. interest on old scrip, and after reserving one million dollars, directs a payment of 50 per cent. of the scrip of 1854, on 4th February.

The Pacific pays 6 per cent. interest on outstanding scrip, and declares a new scrip dividend of 10 per cent. on the business of 1861.

The Mercantile has improved its business considerably, paying 6 per cent. interest on scrip, 4 per cent. dividend to stockholders, and declaring a new scrip dividend of 12 per cent. on the net earnings of 1861.

The Columbian has suffered the most severely in the year, and is obliged to recall the balance of the scrip issue of 1858. The company shows assets of $918,453 50, and paid 3½ per ct.

The Neptune has also been unfortunate, and has to recall $28,300 of the outstanding scrip. The assets of the company are $454,734 12.

The Washington is making a profit of $18,004 75, but is content with paying seven per cent. interest on outstanding scrip, and shows a clear asset of $251,283 59.

The different companies throughout the country do not make such concentrated reports as that they can be annually collected into a general table for annual comparison, by which, if it were possible to reproduce it, to observe the gradual increase of property covered by insurance. The following brings together a few of the aggregates, which carry the gross amount in excess of 2,050 millions. All the risks taken by the companies of the United States, would swell the amount to at least $2,500,000,000. According to the leading returns, however, the capital employed and the amount at risk with the fire companies, were in 1860 as follows:

Companies.	No.	Capital and Assets.	Fire risks.
New York Stock.....	96	$26,823,384	$829,388,868
New York Mutual.....	28	4,793,506	87,186,107
Massachusetts.....	99	6,858,100	355,657,306
New Hampshire.....	23	....	39,784,084
Providence.....	6	2,419,688	26,648,143
Connecticut	12	5,364,686	279,392,184
Philadelphia	10	6,510,601	139,229,374
Jersey City.....	1	179,718	5,291,061
Peoria, Ill.....	1	368,995	6,806,877
Cincinnati.....	18	749,808	14,000,000
Augusta, Ga.....	1	952,853	7,000,000
Charleston.....	2	....	98,000,800
New Orleans.....	9	6,738,081	221,100,000
			$2,109,294,304

In addition to this are other amounts, probably $50,000,000 of risks taken by English companies. This vast amount of property insured against fire, is the growth of the last 50 years, and it may be compared advantageously with the amount of risks abroad:

Great Britain fire risks.....	$3,905,452,665
France fire risks.....	6,500,000,000
Germany fire risks.....	4,000,000,000
United States.....	2,500,000,000

Life insurance, which in England has flourished about 150 years on a scientific basis, has only of late years made much progress in the United States, but seems of late to meet with more encouragement from the public. In New York there are altogether 12 companies doing business, which have a very good standing. In Massachusetts, however, more strict attention is paid to the condition of the institution, and the annual report of the commissioners there is justly regarded with respect, where it confines itself to the legitimate objects for which it is created. Its reputation is, however, at times damaged by the introduction of irrelevant and objectionable matter. The law of Massachusetts requires that all companies that undertake to do business there, shall furnish such full returns as will, upon analysis, justify confidence in the safety of the company. These provisions are so rigid, that while many companies might object, the fact that a company does do business in Massachusetts acts as an indorsement to its standing. As this return for 1861 embraces the leading companies, it gives an idea of the extent of the operations. (See table A on the following page.)

The following gives the computed aggregate operations for many years:

Whole Life Policies of Nineteen Life Insurance Companies doing business in Massachusetts, outstanding November 1, 1861, arranged according to the years in which they were issued, each year ending November 1.

Year.	Number of Policies.	Amount Insured.	Net Value.	Ratio of Value to Amount.
1836.....	1	$2,000 00	$1,044 64	52.23
1837.....	2	5,000 00	2,604 12	52.16
1835.....	1	5,000 00	1,737 45	34.75
1837.....	1	1,500 00	624 12	41.61
1838.....	1	3,000 00	990 37	33.01
1839.....	1	1,000 00	463 22	46.32
1840.....	1	2,000 00	1,066 73	53.33
1843.....	105	456,374 98	161,272 18	35.30
1844.....	201	734,845 66	243,982 96	33.20
1845.....	541	1,841,667 17	557,151 67	30.25
1846.....	1,120	3,257,681 46	871,927 18	26.77
1847.....	1,354	3,785,368 73	997,125 00	26.34
1848.....	1,645	4,388,130 96	1,000,242 45	22.79
1849.....	2,500	6,486,066 00	1,321,265 21	20.37
1850.....	2,731	6,595,128 68	1,282,776 05	19.45
1851.....	2,440	5,822,659 20	1,015,439 33	17.44
1852.....	1,610	4,285,071 91	683,617 14	15.95
1853.....	1,986	4,908,800 11	707,859 76	14.42
1854.....	2,340	6,443,572 42	801,269 43	12.44
1855.....	2,195	6,399,141 26	705,582 96	11 03
1856.....	2,397	7,683,190 02	755,226 58	9.83
1857.....	3,209	8,497,935 44	671,931 04	7.91
1858.....	4,085	11,715,770 98	701,741 69	5.99
1859.....	5,974	17,060,085 03	752,169 45	4.41
1860.....	8,318	22,807,117 26	728,897 42	3.20
1861.....	8,094	20,926,092 81	398,424 21	1.90
Additions.	....	135,889 35	58,318 05	42.92
Totals..	55,348	$144,253,449 48	$14,424,748 81	10.00

Notwithstanding the violent disruption of political and social ties, and the suspension of amicable relations between the two great sections of the country, which characterized the year embraced in this report, the business of life insurance advanced, though not so rapidly as during the previous year. The aggregate amount insured by the nineteen companies doing business in Massachusetts was $152,937,587 on the 1st November, 1861, against $151,321,229 in 1860. Thus the new business has on the whole a little more than filled the chasm caused by the war, which at once swept away large num-

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TABLE A

SYNOPSIS OF THE STANDING, ON THE 1ST OF NOVEMBER, 1861, OF THE LIFE INSURANCE COMPANIES DOING BUSINESS IN MASSACHUSETTS, CONSIDERED AS MUTUAL COMPANIES.

Names of Companies.	No. of Policies.	Amount Insured.	Net present Value of Policies, or computed Premium Reserve.	Net Assets or actual Premium Reserve, (excluding Capital.)	Receipts of the Year, not including Interest from Capital.	Expenses of the Year, including net Expense of Capital.
Home Companies.						
Massachusetts Hospital.....	85	$77,950 00	$10,278 93	$18,472 00	....	....
New England Mutual.....	5,278	16,437,199 00	1,283,625 57	2,080,165 90	$575,091 25	$51,728 48
State Mutual.....	1,861	3,012,068 29	381,568 47	428,198 86	90,149 15	7,925 11
Berkshire.....	1,078	2,162,900 00	142,589 68	173,462 52	71,136 18	12,968 29
Massachusetts Mutual.....	2,703	5,774,870 00	259,216 12	260,097 93	182,055 18	82,114 48
Totals.....	10,950	$27,464,847 29	$2,027,278 77	$2,955,396 71	$918,431 76	$104,736 36
Foreign Companies.						
Mutual Life, N. Y.....	12,258	$37,462,888 39	$4,884,555 00	$7,777,885 49	$1,570,067 10	$127,799 45
Mutual Benefit, N. J.....	7,824	23,543,617 00	2,684,133 92	3,286,536 60	927,356 98	87,563 44
Connecticut, Ct.....	10,565	26,894,265 00	2,847,894 59	3,773,499 79	1,128,257 82	84,952 51
National, Vt.....	1,235	1,996,015 00	18,192 00	231,721 70	63,042 36	9,626 97
Union Mutual, Me.....	1,969	4,638,882 00	456,317 59	640,341 63	178,942 16	26,901 16
Manhattan, N. Y.....	3,836	12,647,203 00	852,959 89	898,244 43	485,626 33	64,189 17
Charter Oak, Ct.....	2,967	5,320,656 33	373,028 91	456,337 52	200,047 22	33,301 08
Phenix Mutual, Ct.....	2,049	2,647,250 00	137,956 14	150,933 18	54,111 98	10,647 77
Knickerbocker, N. Y.....	722	1,950,084 00	105,679 83	157,761 86	57,373 58	18,282 64
Equitable, N. Y.....	1,048	3,267,900 00	97,333 34	115,291 46	100,870 19	27,193 70
Guardian, N. Y.....	428	1,088,650 00	24,264 83	8,106 61	31,081 74	20,623 87
Washington, N. Y.....	320	993,250 00	27,372 04	28,100 41	38,677 97	16,880 71
Home, N. Y.....	1,115	2,089,800 00	58,592 39	58,941 74	84,619 21	24,628 18
Germania, N. Y.....	353	965,379 00	21,275 21	451 63	32,682 04	22,646 47
Totals.....	46,189	$125,472,789 72	$12,704,565 77	$17,560,093 65	$4,904,686 38	$576,584 52
Grand Totals.....	57,139	$152,937,587 01	$14,731,844 54	$20,545,490 36	$5,823,118 09	$681,270 88

bers of Southern policies from the older companies. The values of these Southern policies were not wholly forfeited to the companies, many of the holders having taken care to surrender before hostilities commenced, and large amounts were paid by some of the companies even afterwards.

Claims by Death against Nineteen Life Insurance Companies doing business in Massachusetts, for the year ending Nov. 1, 1861.

Companies.	No. of Claims.	Amount.	Ratio of Loss to Amount Insured.	Ratio of No. of Claims to No. of Policies.
Massachusetts Hospital..	2	$5,000 00	5.44	5.13
New England Mutual....	41	147,000 00	.96	.86
State Mutual.....	22	31,699 23	1.14	1.25
Berkshire.....	5	14,000 00	.65	.48
Massachusetts Mutual...	36	75,900 00	1.33	1.41
Mutual Life, N. Y.....	113	382,507 94	.99	.91
Mutual Benefit, N. J....	83	295,200 00	1.18	1.10
Connecticut, Ct.....	111	249,550 00	.96	1.07
National, Vt.....	13	27,384 48	1.27	1.03
Union Mutual, Me.....	33	63,900 00	1.37	1.65
Manhattan, N. Y.....	30	115,598 40	.95	.80
Charter Oak, Ct.....	19	33,352 00	.52	.57
Phenix Mutual, Ct., (Amer. Temperance,).	12	19,500 00	.72	.59
Knickerbocker, N. Y....	7	19,500 00	.94	.90
Equitable, N. Y.....	4	9,000 00	.37	.53
Guardian, N. Y.....	..	....	..	..
Washington, N. Y.....	1	5,000 00	.53	.84
Home, N. Y.....	3	7,000 00	.99	1.07
Germania, N. Y.....	1	500 00	.14	.89
Totals.....	536	$1,501,542 05	.99	.97

Collating the returns of the last and two previous years, we find the death terminations of policies in all the companies for the three years from November 1, 1858, to Nov. 1, 1861, to be 1,364, and the years of life exposed to death on all policies in force during those years, counting the policies of the deceased as having been in force half a year, to be 154,761.05. The tables I., II., and III. give the amounts of life exposed and the deaths at all the different ages, aggregately, in classes, and by the years of the policy, tending to show the effect of selection, and the risk of short-term insurance compared with insurance on the whole life. It will be seen that, as far as this observation goes, it tends to show that in no part of the scale of life, unless it be on the earlier years, where the amount exposed is too small to warrant any conclusion, is the mortality to be expected quite as high as that of the standard adopted for the valuation. The difference, indeed, is rather astonishing, and such as can hardly be expected to be maintained in the future as the grand average. There is room, however, for a great decline before reaching the line of English experience.

The proportion of deaths in New York is large as compared with foreign cities. The city of London has a population of millions; it is surrounded by low lands, and the sluggish Thames, at times almost stagnant, receiving the discharge of its sewers and the filth of its streets, flows through it, and at times almost stagnates in its midst. Yet the vital statistics give the proportion as 1 in 45.

The city of New York numbers about 1,000,000, lying on the sandy ridge of Manhattan Island; is fanned by the breezes of the ocean, and has both sides washed by the swift currents of the North and East rivers; yet its proportion of deaths is as one to 36. Much of this may be, and doubtless is, due to the large amount of immigration annually of poor and distressed persons, who crowd badly-ventilated dwellings that are the centres of infection. The organization of wise sanitary measures, and their efficient enforcement, will no doubt do much towards bringing down the proportion of deaths, not only in this but in other cities of the Union, within the operation of life companies.

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TABLE I.

The Combined Mortuary Experience of all the Life Insurance Companies doing business in Massachusetts for the three years ending Nov. 1, 1861, compared with what was to be expected from the rate of Mortality, adopted by the Insurance Commissioners, derived from the experience of Seventeen English Offices.

Age.	Years of Life exposed at each age.	Actual Deaths at each Age.	Percentage of Actual Deaths to years of life exposed.	Probble Deaths at each age, by Eng. Com. Ex. Table.	Percentage of Prob. Deaths at each age, by Eng. Com. Ex. Table.	Discontin'ances at each age for all causes oth'r than death.
10	10.33	..	..	.070	.676	1
11	10.50	..	..	.071	.679	1
12	9.75	..	..	.066	.681	..
13	14.75	..	..	.101	.685	1
14	17.67	..	..	.122	.690	1
15	37.67	..	..	.262	.694	1
16	44.50	..	..	.312	.700	6
17	89.17	..	..	.603	.706	7
18	115.00	1	.870	.820	.713	11
19	181.17	1	.553	1.306	.721	13
20	281.00	1	.356	2.049	.729	26
21	425.92	4	.939	3.142	.738	66
22	706.08	6	.850	5.270	.746	77
23	1,029.92	7	.680	7.790	.756	130
24	1,555.33	8	.514	11.923	.767	193
25	2,185.92	7	.320	16.984	.777	252
26	2,466.83	17	.689	19.455	.789	291
27	3,074.33	19	.618	24.613	.801	256
28	3,393.58	20	.589	27.619	.814	361
29	3,783.75	25	.661	31.309	.827	386
30	4,170.25	31	.743	35.183	.842	406
31	4,499.17	37	.822	38.594	.858	440
32	4,787.75	22	.460	41.877	.875	491
33	5,149.25	26	.505	45.927	.892	420
34	5,322.42	39	.733	48.453	.909	447
35	5,494.83	35	.637	51.034	.929	482
36	5,607.42	32	.571	53.187	.948	495
37	5,939.25	32	.539	57.531	.969	464
38	5,817.50	41	.705	57.562	.991	480
39	6,327.83	39	.616	64.108	1.013	473
40	6,136.50	41	.668	63.586	1.036	470
41	6,259.33	46	.735	67.467	1.061	440
42	5,898.08	37	.627	64.256	1.089	409
43	5,997.33	41	.684	67.458	1.125	416
44	5,527.25	56	1.013	64.654	1.170	345
45	5,271.25	42	.797	64.371	1.221	339
46	4,724.58	50	1.058	60.657	1.284	367
47	4,533.50	37	.816	61.273	1.352	273
48	4,310.58	41	.951	61.465	1.426	253
49	4,077.08	28	.687	61.404	1.506	254
50	3,775.33	32	.848	60.171	1.594	228
51	3,438.00	41	1.193	58.095	1.690	195
52	3,073.58	38	1.236	55.160	1.795	200
53	2,710.58	40	1.476	51.750	1.909	155
54	2,402.58	31	1.290	48.802	2.031	141
55	2,061.08	27	1.310	44.650	2.166	116
56	1,892.33	27	1.427	43.863	2.313	85
57	1,608.33	29	1.803	39.692	2.468	72
58	1,343.83	23	1.712	35.457	2.639	54
59	1,178.25	27	2.291	33.280	2.825	57
60	1,046.92	23	2.197	31.758	3.034	32
61	892.92	17	1.904	29.120	3.261	51
62	718.58	9	1.253	25.236	3.512	27
63	638.67	16	2.505	24.167	3.784	21
64	506.00	15	2.964	20.658	4.083	15
65	429.75	10	2.327	18.944	4.408	13

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TABLE I.—CONTINUED.

AGE.	Years of Life exposed at each age.	Actual Deaths at each Age.	Percentage of Actual Deaths to years of life exposed.	Prob'le Deaths at each age, by Eng. Com. Ex. Table.	Percentage of Prob. Deaths at each age, by Eng. Com. Ex. Table.	Discontin'ances at each age for all causes oth'r than death.
66	343.08	8	2.332	16.335	4.762	12
67	269.75	13	4.819	13.885	5.147	5
68	251.42	12	4.773	13.986	5.563	8
69	199.42	4	2.006	11.982	6.009	4
70	168.17	13	7.730	10.920	6.493	1
71	128.67	7	5.440	9.027	7.016	3
72	91.83	6	6.534	6 961	7.580	2
73	78.67	3	3.813	6.441	8.188	2
74	42.08	3	7.129	3.723	8.847	2
75	40.33	..	....	3.854	9.556	..
76	51.58	3	5.816	5.322	10 318	1
77	30.08	6	19.947	3.353	11.147	1
78	26.42	4	15.140	3.182	12.045	1
79	17.50	2	11.429	2.276	13.007	1
80	8.00	2	25.000	1.123	14.041	..
81	5.50	1	18.182	.838	15.144	1
82	4.50	1	21.717	.734	16.319	..
83	2.50	1	40.000	.439	17.591	..
86	.50	1	100.000	.111	22.248	..
Totals	154,761.05	1,364	.881	2,019.179	1.305	11.750

TABLE II.

The Mortuary Experience of the Policies included in Table I., divided into three classes, each class being compared with the mortality to have been expected by the Combined Experience of the English Offices.

AGE.	Years of Life exposed at each age on Policies which had not existed enough to pay four or more annual premiums.	Actual Deaths on the same at each age.	Probable Deaths at each age, on the same, by Eng. Com. Ex. Table.	Years of Life exposed at each age on Policies which had not existed long enough to pay more than 3 annual premiums.	Actual Deaths on the same at each age.	Probable Deaths at each age, on the same, by Eng. Com. Ex. Table.	Years of Life exposed at each age on short terms, including endowment Policies.	Actual Deaths at each age, on the same.	Probable Deaths at each age, on the same, by Eng. Com. Ex. Table.
10	4.08	..	.03	2.00	..	.02	4.25	..	.04
11	1.75	..	.01	5.58	..	.04	3.17	..	.02
12	3.83	..	.03	4.42	..	.03	1.50	..	.01
13	5.50	..	.04	4.08	..	.03	5.17	..	.03
14	3.08	..	.02	8.17	..	.06	6.42	..	.04
15	5.08	..	.03	21.58	..	.15	11.60	..	.08
16	2.92	..	.02	27.08	..	.19	14.50	..	.10
17	27.00	..	.19	50.58	..	.36	11.58	..	.08
18	21.58	..	.15	71.75	1	.51	21.68	..	.15
19	40.92	..	.29	95.50	..	.69	45.25	1	.32
20	41.33	1	.30	162.83	..	1.19	76.84	..	.56
21	164.92	..	1.22	171.92	1	1.27	90.58	3	.52
22	109.75	2	.82	461.83	3	3.45	135.00	1	1.01
23	89.67	1	.68	719.25	4	5.44	222.00	2	1.68
24	172.33	2	1.32	1,098.42	6	8.42	284.58	..	2.18
25	381.00	..	2.96	1,452.92	5	11.29	353.00	2	2.74
26	518.08	7	4.09	1,591.42	7	12.55	358.83	3	2.83
27	685.50	8	5.49	1,954.16	8	15.64	436.17	3	2.49
28	627.91	8	5.11	2,056.00	8	16.73	392.42	4	3.19
29	1,176.83	14	9.73	2,172.00	8	17.97	436.42	3	4.55
30	1,371.50	21	11.55	2,373.25	5	19.99	428.00	5	3.61
31	1,629.67	18	13.98	2,432.75	12	20.87	440.25	7	3.78
32	1,879.33	14	16.44	2,494.66	8	21.82	413.75	..	3.62
33	2,346.00	11	20.93	2,386.25	8	21.28	420.50	7	3.75
34	2,536.92	28	23.06	2,304.42	7	20.96	483.08	4	4.39

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TABLE II.—CONTINUED.

AGE.	Years of Life exposed at each age on Policies which had existed long enough to pay four or more annual premiums.	Actual Deaths on the same at each age.	Probable Deaths at each age, on the same, by Eng. Com. Ex. Table.	Years of Life exposed at each age on Policies which had not existed long enough to pay more than three annual premiums.	Actual Deaths on the same at each age.	Probable Deaths at each age, on the same, by Eng. Com. Ex. Table.	Years of Life exposed at each age on short terms, including endowment Policies.	Actual Deaths at each age, on the same.	Probable Deaths at each age on the same, by Eng. Com. Ex. Table.
35.....	2,771.75	24	25.75	2,227.50	10	20.69	496.08	1	4.61
36.....	2,971.58	24	28.17	2,203.33	3	20.90	435.00	5	4.13
37.....	3,209.33	22	31.10	2,246.83	9	21.76	483.58	1	4.68
38.....	3,356.67	26	33.26	2,043.75	13	20.25	418.08	2	4.14
39.....	3,789.42	27	38.39	2,084.00	10	21.11	455.42	2	4.61
40.....	3,765.58	32	39.01	1,919.08	8	19.89	452.33	1	4.69
41.....	3,964.17	33	42.06	1,861.92	10	19.76	434.75	3	4.61
42.....	3,857.33	26	42.00	1,678.33	8	18.28	363.92	3	3.96
43.....	4,044.42	27	45.50	1,551.75	9	17.46	403.67	5	4.54
44.....	3,853.92	46	45.09	1,352.92	9	15.82	320.92	1	3.75
45.....	3,670.25	33	44.81	1,277.75	8	15.60	323.75	1	3.95
46.....	3,333.42	38	42.80	1,095.00	9	14.06	297.67	3	3.82
47.....	2,950.25	31	39.89	1,308.33	3	17.69	276.33	3	3.73
48.....	3,263.83	31	46.54	786.92	7	11.22	261.33	3	3.73
49.....	3,002.83	26	45.22	807.08	2	12.16	268.17	..	4.04
50.....	2,848.00	25	45.40	708.42	4	11.29	220.42	3	3.51
51.....	2,602.92	28	43.99	615.75	10	10.40	220.83	3	3.73
52.....	2,253.75	33	40.45	639.66	3	11.48	181.17	2	3.25
53.....	2,085.58	38	39.81	464.08	..	8.86	161.92	2	3.09
54.....	1,886.83	25	38.32	392.83	2	7.98	124.92	4	2.54
55.....	1,619.25	23	35.07	337.50	3	7.31	104.83	1	2.27
56.....	1,534.25	23	35.48	259.92	4	6.01	98.17	..	2.27
57.....	1,351.17	26	33.34	191.42	2	4.72	66.25	1	1.63
58.....	1,119.33	19	29.54	161.25	2	4.25	64.25	2	1.69
59.....	983.25	21	27.78	152.00	5	4.29	43.50	1	1.23
60.....	897.67	19	27.23	117.00	2	3.55	33.25	2	1.01
61.....	770.34	13	25.12	100.25	1	3.27	23.83	3	.77
62.....	642.66	8	22.57	62.67	1	2.20	13.25	..	.46
63.....	679.42	16	25.71	47.08	..	1.78	12.17	..	.46
64.....	466.25	15	19.04	26.50	..	1.08	13.25	..	.54
65.....	392.17	9	17.29	27.33	..	1.20	10.75	1	.47
66.....	318.75	7	15.18	13.17	1	.06	11.17	..	.53
67.....	253.58	11	13.05	11.42	2	.06	4.75	..	.24
68.....	242.67	10	13.50	8.66	2	.05	.08	..	....
69.....	196.50	4	11.81	2.92	..	.02	....	..	....
70.....	166.17	12	10.81	1.00	..	.06	1.50	1	.10
71.....	125.67	7	8.82	2.00	..	.01	1.00	..	.07
72.....	89.83	6	6.81	....	..	..	2.00	..	.15
73.....	77.67	3	6.36	....	..	..	1.00	..	.08
74.....	42.00	3	3.72	....	..	..	.08	..	.09
75.....	39.33	..	3.76	....	..	..	1.00	..	....
76.....	51.58	3	5.32	....	..	..	....	..	....
77.....	30.00	6	3.34	....	..	..	.08	..	....
78.....	26.42	4	3.18	....	..	..	....	..	....
79.....	17.50	2	2.27	....	..	..	....	..	....
80.....	8.00	2	1.12	....	..	..	....	..	....
81.....	5.50	1	.83	....	..	..	....	..	....
82.....	4.50	1	.73	....	..	..	....	..	....
83.....	2.50	1	.44	....	..	..	....	..	....
86.....	.50	1	.11	....	..	..	....	..	....
Totals...	89,482.75	1,006	1,825.33	52,910.14	253	557.53	12,202.36	105	134.94

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TABLE III.

Mortuary Experience and other discontinuances of Whole-Life Policies divided among the years of the Policy, showing the effect of selection.

Year of the Policy.	Years of Life Exposed.	Deaths.	Percentage of Deaths to years of Life exposed.	Other Discontinuances.	Ratio of Discontinuances to years of Life exposed.
First	13,483.83	31	.2299	..	..
Second	22,995.67	120	.5219	4,146	18.03
Third	16,481.50	102	.6208	1,933	11.76
Total of first 3 years.	52,911.00	253	.4782	6,079	11.49
Fourth	11,791.00	114	.9668	1,269	10.76
Fifth	9,588.25	87	.9074	860	8.96
Sixth	7,651.83	82	1.0716	666	8.70
Seventh	7,289.00	74	1.0152	541	7.42
Eighth	6,882.25	59	.9244	428	6.71
Ninth	6,786.25	66	.9726	393	5.79
Tenth	7,384.83	106	1.4358	387	5.24
Eleventh	8,412.42	103	1.2243	278	3.30
Twelfth	7,860.83	87	1.1787	269	3.64
Thirteenth	5,958.00	83	1.3931	205	3.44
Fourteenth	4,487.33	68	1.4198	143	3.22
Fifteenth	3,188.42	37	1.1605	136	4.26
Sixteenth	1,938.42	25	1.6287	56	2.89
Seventeenth	866.00	10	1.1547	23	2.65
Eighteenth	317.78	2	.6294	14	4.40
Nineteenth	106.08	3	2.8281	3	2.83
Total, excluding first three years	89,428.19	1,001	1.1193	5,671	6.34
Grand total	142,339.19	1,254*	.8810	11,750	8.25

From tables I. and II. it is also apparent that the mortality in our own companies has pressed more heavily, compared with that of the English, on the ages below 40 than on those above it. For example, the average age of the whole 154,761 years of life exposed was 41.51 years, and the average age of those dying from it was 45.27 years; while the average age of the 2,019 that should have died from the same amount of life exposed at the same ages by the English Combined Experience table would have been 46.20 years, or about one year older. Again, in table II., the life policies from which the first three years are excluded give the average age of the living 44 years, and the average of the dying 47.98 years; while the average age of the dying by the Combined Experience table on the same life at the same ages would have been 50.06 years. It is quite remarkable that this amount of 89,428 years of exposed life, from which we must suppose the favorable influence of selection to have nearly, if not quite, ceased, gives a mortality which is, to that of the English Experience table, which included the benefit of selection—though of course not to so great a degree, because their business was not increasing so fast—as 100 to 131.74.

IOWA, one of the interior or Western States, was admitted into the American Union, in 1845. It is situated between lat. 40° 20′ and 43° 30′ N., and long. 90° 12′ and 96° 53′ W. from Greenwich. Its extent from N. to S. is 208 miles, and from E. to W. about 300 miles; its area is 50,914 square miles, or 32,584,960 acres. Population in 1860, 674,948. It is bounded N. by Minnesota, E. by the Mississippi, which separates it from Wisconsin and Illinois, S. by Missouri, and partly by the Des Moines River, and W. by the Missouri and Big Sioux rivers, which separate it from Nebraska and Dakotah. It is divided into 99 counties. The valuation of the real and personal property of its citizens in 1850 was $23,714,638; in 1860, $247,338,265.

Great zeal has been manifested by the State in the prosecution of internal improvements. On the 1st of Jan., 1862, it had 2,087 miles of railway completed and in progress, of which 892 miles were open for traffic. These 892 miles cost, for construction and equipment, the sum of $21,382,557.

The vote of the State for President in 1860 was as follows: Lincoln, 70,409; Douglas, 55,111; Breckinridge, 1,048; Bell, 1,763. The population of the State at the same time was: white, 673,925; free colored, 1,023. The Governor is elected for four years. The Senate consists of thirty members, elected for four years, and the House of fifty members, chosen for two years.

The State Bank of Iowa, the only authorized or chartered bank of issue for the State, at the commencement of the year 1861, made the following statement of its condition:

Specie in bank	$416,339.80
Bank Notes on hand	439,460.00
Due from other banks	297,716.88
Discounts	1,164,565.72
Capital of the bank	416,339.87
Circulation	880,368.00
Due other banks	24,478.92
Deposits	966,300.52

The great staples of Iowa are her cereals. Of these, the crop of 1861 was, in round numbers:

Wheat, bushels,	22,000,000
Indian corn, "	41,000,000
Oats, "	5,880,000
Total bushels	69,880,000

Some of the other products were, in 1860:

Irish potatoes, bushels	2,700,000
Sweet " "	51,000
Butter, lbs.	11,526,000
Cheese, "	901,000
Hay, tons	707,000
Flax, lbs.	29,000
Wool, "	653,000
Live stock, value,	$21,800,000
Home Manufactures, "	314,000
Lumber, "	2,880,000
Flour, "	6,950,000
Steam Engines and Machinery, value	190,000
Agricultural Implements, "	110,000
Tanned Leather, "	82,000
Malt Liquors, "	221,000

* There will be noticed a deficiency of five deaths in this table, as compared with Tables I. and II. Four of these are accounted for by the omission from this table of the experience of the Massachusetts Hospital Company, which included four deaths occurring in the 19th, 22d, 26th, and 34th years of the policy respectively. The other probably proves an error in Tables I. and II., which there has not been time to correct by going over the voluminous tallies employed to classify more than 150,000 years of policy by the ages. It will be noticed by comparison of footings that a rigid exactness of multiplication and division has not been obtained, but great confidence is felt that no inaccuracy has been committed sufficient to impair the practical value of the results. It is to be remarked that in this table the life exposed is grouped in "years of policy," as they stand on the Registry, from November to November. Hence a policy may be counted in its second year which has existed but a day, and all the policies of the first year average only six months from entry, of the second year eighteen months, and so on.

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During the year 1861, the prospective scarcity of cotton led to the increased culture of flax, and the introduction of machinery for the production of flax cotton. Extensive establishments supplied with the patent brakes for preparing the flax cotton were erected at various points in the State. The soil of Iowa is admirably adapted to the culture of flax, and it is very probable that it may become one of its most important crops.

At the commencement of the war, Gov. Kirkwood exerted himself to the utmost of his ability to raise troops for the defence of the State, and for the purpose of complying with the calls of the U. S. Government—a task of considerable difficulty, for Missouri, on the southern border of the State, was not then loyal, and Nebraska, at the West, though loyal, had too few inhabitants to be able to oppose much resistance to an armed invasion. He summoned the Legislature of the State to meet in extra session on the 15th of May, and on the 16th of that month delivered his Message, in which he made use of the following language:

"In this emergency, Iowa must not and does not occupy a doubtful position. For the Union, as our fathers formed it, and for the Government they formed so wisely and so well, the people of Iowa are ready to pledge every fighting man in the State, and every dollar of her money and credit; and I have called you together in extraordinary session for the purpose of making that pledge formal and effective.

"The procuring of a liberal supply of arms for the use of the State is a matter that I earnestly recommend to your early and serious consideration. The last four weeks have taught us a lesson which I trust we may never forget—that peace is the proper time in which to prepare for war.

"I feel assured the State can readily raise the means necessary to place her in a position consistent alike with her honor and her safety. Her territory, of great extent and unsurpassed fertility, inviting and constantly receiving a desirable emigration; her population of nearly three-quarters of a million of intelligent, industrious, energetic, and liberty-loving people; her very rapid past and prospective growth; her present financial condition, having a debt of only about one-quarter of a million of dollars, unite to make her bonds among the most desirable investments that our country affords."

In June the Legislature voted a war loan of $600,000. The State of Iowa made a small debt, but its constitution provides that "the credit of the State shall not be given in any manner for any purpose. To meet casual deficits in the revenue, the State may borrow not exceeding $250,000, at any one time, and the State may contract debt to repel invasion or suppress insurrection." Under the latter clause, a debt was contracted of about $800,000, 7 per cent. interest, making the present State debt about $1,000,000.

The progress of secession was watched with much solicitude in Iowa, and upon the call of the President for a military force, the troops of the State were among the earliest in the field. The full number furnished during the year exceeded twenty thousand men, who were generally among the bravest in the field.

ITALY, a kingdom of southern Europe, comprising the whole of the Italian peninsula except Venetia and a portion of the former "States of the Church," and including also the islands of Sicily and Sardinia, and the Cisalpine provinces of Piedmont and Lombardy. It is bounded N. by Switzerland, N. E. by Tyrol, Venetia, and the Adriatic, S. E. by the Ionian Sea, S. W. by the Mediterranean, and N. W. by France. Population in 1861, 21,728,452.

At the commencement of the year 1861, Italy was in a transition state. Tuscany, Modena, Parma, Umbria, and the Marches, which, after the war of 1859, had sought to annex themselves to Sardinia, had, by solemn vote, in popular suffrage, resolved on their annexation, and, in accordance with the royal order of Jan. 3, 1861, elected deputies to the Sardinian parliament at Turin, which was to assemble on the 18th of February. The kingdom of the Two Sicilies had, under the energetic management of Garibaldi, been completely revolutionized, and on the 26th of Nov. 1860, that chief had delivered it into the hands of Victor Emanuel, king of Sardinia. Three cities only, Gaeta, Messina, and Civitella, remained to their former king, Francis II., and these were besieged by the Sardinian forces. A popular suffrage had ratified the union of this kingdom to that of Sardinia, and delegates were elected from it to the parliament of Turin, in January, 1861.

On the 1st of January, the King of Sardinia issued an address to the people of Italy, recommending prudence, patience, and, above all, harmony. The election of deputies ordered resulted in a triumph of the Liberal party, in opposition to the clergy, who, except in the old kingdom of Sardinia, had reviled and resisted the annexation, and the measures which would be likely to follow it.

The speech of the King at the opening of the session, on the 18th of February, was well adapted to promote harmony and judicious action. "To your wisdom," he said to the deputies, "I commit the concerns of a free and almost wholly united Italy." After enumerating the claims of England and France to their grateful remembrance, he added, "In the consciousness of its power, the kingdom of Italy can follow the counsels of prudence. I have hitherto raised my voice for acts of daring, and even rashness; but it is as wise to *wait* at the proper moment, as to *dare* at the proper moment. Devoted to Italy, I have risked for her my life and my crown, but no one has a right to put at hazard the existence and the destinies of a nation." Count Cavour, the prime minister, (*see* CAVOUR,) sustained the pacific policy of the King in the parliament, and asked that the title of "King of Italy" should be conferred on Vic-

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tor Emanuel, that thus the unity of Italy might be consecrated in the royal person. The law, enacting this as the royal title, passed the Senate on the 26th February by a vote of 126 yeas to 2 nays, and the Chamber of Deputies, on the 11th of March, unanimously; and on that day the King assumed the title, which was recognized by England on the 30th of March, and subsequently by Switzerland, Greece, Denmark, Portugal, the United States, and, on the 10th of June, by France. Austria protested against it, but without effect.

The Roman question was, of course, the most absorbing one with the Italian parliament, and it was, as it still is, involved in great difficulties. It may be well, as it has not been fully understood in the United States, to give briefly its history.

Since 1848, the Roman Government has chiefly been maintained by the overawing force of Austrians in the Legations and the French army in the capital. The defeats of the Austrians by the French and Sardinians at Magenta and Melagnano, in the summer of 1859, were immediately followed by the evacuation of the States of the Church by the Austrian garrisons. Upon this, several of these States at once revolted from the Pope, and proclaimed Victor Emanuel king or dictator. Bologna was the first in this movement, proclaiming for the Sardinian king, on the 13th of June. Forli, Faenza, and Imola followed her example on the 15th; Rimini, Cesena, and Ravenna on the 17th; Perugia and its vicinity, on the 18th; and Fano, Urbino, Fossembrone, Sesi, and Ancona a few days later. Thus within a space of two weeks, one half of the Papal territory was lost. It was charged that this was done at the instigation and with the assistance of foreigners; but the error of this statement will be evident, if we call to mind the fact that even under the severe repressing influence of the Austrian garrisons, revolts against the Roman authority had often occurred, and the moment the pressure of these garrisons was removed, they returned to their former condition of disaffection and hostility to that Government.

On the 18th of June, the Pope issued an encyclical letter, in which he represented the nature and causes of the revolution; and on the 20th of June, he delivered an allocution, in which he threatened excommunication against all who, "by act or counsel or in any other way, have dared to violate, disturb, and usurp our and this Holy See's civil power and jurisdiction, and the patrimony of the blessed Peter;" and called upon the sovereigns of Europe to use their united zeal and counsel for the preservation of his temporalities intact. The Roman Government also took prompt measures to reduce the revolted provinces to obedience. By the end of June its authority was restored, for the time, in every part of the Papal dominions, except the four Legations of Bologna, Ferrara, Ravenna, and Forli, but at the cost of a terrible amount of violence and bloodshed. The Government next attempted the subjugation of these Legations, but in vain. Massimo d'Azeglio, the commissary extraordinary, with two Piedmontese regiments and a large body of volunteers, had already arrived at Bologna, and was ready to meet the Roman troops. The Pope consulted the French ambassador as to the best means of subjugating these revolted provinces; the ambassador advised delay, and promised to demand from the court of Turin the withdrawal of the Piedmontese troops. The peace of Villafranca occurred soon after, and the Pope asked the French Government to restore his authority in the Romagna; the Emperor refused on the ground of *quasi*-engagements of France to Italy, and postponed the matter till the close of the conferences at Zurich. A few weeks later, the Pope addressed a letter to the Emperor, asking that the French should garrison the Marches of Ancona and other points then occupied by Roman troops, so as to leave them at liberty to recapture the Legations. To this request the Emperor gave a negative reply.

Thus repulsed, the Roman Government turned to Spain, and applied for a sufficient number of troops to put down the insurrection. The Spanish Government promptly responded by a resolution to put 20,000 troops at the disposal of the Pope. But here a new difficulty occurred; it was necessary to notify the French Government of their intention, and that Government at once responded that they would neither consent to nor permit the entrance of a Spanish army into the Roman States; that the intervention of Spain would only produce fresh complications in the affairs of Italy; and that France would consider such a movement on the part of Spain as a declaration of war. As nothing was further from the wishes of Spain than a war with France, this reply effectually crushed all hopes of aid from that quarter. A subsequent application to the King of Naples was frustrated in a similar way.

On the 29th of August, 1859, the French Minister at Rome, the Duke de Grammont, had an audience of the Pope, and stated to him the wishes of the Emperor in regard to the Legations. He declared that the people had themselves cast off the Roman authority, which had indeed been exercised in such a way as to merit the disapproval of other nations; that he could not interfere consistently with his own position, to restore them to a Government which they hated, and advised him to consent to their separation, he having the right, for the first time only, to nominate the governor of the new republic. The Pope expressed the greatest surprise at these proposals, and indicated in the strongest terms, his determination never to relinquish any of the rights of the Holy See. "In that case," replied the Duke de Grammont, "France will withdraw her troops from Rome." The Pope is said to have answered: "Your Government, then, wishes to dethrone me. It knows that, with the revolutionary spirit which is

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abroad in Italy, the withdrawal of its troops to-day will be the signal for the outbreak of the revolution to-morrow."

The first result of the refusal of the French Emperor to restore the Legations to the Pope, was the consummation of the revolution in these provinces. On the 6th of September, the national assembly of Bologna voted unanimously the cessation of the Roman authority, and the following day the same body decreed annexation to the constitutional kingdom of Victor Emanuel, and appointed a deputation to present their petition to that monarch. The interview for its presentation was held on the 24th of September, and the result, though favorable, was not decisive. Formal annnexation took place, however, as a result of popular suffrage in the Legations on the 11th of March, 1860. The vote for annexation was almost unanimous. In the interval between the presentation of their petition and this suffrage for annexation, a pamphlet, evidently inspired by the French Emperor, and entitled *Le Pape et le Congrès*, had appeared, (December 22, 1859,) which had dexterously combated the claims of the Pope to a temporal sovereignty, and declared its incompatibility with his spiritual domination. This pamphlet produced an extraordinary effect, rousing the ultramontane and clerical party in France and all over Europe to intense hostility to the Emperor, (*see* FRANCE,) and resulting in the abandonment of the proposed European Congress on Italian affairs, inasmuch as the Austrian Government required an engagement from the French Government neither to bring before the Congress the measures which the pamphlet advocated, nor to support them if brought forward by others—an engagement which the French Government would not consent to make.

Foiled in his attempts to enlist the aid of foreign powers in the subjugation of his former provinces, the Pope now appealed to the faithful throughout Europe to furnish him with the men and means for recovering his lost patrimony. M. De Lamoricière, a French general of high reputation, volunteered to take command of his troops. Large collections of Peter's pence were made throughout the Catholic world, and volunteers from Belgium, Austria, and Ireland joined the Roman army in considerable numbers. By the end of May, 1860, Lamoricière found himself at the head of 18,000 men, a force he believed fully equal to the reduction of the provinces which had annexed themselves to Sardinia. After spending the summer in disciplining his force, he took armed possession in September of the fortress of Ancona and other points in Umbria and the Marches of Ancona, to put down by force the tendencies to revolt which were daily becoming more evident there. Garibaldi was at this time engaged in the revolution of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and had entered Naples on the 8th of September. The people of Umbria and the Marches had appealed to the Sardinian Government for protection against the army of Lamoricière, which, like the Swiss mercenaries, was guilty of great outrages. Count Cavour on the 8th or 9th of September, had despatched an ultimatum to the court of Rome, demanding the immediate disbandment of that army as an offence against the public conscience of Italy and Europe. This demand being refused, on the 11th of September, the Sardinian army under command of General Cialdini crossed the Roman frontiers, welcomed everywhere by the people. Perugia, Spoleto, Pesaro, Fano, and Sinigaglia surrendered in rapid succession, and by a forced march of 38 leagues in 24 hours, Cialdini succeeded in reaching the heights of Osimo and Castel Fidardo, and thus prevented the junction of Lamoricière with the other Roman troops. The latter was thus compelled to give battle; and though he had 10,000 men and Cialdini but 8,000, yet after a sharp fight of some hours, Lamoricière was completely routed, his army scattered, and he himself abandoned the field and fled with a few attendants to Ancona. Cialdini pursued the Roman forces to Loreto, and captured the entire body. Ancona only now remained to the Pope of the whole provinces of Umbria and the Marches, and this Cialdini captured after a few days' siege. The result was a further accession, again by popular suffrage, to the Sardinian sway, of Umbria, with a population of 472,639; the Marches of Ancona, with 924,055 inhabitants; and Viterbo, with 129,372; leaving under the sway of the Pope only the comarca of Rome, Civita Vecchia, Velletri, and Frosinone, with an aggregate population of only 562,787 inhabitants. Though the number of his subjects were so greatly reduced, the Pope abated nothing of his demands.

In vain have the French Emperor and the King of Italy sought to pacify and arrange the complicated affairs of temporal Rome. To every proposition aimed at an adjustment of the existing difficulties, which looks to the restriction or abdication of his temporal sovereignty, the sole reply of the Pope is, "*Non possumus*," (we cannot.)

In consequence of the encouragement of the insurrection in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies by the King of Sardinia, France and Russia withdrew their ambassadors from Turin; and the former power, by stationing its fleet in the harbor of Gaeta, prevented an attack upon that fortress, the stronghold of Francis II., by the Sardinian navy. Convinced at last of the impossibility of the recovery of his ancient kingdom by that monarch, the French emperor withdrew his squadron early in February, and on the 14th of that month Gaeta surrendered, and the ex-king of Naples escaped on board a French war steamer to Rome, where he remained during the year, endeavoring, as opportunity offered, to raise insurrections, and encourage brigandage in his former dominions. Messina surrendered on the 13th of March, and Civitella on the 20th.

The reorganization of the newly-acquired

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territory of the Italian king in such a way as to encourage and promote free institutions, commerce, agriculture, and education, which occupied the Italian parliament for some time, progressed favorably. The prime minister counselled patience and forbearance in relation to Rome, and curbed the fiery spirits, who proposed forcible measures; he also advocated delay and patience in regard to Austria, believing that her Hungarian troubles would enure to the benefit of Italy, and that Venetia might be gained without a war.

The following statement shows the debt of the new kingdom in 1861, and the different sources from which it has been accumulated; the new kingdom, of course, assumes the debts of its constituent States.

Debt of the Kingdom of Sardinia previous to 1848	$27,000,000
Debt of the Kingdom of Sardinia created between 1848 and 1860	204,994,119
Duchy of Parma	2,111,643
Added under the administration of Farini	1,000,000
Duchy of Modena	2,211,236
Added under the administration of Farini	1,000,000
Duchy of Tuscany	30,416,000
Added during the administration of Ricasoli	11,384,000
States of the Church annexed to Sardinia	3,515,424
Administration of Marquis Pepoli	2,600,000
Kingdom of the Two Sicilies	110,000,000
Loan contracted by the New Kingdom	140,000,000
Total debt	$536,032,422

Diplomatic relations were renewed between France and Italy in June, but accompanied by declarations on the part of the former power, of non-responsibility for, and non-approval of, certain measures of the latter. The position of the country at the close of the year in relation to the two great questions, the probable possession of Rome as its capital, and the future annexation of Venetia, was not entirely satisfactory.

The people of the late Neapolitan kingdom, so long oppressed, and kept in ignorance and degradation, by the grinding tyranny of the Bourbon kings, seem hardly fitted to appreciate the liberty they have gained; and disorders have been rife there through the year, fermented in part, doubtless, by the emissaries of Francis II., whose residence at Rome gives him ample opportunities for such intrigues, but partly also resulting from the license indulged in by a people unaccustomed to liberty. The suspense to which the nation has been subjected by the delay in the solution of the great questions so vital to its national unity and completeness, have exerted an unfavorable effect upon it. Rome is its natural capital, and no jealousies would be raised against its selection, but that Naples, and Turin, Milan, Florence, and Genoa, are rival cities, and the residence of the court at either, excites the envy of the others. The condition of Venetia under the oppressive rule of Austria, excites the sympathy of the adjacent States for her, and their indignation against her oppressor; and that calmness and peace essential to a nation's prosperity can only be attained when the dreams of her great statesmen are realized, and the whole of Italy owns but the sway of a single ruler, and is united under a free and liberal Government, with its capital on the banks of the Tiber.

ITURBIDE, Madame Huate de, ex-Empress of Mexico, and widow of the first and only emperor of Mexico of European descent, Augustin de Iturbide, died in Philadelphia, March 21, 1861, at the age of about 70 years. Since the execution of her husband by the Mexican Government in 1824, she had resided with her family in Philadelphia, and was endeared to a considerable circle of friends by her amiable and excellent qualities. One or two of her sons have resided in Mexico of late years, and have held places under the Mexican Government, from which she received a pension. Augustin de Iturbide, one of the best men whom Mexico has nurtured, was the leader of that country in throwing off the Spanish yoke, and a grateful people pressed upon him the imperial crown. He refused their importunities, till, by a vote of 77 to 15, the Congress forced it upon him, and on the 18th of May, 1822, he was crowned Emperor of Mexico, with the title of Augustin I. The machinations of Santa Anna, the evil genius of Mexico, soon detached the people from him, and, on the 20th of March, 1823, after a turbulent reign of less than a year, he abdicated, and permission was granted him to leave the country, with a pension of $25,000 per annum. He went to Italy, but returned the succeeding year to Mexico, where, meantime, without his knowledge, he had been proscribed as a traitor. Gen. Garza, then Governor of Tamaulipas, under the guise of friendship, betrayed him to the Congress of that State, by whom he was immediately arrested and, without trial, sentenced to death, and executed on the 19th of July, 1824, within a week from the time of his landing, and before an appeal could be made to the General Government of Mexico. He died like the hero and brave man that he was, and in his death Mexico lost one of her best and purest patriots.

J

JAPAN, an empire of Eastern Asia, called by the natives Niphon or Nipon, from the name of its largest island. The whole empire is insular, and comprises the islands of the great Archipelago, separated from the coast of China by the Sea of Japan. The number of islands is said to be about 1,000. The largest are: Niphon, 900 miles long, with an average breadth of 100 miles, and having an area of nearly 100,000 square miles; Kiusiu, having an area

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of 16,000 square miles; and Sikokf about 10,000 square miles. Beside these, Yesso having an area of 3,000 square miles, was conquered and colonized by the Japanese, who also held until 1861 the southern part of Saghalien, and the Kurile Isles, as well as the important islands of Tsus-sima, in the straits of Corea. These last, together with Saghalien and one of the principal ports of Yesso, have come into the possession of Russia during the past year. The present area of the empire does not probably exceed 150,000 square miles. The number of inhabitants is uncertain, but judging by the density of the population of the islands visited by foreigners, cannot be less than 35,000,000 to 40,000,000. They are all of the Mongol race, but possess greater mental activity and capacity for the acquisition of knowledge than any other nations belonging to that race. In many respects they have attained to a high degree of civilization. Their attainments in the useful arts are extraordinary, surpassing in some particulars those of any of the nations of the West. Their manufactures of silk, lacquered ware, paper, iron, steel, and the precious metals are unrivalled. They imitate perfectly our manufactures, and Colt's revolvers, Sharpe's rifles, Yankee clocks, steam engines, Dahlgren guns, bomb-shells, &c. &c., are made as perfectly, and, owing to the low price of labor, at a much less cost at Nagasaki than in our workshops here. In literature and science, also, they have made great attainments. The prevalent religion of the country is Buddhism, though some others are tolerated. After the return of the Japanese ambassadors, who visited the United States in the summer of 1860, there were considerable disturbances in the country. The prime minister of the civil Emperor (for they have two emperors, a spiritual sovereign who presides over religious affairs, and a civil emperor who attends to secular matters) was assassinated, it was believed at the instigation of Prince Mito, one of the most powerful nobles of the empire, who was opposed to intercourse with foreign nations. A few months later, Prince Mito himself was assassinated. An attempt was made about the same time to assassinate several of the foreign ambassadors; the consul of the Netherlands was killed, and Mr. Olyphant, connected with the British legation, was wounded. The Japanese Government endeavored to discover and punish the assassins, and a number of them were put to death. It also promised a strong guard to protect them whenever they had occasion to go from their residences to other parts of the city or country. The British minister, Mr. Alcock, was nevertheless very much dissatisfied with the Japanese Government, and continually appealed to his Government to commence a war against them. The representative of the United States, Mr. Townsend Harris, on the contrary, as the result of a long acquaintance with the people, and a disposition to accord to them the same rights and privileges which he sought to obtain from them, has uniformly defended their course towards foreign merchants, as in strict adherence to the terms of the treaties they have made with them, and in this position he has been sustained by the representatives of Holland and Prussia. Mr. Harris believed that the surest way of building up an important and mutually valuable commerce between the Japanese and our citizens, was to secure their confidence in our disposition to treat them honorably and fairly, and not in any case to take advantage of their ignorance of western customs, and the results are demonstrating the correctness of his views. During the year 1861, the Emperor of Japan sent ambassadors to France, and subsequently to England; in neither case, however, admitting in the delegation, as was done in the case of the ambassadors to this country, nobles of high rank. Treaties have been made during the past year by the Japanese Government with Russia, and with Prussia. A large number of costly and beautiful presents were sent to the Government of the United States, by the Tycoon or Japanese Emperor, in return for those sent by this Government to Japan, and the gifts of individuals were also honorably acknowledged by liberal presents. Mr. Harris, the able representative of the United States at the court of Japan for several years past, and the negotiator of the first commercial treaty of any value, in 1858, requested his recall in 1861, on account of ill health, and was replaced by Robert H. Pruyn, Esq., of Albany. The treaty made by Mr. Harris has been the model on which the treaties of the other nations have been based; and while in one or two instances reductions in the duties paid on goods imported from western nations have been made, as for instance by the English on cotton, woollen, and linen goods, the treaty contains a provision by which American exports will be admitted on the same terms with those of any other nation.

JEFFERSON, FORT. This fort, on one of the Dry Tortugas, covers the entire surface of Garden Key, and has an area of thirteen and a half acres. It is designed to mount 298 guns, when finished. About the 15th of January, eighty soldiers were first sent to the fort. There were at this time three hundred men on the island, who had been engaged in the advancement of the work. This fortification was subsequently well garrisoned by the United States, and its construction is still going forward, a number of United States Volunteers having been sent thither to work upon it, as a punishment for mutinous conduct. About January 20, while a United States steamer was landing troops and supplies, the steamer Galveston, of New Orleans, appeared in sight, with a Confederate force on board, for the purpose of taking the fort; but, upon discovering the steamer, and probably understanding the object of her visit, the Galveston did not approach, or make any demonstration other than to put about and disappear.

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KANSAS, a central State of the American Union, bounded N. by Nebraska Territory; E. by Missouri; S. by the Indian Territory; W. by Colorado Territory. Population in 1860, 107,110. The Missouri River washes it on the N. E., and the Kansas and Osage tributaries of the Missouri, and the Arkansas and its affluents, drain it. It was admitted into the Union as a State in the congressional session of 1860–61.

Kansas has been, from its first organization as a territory, the scene of much suffering and distress; a border warfare ravaged it for nearly five years, and it had not emerged from the effects of the marauding forays, when, in the summer and autumn of 1860, it was visited by a terrible drought, which in the most populous districts completely cut off the crops. The famine which followed in the winter of 1860–'61, was terrible. Thousands were reduced to the verge of starvation, and a considerable number actually perished. The liberality of the other States, and their large contributions of grain, clothing, &c., alleviated, to a considerable extent, the suffering. In the spring of 1861, at the first call for troops for the war, the citizens of Kansas, inured, by their bitter experiences in the past, to war, volunteered in large numbers, and the State, in proportion to its population, furnished more soldiers than any other State in the Union.

The condition of Missouri, on her eastern border, which the secessionists were struggling to carry out of the Union, necessarily excited much feeling among the citizens of Kansas, and the recollection of the wrongs and indignities which her people had suffered from the "border ruffians," as they were designated, most of whom were inhabitants of Missouri, stimulated some of those who had suffered most, to acts of revenge, and a guerilla warfare, known in that region as "jay-hawking," ensued through most of the border counties, in which armed bands of either party, Unionist or Secessionist, visited the town, plundered the stores, laid the prominent citizens adhering to the other under contribution, or took them prisoners, and sometimes threatened them with instant death. In the counties at some distance from the border these outrages were less frequent, though occasionally occurring. In the autumn of 1861, preparations were made for organizing an army corps, to go from Kansas through the Indian Territory and S. W. Arkansas towards New Orleans, and it was proposed to place it under the immediate command of Gen. James H. Lane, then Senator from Kansas, and to give subordinate command to Col. Jennison, a noted Union guerilla leader, and some others of the prominent actors in the previous struggles in the State. Owing to some difficulties in regard to the chief command, arising from misapprehensions between Gen. Lane and Gen. David Hunter, the former relinquished his leadership in the present year and returned to the Senate, and the expedition was finally abandoned.

KENT, Victoria Maria Louisa, Duchess of, the mother of the present queen of Great Britain, born in Saxe-Coburg, Aug. 17, 1786, died at her palace of Frogmore, near Windsor, England, March 16, 1861. She was the daughter of Francis, Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld, and sister of Leopold, the present king of Belgium. She married at an early age Emil, Prince of Leiningen, by whom she had one son, Prince Karl, who afterwards became an eminent officer in the Bavarian army, and died in Nov. 1856. The Prince of Leiningen died in 1814, and after four years of widowhood, the princess married May 29th, 1818, Edward, Duke of Kent, 4th son of George III., and on the 11th July the same year the ceremony of marriage was again performed in England, and according to the rites of the English Church. In Jan. 1820, the Duke of Kent died, leaving the duchess again a widow with one child, the Princess Victoria, who, by the death of the Princess Charlotte Augusta, daughter of George IV., and the want of issue on the part of the Duke of Clarence, afterwards William IV., became heir presumptive to the English throne.

Looking forward to this as her probable destiny, the Duchess of Kent spared no pains to qualify her daughter to fulfil the high duties of that station well. Her education, physical, moral, and intellectual, was entirely conducted under her own supervision, and the carefulness of her training has been manifest in the admirable manner in which the present queen has acquitted herself as daughter, wife, and mother. At the time of her marriage with the Duke of Kent, that nobleman, exalted as was his station, was in very straitened circumstances, and the early years of the present queen were passed in comparative poverty. After her daughter's accession to the throne, she did not intermeddle at all with public affairs, but confined herself to the exercise of a maternal watchfulness over her welfare and that of her family, and to the dispensation of charities to the poor and unfortunate, which was the delight of her life. The funeral services were imposing, as the relations of the deceased duchess to the sovereign demanded. The body lay in state for ten days, and on the 26th was removed to Windsor, where the funeral ceremonies were performed in the Chapel Royal, and the body was temporarily deposited in the royal vault, till the completion of a mausoleum at Frogmore. Most of the courts of Europe, with a number of which the deceased was connected, went into mourning for her death.

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KENTUCKY, one of the Western States, is bounded north and northwest by Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, from which it is separated by the Ohio River; east by the Big Sandy River and Cumberland Mountains, which separate it from Virginia; south by Tennessee; and west by the Mississippi River, which separates it from Missouri. The population in 1860 was 1,155,713, of whom 10,146 were free colored, and 225,490 slaves. The ratio of increase during the last ten years was as follows: white, 20.84; free colored, 1.35; slave, 6.87. Contiguous on the north to the Free States, and on the south to the Slave States, she occupies a central position among all the States. Her territory extends four hundred miles in length, and one hundred and seventy miles in width, at the widest portion, opposite Cincinnati, in Ohio. The Governor is elected for four years. The Legislature meets on the first Monday in December. The Senate consists of thirty-eight members elected for four years, and the House of one hundred members elected for two years. (*See* NEW AMERICAN CYCLOPEDIA.)

The first movement in Kentucky looking towards future events, consisted in a correspondence which took place at the close of the year 1860, between Governor Magoffin and the Commissioners from Alabama, relating to the coöperation of Kentucky with the Southern States. The following extract expresses the views of the Governor of the State, at this time:

"You ask the coöperation of the Southern States in order to redress our wrongs. So do we. You have no hope of a redress in the Union. We yet look hopefully to assurances that a powerful reaction is going on at the North. You seek a remedy in secession from the Union. We wish the united action of the Slave States assembled in convention within the Union. You would act separately; we, unitedly. If Alabama and other Slave States would meet us in convention, say at Nashville, or elsewhere, as early as the fifth day of February, I do not doubt but we would agree in forty-eight hours upon such reasonable guarantees, by way of amendments to the Constitution of the United States, as would command at least the approbation of our numerous friends in the Free States, and by giving them time to make the question with the people there, such reaction in public opinion might take place as to secure our rights and save the Government."

On the 8th of January, a Convention of the Union party, and the friends of Senator Douglas was held for the purpose of expressing their opinion on the difficulties of the country. Their resolutions manifested a patriotic spirit of devotion to the Union, and a firm determination to have the rights of Kentucky respected and maintained in the Union. They declared in favor of a Convention of the Border Slave and Border Free States, for the purpose of devising some basis of compromise by which the Union might be saved, and proposed contingently a Confederacy of such States as were willing to accept the Constitution as proposed to be amended by Senator Crittenden. They declared unalterable repugnance to a war with their brethren, North or South, and expressed a willingness to support Mr. Lincoln's Government unless he undertook coercion or civil war.

The Governor, in his Message to the adjourned session of the Legislature, asked their approval of the Crittenden resolutions, and submitted the propriety of providing for the election of delegates to a Convention, to assemble at an early day, to determine the future inter-State and Federal relations of Kentucky. Meanwhile he would leave no experiment untried to restore fraternal relations between the States. He recommended a Convention of the Border Slave States, to meet early in February at Baltimore. He said the hasty and inconsiderate action of the seceding States did not meet his approval, but objected to coercing them, and asked the Legislature to declare by a resolution their unconditional disapprobation by Kentucky of the employment of force against them.

On the 22d of January, resolutions were passed in the House declaring that in view of the tenders of men and money by several of the Northern States, to the General Government, the people of Kentucky, uniting with their brethren of the South, will resist such invasion of the soil of the South at all hazards and to the last extremity. Subsequently, resolutions were passed inviting the States to unite with Kentucky in an application to Congress to call a convention to amend the Constitution.

On the 1st of February, a resolution was passed in the Senate declaring it to be inexpedient at that time to take any action towards calling a State Convention. The vote was, Ayes 25, Noes 14. On the next day, resolutions were passed in the Senate, appealing to the Southern States to stop the revolution, protesting against Federal coercion, and providing that the Legislature reassemble on the 24th of April, to hear the responses from sister States; also, in favor of making an application to Congress to call a National Convention.

The House of Representatives, on the 5th of February, passed another resolution stating their action in favor of a National Convention, and also the appointment of delegates to the Peace Conference at Washington, and therefore conclude that it "is unnecessary and inexpedient for this Legislature to take any further action on this subject at the present time. As an evidence of the sincerity and good faith of our propositions for an adjustment, and an expression of devotion to the Union, and desire for its preservation, Kentucky awaits with deep solicitude the response from her sister States."

The Legislature adjourned on the 11th of February, to meet again on the 20th of March. With regard to the action of this body while in session, it may be said that the recommendation of the Governor in favor of the call of a con-

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vention fell upon unheeding ears, while the bill to arm the State, when it was not proposed that Kentucky should make war upon any one, and no one proposed to make war upon her, also failed to command the respect which its advocates claimed for it. Indeed, Kentucky, having shown that she intended to stand by the Union to the last, and that the rash and precipitate policy of her Southern seceding sisters did not meet her sanction, now awaited to see if the North would but do justice, as she considered it.

Under instructions from the Treasury Department of the Confederate States, its revenue officers now required manifests to be delivered and entries to be made of all merchandise coming down the Mississippi from States beyond the limits of the Confederacy. The subject was brought up before the Legislature of Kentucky at its session in March, and the following resolutions were adopted:

Whereas this General Assembly is informed that certain persons acting as a Congress of the seceding States have assumed power to obstruct and regulate the free navigation of the Mississippi River by the citizens of this Union, to whom it belongs: therefore be it

Resolved, by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, That Kentucky having as much right to the Mississippi River, to its free, unobstructed navigation, as Louisiana or any other State, and that right being of vital importance to her people, feels it her duty to herself and her sister States, at the earliest day, to make this her most solemn protest against any assumption of such power to control the navigation of that river as utterly without right or proper authority, and as what she cannot and will not submit to.

Resolved further, That the States in the valley of the Mississippi be earnestly requested to unite with Kentucky in this protest against the violation of a mutual right so vitally important to them all, and which their permanent interests forbid should ever rest in the discretion of any Government save that under which they live.

Resolved, That the Governor be requested to transmit copies of these resolutions to the Executives of the States aforesaid.

The attack upon Fort Sumter and the call of President Lincoln for seventy-five thousand men, were turned to the utmost advantage by the friends of the seceded States, to promote their cause. Kentucky, however, refused to take part either with the North or the South. Her Governor issued a proclamation convening an extra session of the Legislature, on the 27th of April.

In answer to the requisitions of the Secretary of War, the Governor sent the following reply by telegraph:

FRANKFORT, (KY.,) *April* 15, 1861.

Your despatch is received. In answer, I say, emphatically, Kentucky will furnish no troops for the wicked purpose of subduing her sister Southern States.

B. MAGOFFIN, Governor of Kentucky.

Hon. SIMON CAMERON, Secretary of War.

The State Union Committee issued an address to the people on the condition of the country, declaring it to be the duty of the State to maintain neutrality, and to take no part either with the Government or the Confederates. Kentucky, they said, could not comply with the appeal of the Government without outraging her solemn convictions of duty, and without trampling upon that natural sympathy with the seceding States which neither their contempt for her interests nor their disloyalty to the Union had sufficed to extinguish. She could not comply with the appeal of the seditious leaders in her midst without sullying her unspotted loyalty, destroying her most vital interests, quenching in the blood of her own sons the last hope of reëstablishing the Union, and lashing her free destiny amidst the clash and fury of arms to the chariot-wheels of the Gulf Alliance. She ought clearly to comply with neither the one appeal nor the other. And, if she be not smitten with judicial blindness, she would not. The present duty of Kentucky was to maintain her present independent position, taking sides not with the Government, and not with the seceding States, but with the Union against them both; declaring her soil to be sacred from the hostile tread of either, and, if necessary, making the declaration good with her strong right arm. And, to the end that she might be fully prepared for this last contingency, and all other possible contingencies, they would have her arm herself thoroughly at the earliest practicable moment.

At Louisville, on the evening of the 19th, a Union meeting was held, at which Mr. Guthrie, once Secretary of the U. S. Treasury, and other prominent men, made speeches. He opposed the call of the President for volunteers for the purposes of coercion, or the raising of troops for the Confederacy; asserted that secession was no remedy for the pending evils, and that Kentucky would not take part with either side; at the same time declaring her soil sacred against the hostile foot of either. Resolutions were adopted that the Confederate States having commenced the war, Kentucky assumed the right to choose her position, and that she would be loyal until the Government became the aggressor.

On the 3d of May, the Governor issued his proclamation ordering an election on the 30th of June, for members to the extra session of Congress.

An extra session of the Legislature was also called for the 6th of May.

On the 4th, an election was held for delegates to the Border State Convention, at which the vote was overwhelmingly in favor of the Union, being nearly two-thirds of the entire vote at the election in November, 1860. The vast majority of Kentuckians were manifestly more aroused than ever before, to the absolute importance of the Union and to the indispensable necessity of its preservation for themselves and their posterity, as well as for the people of the whole country; and they were as manifestly determined to stand firm and quiet on their own soil, to keep the peace at home and along the border, and steadily to strive for its restoration and establishment.

The vote for Union Delegates to the Conven-

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tion, in all the counties of the State except eighteen, was 98,561. The aggregate presidential vote in November was 146,216.

On the 17th, in the Legislature, the suspension of specie payments by the banks of the State was authorized.

The House also passed a series of resolutions declaring that Kentucky should maintain a strict neutrality during the present contest, and approving of the refusal of the Governor to furnish troops to the Federal Government under the existing circumstances.

Subsequently, the Governor issued a proclamation with the following warning:—

I hereby notify and warn all other States, separate or united, especially the United and Confederate States, that I solemnly forbid any movement upon Kentucky soil, or occupation of any post or place therein, for any purposes whatever, until authorized by invitation or permission of the Legislative and Executive authorities. I especially forbid all citizens of Kentucky, whether incorporated in the State Guard or otherwise, from making any hostile demonstrations against any of the aforesaid sovereignties, to be obedient to the orders of lawful authorities, to remain quietly and peaceably at home when off military duty, and refrain from all words and acts likely to provoke a collision, and so otherwise to conduct themselves that the deplorable calamity of invasion may be averted; but in the mean while to make prompt and efficient preparation to assume the paramount and supreme law of self-defence, and strictly of self-defence alone.

A resolution that this proclamation stated the position that Kentucky should occupy, was rejected in the House on the 22d of May. The State Guard were also required to take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States.

The Border State Convention assembled at Frankfort on the 27th of May. Kentucky and Missouri only were represented. An address was issued to the people of Kentucky declaring that the direct question before the people of the United States and of Kentucky, the grand and commanding question, was, Union or no Union, Government or no Government, Nationality or no Nationality; that Kentucky had no cause of complaint with the General Government, and no cause of quarrel with the Federal Constitution; that Kentucky would continue to be loyal to the Constitution, the Government, and the flag of the United States, and to refuse alliance with any who would destroy the Union or commit the great wrong of deserting their posts in the National Congress; that Kentucky would remain true to herself and loyal to the constitutional administration of the General Government, appear again in the Congress of the United States, insist upon her constitutional rights in the Union, not out of it, and insist on the integrity of the Union, its Constitution, and its Government.

At the election on the 30th of June, the Union Representatives to Congress were chosen from all the districts of the State except the 1st. In this district H. C. Burnett, State Rights, was chosen. With the exception of Boone County, the official return of the votes was as follows:—

	Union.	*S. Rights.*
First District	6,225	8,988
Second "	9,271	3,363
Third "	10,392	3,113
Fourth "	10,344	2,469
Fifth "	8,217	2,719
Sixth "	8,101	227
Seventh "	11,035	2,862
Eighth "	8,272	5,706
Ninth "	12,230	3,722
Tenth "	8,373	4,526
	92,460	37,700
	37,700	
Total Union majority	54,760	

Volunteers from Kentucky entered both the Union and the Confederate armies. Those attached to the former were ordered to Western Virginia, and there entered into active service.

So stringent had the restrictions upon all intercourse between the North and the South now become that commerce was to a great degree cut off, except by the route of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad. It had long become manifest that the blockade of the South would not be complete unless the transit of supplies through Kentucky was stopped. But how this should be effected while Kentucky was herself in so doubtful a position, was a question not easily determined. The authorities of Tennessee solved it, however, by placing a complete embargo on the Tennessee end of the road.

They forbade the exportation of cotton, tobacco, rice, and turpentine to Kentucky. From their own point of view the act was one of folly, for the freight sent North was never one-fifth part of that sent South, and at that moment especially must have been vastly inferior in importance to the constant supply of provisions flowing into Tennessee from Louisville. They thought, however, that they could afford the step, and therefore forbade all exports from Tennessee.

This cut the knot as to the enforcement of the blockade at Louisville. It put an end to all scruples on the part of Kentucky, except among the open sympathizers with secession; it placed the secessionists in the wrong in "neutral" eyes, and gave the Government firm ground on which to stand. The blockade being undertaken with vigor, those who were forwarding supplies to the secessionists attempted to break it by legal proceedings. They crowded the Louisville freight stations with merchandise consigned to Nashville, and sued the company as common carriers for refusing to receive and forward it. The decision of the Court justified the company in its course of obedience to the Federal Government, and gave to the Government the authority of legal approval, as well as the sympathy of right-minded citizens. It still remained, however, for the Tennessee secessionists, in their wisdom, to conceive one more plan for perfecting the work undertaken by the Government. This scheme they carried out on the fourth of July, by stop-

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ping the running of cars on the railroad altogether, and by doing this in such a manner as to seriously injure a great interest in Kentucky.

Of this proceeding we have the following account:—

The Louisville and Nashville Railway is 286 miles in length, forty-five miles of it lying in Tennessee. These forty-five miles cost $2,025,000, of which Tennessee contributed in all bonds to the amount of $1,160,500, the remaining $864,500 being raised by the Kentucky owners. On the first of July a Tennessee General, named Anderson, ordered the company to keep a larger amount of its rolling stock at Nashville. James Guthrie, president of the company, stated, however, that "there being no provision in the charter to the effect that the company should be subject to the military orders of Tennessee, the order was not complied with." On the 4th of July, General Anderson seized two trains that were about to leave Nashville, and one that came in, together with such machinery as could be found in Tennessee, and then called for a fair division of the rolling stock of the road, and agreed that while arrangements were in progress for this end the trains should be uninterrupted; but to this Mr. Guthrie astutely made answer that he could thus have no guarantee against the interference of others besides General Anderson, who was supposed to be acting under orders. This brought out the Governor of Tennessee as the real actor in the matter, for he at once replied to Mr. Guthrie with a proposition to continue the use of the road while a division of property was made. Mr. Guthrie at once rejoined, disproving the charge made by the Tennessee authorities, that their end of the road had not hitherto had its share of the rolling stock, and showing the impossibility of managing the road under Governor Harris's proposition.

The result was that the road was closed. The Kentucky stockholders declared that their chartered rights in Tennessee had been no protection to their property, and refused to risk any more property within the limits of that State. All questions as to the blockade upon this route were therefore disposed of by the breaking up of the route itself. The secessionists felt the extent of their error, for they urged Governor Magoffin to seize the Kentucky end of the road, and to run it in connexion with Governor Harris; but it was evident that such a step would only serve to remove the last scruple on the part of Union men as to forcible resistance to the bold plans of the secessionists in Kentucky.

The question as to the transit of provisions to the South by this railroad was thus settled, and, although it did not close other routes through Kentucky, which were equally important, the controversy which had sprung up took such a turn as to have an important effect throughout the State, stimulating the Union men everywhere to a more active support of the Government. A small encampment of Federal troops was formed in Garrard County, which occasioned some excitement, as it was an infringement of the neutrality assumed by Kentucky. Letters were addressed to the commanding officer, Gen. Nelson, asking the special object which the Government had in view in the establishment of the camp called "Camp Dick Robinson." In reply, the commanding officer said, "The troops assembled here have been called together at the request of Union men of Kentucky. They are intended for no hostile or aggressive movement against any party or community whatever, but simply to defend Kentucky in case they are needed for that purpose, preserve its tranquillity, and protect the rights of all the citizens of the State under the Constitution and the laws; and the object of myself and all the officers in command will be, by all honorable means, to maintain that peace and tranquillity." Commissioners were then sent by the Governor to President Lincoln to insist on the neutrality of the State.

Governor Magoffin, in his letter to the President, said:—"In a word, an army is now being organized and quartered in this State, supplied with all the appliances of war, without the consent or advice of the authorities of the State, and without consultation with those most prominently known and recognized as loyal citizens. This movement now imperils that peace and tranquillity which from the beginning of our pending difficulties have been the paramount desire of this people, and which, up to this time, they have so secured to the State.

"Within Kentucky there has been, and is likely to be, no occasion for the presence of military force. The people are quiet and tranquil, feeling no apprehension of any occasion arising to invoke protection from the Federal arm. They have asked that their territory be left free from military occupation, and the present tranquillity of their communication left uninvaded by soldiers. They do not desire that Kentucky shall be required to supply the battle-field for the contending armies, or become the theatre of the war.

"Now, therefore, as Governor of the State of Kentucky, and in the name of the people I have the honor to represent, and with the single and earnest desire to avert from their peaceful homes the horrors of war, I urge the removal from the limits of Kentucky of the military force now organized and in camp within the State. If such action as is hereby urged be promptly taken, I firmly believe the peace of the people of Kentucky will be preserved, and the horrors of a bloody war will be averted from a people now peaceful and tranquil."

To this the President replied:—"In all I have done in the premises I have acted upon the urgent solicitation of many Kentuckians, and in accordance with what I believed, and still believe, to be the wish of a majority of all the Union-loving people of Kentucky.

"While I have conversed on this subject with many eminent men of Kentucky, includ-

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ing a large majority of her members of Congress, I do not remember that any one of them, or any other person, except your Excellency and the bearers of your Excellency's letter, has urged me to remove the military force from Kentucky, or to disband it. One other very worthy citizen of Kentucky did solicit me to have the augmenting of the force suspended for a time.

"Taking all the means within my reach to form a judgment, I do not believe it is the popular wish of Kentucky that this force shall be removed beyond her limits; and, with this impression, I must respectfully decline to so remove it.

"I most cordially sympathize with your Excellency in the wish to preserve the peace of my own native State, Kentucky. It is with regret I search, and cannot find, in your not very short letter, any declaration or intimation that you entertain any desire for the preservation of the Federal Union."

A similar letter was addressed by the Governor to the President of the Confederate States. In the reply, President Davis said:—"The Government of the Confederate States of America neither intends nor desires to disturb the neutrality of Kentucky. The assemblage of troops in Tennessee to which you refer had no other object than to repel the lawless invasion of that State by the forces of the United States, should their Government approach it through Kentucky, without respect for its position of neutrality. That such apprehensions were not groundless has been proved by the course of that Government in Maryland and Missouri, and more recently in Kentucky itself, in which, as you inform me, 'a military force has been enlisted and quartered by the United States authorities.'

"The Government of the Confederate States has not only respected most scrupulously the neutrality of Kentucky, but has continued to maintain the friendly relations of trade and intercourse which it has suspended with the people of the United States generally.

"In view of the history of the past, it can scarcely be necessary to assure your Excellency that the Government of the Confederate States will continue to respect the neutrality of Kentucky so long as her people will maintain it themselves.

"But neutrality, to be entitled to respect, must be strictly maintained between both parties, or if the door be opened on the one side for the aggressions of one of the belligerent parties upon the other, it ought not to be shut to the assailed when they seek to enter it for the purpose of self-defence.

"I do not, however, for a moment believe that your gallant State will suffer its soil to be used for the purpose of giving an advantage to those who violate its neutrality and disregard its rights, over those who respect them both."

It should be stated that previous to this correspondence, Kentucky had been invaded by Tennessee forces, and six cannons and a thousand stand of arms taken. The Confederate Congress, on August 7th, passed an act authorizing enlistments in Kentucky. The Legislature assembled on the 2d of September, and on the 5th a large barbecue was to be held in Owens County, about twelve miles from the seat of Government. The apprehensions of the Unionists were greatly excited on this occasion. The State Guard were invited to attend; they consisted of an organized body of troops about fifteen thousand strong, under the control of the friends of secession in the State. Intimidation of the Legislature was feared. Happily, the affair passed over without any special interest. A Peace Convention was also to be held on the 10th of the same month, which awakened apprehensions of an attempt to organize the secession force. But these likewise proved groundless. The Legislature stood 27 Union and 11 Southern Rights Senators, and 76 Union and 24 Southern Rights Representatives. The message of the Governor to the Legislature on the 5th of September, asserted that Kentucky had a right to assume a neutral position in the war; that she had no agency in fostering a sectional party in the Free States, and did not approve of separate action and the secession of the Southern States. Lawless raids had been suffered on both sides, private property seized, commerce interrupted, and trade destroyed. These wrongs had been borne with patience, but a military Federal force had been organized, equipped, and encamped in a central portion of Kentucky, without consultation with the State authorities. If the people of Kentucky desired more troops, let them be obtained under the Constitution of Kentucky. He recommended the passage of a law to enable the Military Board to borrow a sufficient sum to purchase arms and munitions for the defence of the State. He also recommended the passage of resolutions requesting the disbanding or removal of all military bodies not under State authority, from the State.

On the same day the Legislature were notified that Confederate troops had invaded the State, and occupied and fortified strong positions at Hickman and Chalk Bluffs. Governor Harris, of Tennessee, replied to a demand of the Kentucky authorities, that the troops "that landed at Hickman last night did so without my knowledge or consent, and I am confident without the consent of the 'President.' I have telegraphed President Davis requesting their immediate withdrawal."

Gen. Polk, in command of the secession forces, in reply to the Governor of Kentucky, stated that he had occupied Columbus and Hickman, in Kentucky, on account of reliable information that the Federal forces were about to occupy the said points. He proposed substantially that the Federal and Confederate forces should be simultaneously withdrawn from Kentucky, and enter into stipulation to respect the neutrality of the State.

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In the proclamation issued on the 4th of September, General Polk gives this reason for invading Kentucky:—"The Federal Government having, in defiance of the wishes of the people of Kentucky, disregarded their neutrality by establishing camp depots for their armies, and by organizing military companies within the territory, and by constructing military works on the Missouri shore immediately opposite and commanding Columbus, evidently intended to cover the landing of troops for the seizure of that town, it has become a military necessity for the defence of the territory of the Confederate States that a Confederate force should occupy Columbus in advance."

On the 9th, the Governor communicated the following to the Legislature:—"The undersigned yesterday received a verbal message, through a messenger, from Gov. Harris. The message was that he (Gov. H.) had, by telegraphic despatch, requested Gen. Polk to withdraw the Confederate troops from Kentucky, and that Gen. Polk had declined to do so; that Gov. Harris then telegraphed to Secretary Walker, at Richmond, requesting that Gen. Polk be ordered to withdraw his troops from Kentucky, and that such order was issued from the War Department of the Confederacy; that Gen. Polk replied to the War Department that the retention of the post was a military necessity, and that the retiring from it would be attended by the loss of many lives. This embraces the message received."

On the same day, the Governor also received the following by telegraph from Gen. Polk:

"Gov. B. Magoffin: A military necessity having required me to occupy this town, Columbus, I have taken possession of it by the forces under my command. The circumstances leading to this act were reported promptly to the President of the Confederate States. His reply was, the necessity justified the action."

As a matter of course, the invasion of the State by the Tennessee troops brought in a Federal force under Gen. Grant from Cairo. Thus ended the neutrality of Kentucky. It was on the 6th of September that Gen. Grant, with two regiments of infantry and a company of light artillery, in two gun-boats, took possession of Paducah, Kentucky. He found secession flags flying in different parts of the town, in expectation of greeting the arrival of the Southern army, which was reported to be 3,800 strong, and only sixteen miles distant. The loyal citizens tore down the secession flags on the arrival of the Federal troops. Gen. Grant took possession of the telegraph office, railroad depot, and the marine hospital. He found large quantities of complete rations, leather, etc., for the Southern army.

He issued a proclamation saying that he came solely for the purpose of defending the State from aggression, and to enable the State laws to be executed.

On the 11th of September, the Assembly of the Legislature adopted a resolution directing the Governor to issue a proclamation ordering the Confederate troops to evacuate Kentucky soil. The vote was seventy-one against twenty-six. The House refused to suspend the rules to allow another resolution to be offered ordering the proclamation to be issued to both Federals and Confederates.

This resolution was subsequently passed by the Senate, and vetoed by the Governor. It was then passed, notwithstanding the Governor's objections, by a vote in the House of 68 to 26, and in the Senate of 25 to 9. The Governor then issued his proclamation as follows:

In obedience to the subjoined resolution, adopted by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, the Government of the Confederate States, the State of Tennessee, and all others concerned, are hereby informed that "Kentucky expects the Confederate or Tennessee troops to be withdrawn from her soil unconditionally."

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my name, and caused the seal of the Commonwealth to be affixed. Done at Frankfort this the 13th day of September, A. D. 1861, and in the seventieth year of the Commonwealth. B. MAGOFFIN.

By the Governor:

Thos. B. Monroe, Jr., Secretary of State.

"*Resolved, by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky*, That his excellency Governor Magoffin be and he is hereby instructed to inform those concerned that Kentucky expects the Confederate or Tennessee troops to be withdrawn from her soil unconditionally."

On the 17th, the Senate passed a bill punishing the refusal to give up the State's arms, when ordered by the Military Board, by fine and imprisonment. The House concurred.

This abolished the State Guard.

The House adopted resolutions in favor of paying the war tax, and against the recognition of the Southern Confederacy.

Preparations were commenced in the State for different military movements.

While General Polk was thus invading the State on the west, General Zollicoffer was operating on the east. With about four thousand men he came to Cumberland Ford, which is situated near the point where the corner of Virginia runs into Kentucky, and captured a company of Home Guards. On the 17th, the Legislature received a message from Governor Magoffin communicating a telegraphic despatch from General Zollicoffer, announcing that the safety of Tennessee demanded the occupation of Cumberland, and the three long mountains in Kentucky, and that he had done so, and should retain his position until the Union forces were withdrawn, and the Union camp broken up.

On the 18th, the Committee on Federal Relations reported a series of resolutions, requesting Major Anderson, the commander at Fort Sumter when it was captured, to take command of the forces of the State. They manifest very distinctly the sentiments of the people at this time, and were as follows:

Whereas Kentucky has been invaded by the forces of the so-called Confederate States, and the commanders

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of the forces so invading the State have insolently prescribed the conditions upon which they will withdraw, thus insulting the dignity of the State by demanding terms to which Kentucky cannot listen without dishonor, therefore,

Resolved, That the invaders must be expelled.

Inasmuch as there are now in Kentucky Federal troops assembled for the purpose of preserving the tranquillity of the State, and of defending and protecting the people of Kentucky in the peaceful enjoyment of their lives and property, it is

Resolved, That General Robert Anderson, a native Kentuckian, who has been appointed to the command of the Department of Cumberland, be requested to take instant command, with authority and power from this Commonwealth to call out a volunteer force in Kentucky for the purpose of repelling the invaders from our soil.

Resolved, That in using the means which duty and honor require shall be used to expel the invaders from the soil of Kentucky, no citizen shall be molested on account of his political opinions; that no citizen's property shall be taken or confiscated because of such opinions, nor shall any slave be set free by any military commander; and that all peaceable citizens who remain at home and attend to their private business until legally called into the public service, as well as their families, are entitled to and shall receive the fullest protection of the Government in the enjoyment of their lives, their liberties, and their property.

Resolved, That his Excellency, the Governor of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, be requested to give all the aid in his power to accomplish the end desired by these resolutions, and that he issue his proclamation calling out the militia of the State, and that he place the same under the command of General Thomas L. Crittenden.

Resolved, That the patriotism of every Kentuckian is invoked and is confidently relied upon to give active aid in the defence of the Commonwealth.

The decision expressed by these resolutions was hailed with great satisfaction by the friends of the Union.

It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of this act on the part of that great State. Whether viewed in its relations to the material or moral aspects of the civil strife in the land, the active adhesion of Kentucky to the national cause was a momentous event. But it was specially valuable for the testimony it bore to the rightfulness and the necessity of the belligerent issue which the National Government had been compelled to accept.

These resolutions were vetoed by the Governor, and then passed by the requisite vote over his veto. His objection to the resolutions was thus stated:

"I cannot concede my constitutional right, as the Commander-in-Chief of the State, to designate the particular officer or officers to be employed in executing the will of the Legislature. General T. L. Crittenden, the officer designated by the resolution, has had many proofs of my confidence. He has my confidence now, and in this service I would not hesitate to employ him, but at the same time I reserve the point that it is not within the province of the Legislature to limit the constitutional right of the Governor and Commander-in-Chief to choose such of his subordinate officers as he may deem best fitted to enforce the execution of the laws of the State."

Colonel Crittenden, of Indiana, was the first to bring a regiment from another State into Western Virginia in aid of the Federal Government, and was the first to go to the aid of Kentucky. His regiment, well armed, passed through Louisville on the 20th towards the Nashville depot, and were enthusiastically received. At the same time General Buckner, once the Inspector-General of Kentucky, but afterwards a Brigadier in the Confederate service, advanced on Elizabethtown, the capital of Hardin County, and on the railroad from Louisville to Nashville, forty-three miles south by west of the latter. Troops were now rapidly concentrated in the State, and despatched to points invaded by the Confederates.

General Robert Anderson assumed command of the State and National forces, and issued a proclamation, calling upon Kentuckians of all parties to assist in repelling the invaders of the State. Governor Magoffin also issued a proclamation, directing General Thomas L. Crittenden to call out the State troops to resist the invasion of the State, and Gen. C. accordingly called out the militia. Hamilton Pope, Brigadier-General of the Home Guard, also called upon the people in each ward in Louisville to organize themselves into companies for the protection of the city.

Thus was Kentucky launched with her whole soul into the bloody contest for the maintenance of the Government and the preservation of the Union.

On the 23d the House passed a bill authorizing the Military Board to borrow one million dollars, in addition to a million authorized May 24th, on the State bonds, payable in ten years, and established a tax to pay the bonds and interest. The above sum was to be appropriated to the defence of the State.

On the next day, a bill was passed calling out 40,000 volunteers for service from one to three years. The votes were, in the House, 67 to 13, and in the Senate, 21 to 5. The Senate also passed a bill providing that Kentuckians who voluntarily joined the Confederate force invading the State, should be incapable of taking estate in Kentucky by devise, bequest, division, or distribution, unless they returned to their allegiance within sixty days, or escaped from the invaders as soon as possible.

A bill was also passed tendering the thanks of the Legislature to Ohio, Illinois and Indiana, for having so promptly forwarded troops to aid in repelling the invasion of the State; and the Governor was instructed to communicate the same.

On the 1st of October, a resolution requesting John C. Breckenridge and Lazarus W. Powell to resign their seats as Senators in Congress, as they did not represent the will of the people of Kentucky; and, if they declined to comply, the Senate of the United States was respectfully requested to investigate their conduct, and if found to be in opposition to the Federal Government, to expel them from their seats, passed by a vote of 20 yeas to 5 nays, and was sent to the House, and passed by a vote of 55 to 31.

A bill for a loan of $2,000,000 was also passed. The Bank of Kentucky promised her quota of the two millions for the defence of the State. The

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Bank of Louisville, whose quota was nearly $100,000, promised $200,000. The Northern Bank promised $25,000 more than her quota; and the Farmers' Bank promptly responded to her quota. So soon after the first step was Kentucky brought fully into the field with arms and money for the cause of the Union.

The Legislature then took a recess until November 27th. Previous to this adjournment, an address was issued by that body to the people of the State, on "the condition of the State, and the duties they had felt called upon to perform." The condition of the State is thus briefly related:

We have ardently desired peace, and hoped to save Kentucky from the calamities of war. When the Federal authorities deemed it necessary to employ force in self-defence, and to execute the laws of the Government, we assured our Southern neighbors of our purpose not to take up arms voluntarily against them, notwithstanding their wicked attempt to destroy the Government from which we and our fathers have received the greatest benefits. Every effort was made, both before and after the employment of force, to effect some compromise and settlement that would restore the Union, and prevent the effusion of blood.

The Federal Government did not insist upon our active aid in furnishing troops, seeming content if we obeyed the laws and executed them upon our own soil. Those engaged in rebellion, however, with hypocritical professions of friendship and respect, planted camps of soldiers all along our Southern border; seized, by military power, the stock on our railroad within their reach, in defiance of chartered rights; impudently enlisted soldiers upon our soil for their camps, whom they ostentatiously marched through their territory. They made constant raids into this State, robbed us of our property, insulted our people, seized some of our citizens and carried them away as prisoners into the Confederate States. Our military was demoralized by the treachery of its chief officer in command, and many of its subordinates, until it became more an arm of the Confederate States than a guard of the State of Kentucky. Thus exposed to wrongs and indignities, with no power prepared to prevent or resent them, some of the citizens of this State formed camps under the Federal Government for the defence and protection of the State of Kentucky. Whatever might have been thought of the policy once, recent events have proved that they were formed none too soon.

In this condition we found Kentucky when the Legislature met, on the first Monday in September. We still hoped to avoid war on our own soil. We were met by assurances from the President of the Confederate States that our position should be respected; but the ink was scarcely dry with which the promise was written, when we were startled by the news that our soil was invaded, and towns in the southwest of our State occupied by Confederate armies. The Governor of Tennessee disavowed the act, and protested his innocence of it. His commissioners at Frankfort professed the same innocence of the admitted wrong; but our warnings to leave were only answered by another invasion in the southeast of the State, and a still more direct and deadly assault upon the very heart of the State by way of the Nashville road. These sudden irruptions of such magnitude, skilfully directed, show that the assault on Kentucky was preconcerted, prepared and intended long before. The excuses made for any of them but add insult to injury. We shall not repeat them. They are but excuses for acts intended, without any excuse.

The purpose is to remove the theatre of the war from the homes of those who wickedly originated it, to those of Kentucky, and to involve this State in the rebellion. This purpose appeared to be well understood in the seceded States. They need the territory of Kentucky, and are determined to have it, if it must be by blood and conquest.

Thus forced into war, we had no choice but to call on the strong arms and brave hearts of Kentucky to expel the invader from our soil, and to call for the aid of the Federal Government, as we had a right to do under the Federal Constitution.

Our foes would dictate terms to a brave people upon which we can have peace. We are required to join them in their unwarrantable rebellion, become accessory to their crimes, and consent to sacrifice the last hope of permanently upholding republican institutions, or meet their invasions as becomes Kentuckians.

We believe we have done our duty to a chivalric people who have forborne long, but will never fail as a last resort to resent an injury and punish an insult. We should hold ourselves unworthy to represent you if we had done less. The only error, we fear, is that we have not been as prompt, you may think, as the occasion demanded.

Thrice have the revolutionists appealed to the ballot-box in this State, and thrice have the people expressed, by overwhelming majorities, their determination to stand by the Union and its Government. They have not been active in this war, not from indifference or want of loyalty, but in the hope of better promoting a restoration of the Union, and checking the rebellion by that course. Our hope of an amicable adjustment, and a desire for peace, led us to forbear, until forbearance has ceased to be a virtue. The attempt to destroy the union of these States we believe to be a crime, not only against Kentucky, but against all mankind. But up to this time we have left to others to vindicate, by arms, the integrity of the Government. The Union is not only assailed now, but Kentucky is herself threatened with subjugation by a lawless usurpation. The invasion is carried on with a ruthless destruction of property, and the lives and liberties of our people, that belong only to savage warfare.

We have no choice but action, prompt and decided. Let us show the insolent invaders that Kentucky belongs to Kentuckians, and that Kentucky's valor will vindicate Kentucky's honor. We were unprepared because unsuspecting. An insolent and treacherous invader tells the people that their legislators have betrayed them; and he comes with fire and sword to correct their error, by a crusade against property, liberty, and life.

The position taken by the Legislature was fully sustained by the people, and upon the reassembling of that body on the 27th of November, very emphatic resolutions were adopted. The following extract shows their character:

Resolved, by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, That Kentucky has ever cherished and adhered to the Federal Union, and she will cling to it now, in this time of its extremest peril, with unfaltering devotion. While at the beginning of the mad and wicked war which is being waged by the rebellious States for the destruction of the Government, she forebore to take part, in the hope that she might interpose her friendly offices in the interests of peace, she has, nevertheless, sternly repelled every movement which looked to a change of her political relations, and has never swerved from her full and fervid loyalty to the noblest and freest Government in the world. And now, since her proffered mediation has been spurned, and her soil invaded by the Confederate armies, she deems it fit that she should announce to the world that, standing firmly by her Government, she will resist every effort to destroy it; and she calls upon her true and heroic sons to rally around the standard of their country, and put forth the whole energies of the Commonwealth till the rebellion shall be overthrown, and the just supremacy of the National Government shall be restored and maintained everywhere within its limits.

Resolved, That the existing civil war, forced upon the National Government without cause by the dis-

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unionists, should not be waged upon the part of the Government in any "spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of any of the States, free or slave, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the several States unimpaired; and that as soon as these objects are accomplished the war ought to cease."

Resolved, That in the adoption of the foregoing resolution by the National Congress, with unprecedented unanimity, at its late session, a rule of action was prescribed to the Government from which it cannot depart without a disregard of the plighted faith of the National Legislature, which we would be slow to believe can be seriously entertained. Against any such departure we solemnly protest.

Resolved, That the purpose expressed in said resolution is the great end demanded, and that which inspires Kentucky with patriotic ardor to seek their achievement with all her loyal energies and means, in the confident hope of success, and belief that the country, saved, in our triumph, to us and to posterity, will still be glorious in the freedom of its people, in the unity of its Government, and the security of society, and worth infinitely more than it cost to save it.

Resolved, That slavery is a State institution, guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, and we cannot agree that the National Government, to which we are and intend to be loyal, shall undertake the emancipation of slaves against the will of the slave-holding States.

Great honor will ultimately be given to the State of Kentucky, for the course pursued by her during the year. Her position of determined neutrality at first taken, was to some extent a consequence of her geographical situation. Refusing to take sides with either North or South, her coolness moderated the fiery impetuosity of both. At the same time she was an enviable acquisition to each. The Federal Administration, desirous to secure her hearty co-operation, saw plainly that it could not be obtained on any other terms than that of the Constitution and the rights of the States. And every position taken by the Administration has been of such a conservative character as to meet the ultimate approval of the people of that State. Amid all the efforts of extreme partisans in the Northern States to press the President into measures looking to emancipation, nothing was effected. The certain loss of Kentucky, and with her Western Virginia and Missouri, stayed the Government, even if there had been any inclination to, or conviction of the propriety of, such measures. As a consequence, Kentucky voluntarily entered the field for the Union.

On the other hand, the hopes of the Confederate Government that Kentucky would join the Confederacy, were extremely sanguine. The position of her people was undoubtedly neutral at heart. Extreme measures on the part of the Federal Government would, without doubt, have made her a seceding State. Indeed, so confident were the friends of the Confederate Government of her ultimate secession that a Convention was called by them to organize the forms of that movement. This party was called a "Sovereignty Convention." It met at Russellville about the 27th of November, and was in session during three days.

It passed a Declaration of Independence and an Ordinance of Secession. A Provisional Government, consisting of a Governor, Legislative Council of ten, a Treasurer and an Auditor, was agreed upon. George W. Johnson, of Scott, was made Governor. The Legislative Council appointed was composed of Willis B. Machen, of Logan; John W. Crockett, of Henderson; James P. Bates, of Barren; James B. Cristman, of Wayne; Phil. B. Thompson, of Mercer; J. P. Burnside, of Warren; H. W. Bruce, of Louisville; J. W. Moore, of Montgomery; E. M. Bruce, of Nicholas; and George B. Hodge, of Campbell.

The Commissioners to Richmond were H. C. Burnett, W. E. Simms, and Wm. Preston. All executive and legislative powers were vested in the Governor and Council. Acts done by the Provisional Government were to have the concurrence of a majority of its members; the Council were authorized to fill vacancies, but no councilman should be made Governor to fill a vacancy. The old Constitution and laws of Kentucky were declared in force, except where inconsistent with the acts of the Confederate Government. Bowling Green was fixed as the new capital. Fifty-one counties were said to be represented in the Convention by over two hundred members not elected by the people.

The military operations in the State, though marked by no great achievement during the year, were nevertheless the forerunner of very important results. Civil, commercial and agricultural pursuits had engrossed the entire attention of the people. In a military point of view the State, like nearly all her sister States, was entirely defenceless. Men, arms, ammunition, were abundant, but an organized, drilled, and completely equipped force, ready to take the field and go into active service on a day's notice, could not be expected to exist. Notwithstanding the position of neutrality, after President Lincoln's proclamation, imperfect organizations were formed, under the name of Home Guards. Their object was to drill novices, and impart the preliminary information needed for the future soldiers. These embraced considerable numbers, and finally formed the chief portion of the force obtained by the secessionists in the State. Large numbers also left the State, and volunteered in the Federal and Confederate armies.

The first appearance of a military force within Kentucky was made under General Polk, commander of Confederate troops from Tennessee, as has been previously stated. They commenced fortifying Hickman and Columbus. The former is situated in the western part of the State, near the Tennessee line, and the latter about twenty-five miles north, both on the Mississippi River. (*See* COLUMBUS.) Their force was soon increased to thirteen regiments of infantry, six field batteries, a siege battery, three battalions of cavalry, with three steamboats on the river. Subsequently, the force was concentrated at Colum-

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bus, which was very strongly fortified. At the same time, General Grant, commander of the Federal force at Cairo, took possession of Paducah, on the Ohio River. (*See* PADUCAH.) The distance between the two positions is forty-seven miles. The force of General Grant was two regiments of infantry, one company of light artillery, and two gunboats. These movements comprised the active military operations in the western part of the State during the year.

In the southeastern part of the State, Gen. Zollicoffer advanced from Tennessee with a considerable force of Confederate troops, and on the 18th of September a slight skirmish took place at Barboursville, between some of his men and a portion of Home Guards, but without any serious results on either side. The Confederate cavalry scoured the country in the vicinity of their camp, arrested prominent Union men, and destroyed their property. They also occupied the small towns in the vicinity. Subsequently, a portion of the same force entered Manchester, in Clay County, in the vicinity of the Cumberland Mountains. On the 1st of October, a retreat was commenced towards Barboursville, which was continued to the Cumberland Ford. This is fifteen miles within the limits of Kentucky, and was fortified by Gen. Zollicoffer; meanwhile, his advance was pushed to London, and the country ravaged. The salt-works in this region were an important possession to the Confederate force. In their rear was also the Cumberland Gap—a most important point—from which the East Tenn. & Va. R. R., 40 miles below, would be accessible to a Federal force. This railroad was one of the main lines for the transportation of supplies to the troops in Virginia. During this period, a Federal force of Ohio and Indiana troops, with some Kentucky volunteers, were advancing to hold the Confederates in check, and, if able, to rout them. This force was under the command of Gen. Schœpf. The first affair of any importance took place at a place called Camp Wildcat, on the 21st of October. About eleven o'clock in the forenoon, a body of Confederate troops, consisting of two regiments of Tennessee volunteers, under Cols. Newman and Bowler, advanced upon four companies of the Thirty-third Indiana regiment, Col. Coburn, and a portion of Col. Woodford's regiment of Kentucky cavalry. The Confederate force opened upon the Thirty-third Indiana on the left wing with cannon, and almost simultaneously their column appeared on the side of the hill, within sixty or seventy yards of the Indiana troops. A charge was ordered upon the latter, which was met with such a galling fire as brought the Tennesseans to a stand, when a charge by the Kentucky cavalry was made upon them, and they retired with severe loss. At one P. M. another attack was made at another point, and at a late hour a third attack was made by Gen. Zollicoffer. It was supposed that the Camp was defended only by a small force under Col. Garrard. The attacking force consisted of Mississippians, Georgians, and Tennesseeans. The opposing force was under Gen. Schœpf, consisting of Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky troops. The Confederates were generally armed with flint-lock muskets and altered locks, buckshot guns, and navy revolvers. The Federal force carried the Minié rifle. Reinforcements were added to each force during the day, and the different attacks were probably made after they were received by the Confederate commander. The Confederate troops were repulsed with severe loss, and retired to Barboursville. On the 10th of December, they were advancing with a strong force on Somerset, from which Gen. Schœpf retired.

On the 16th of December, Gen. Zollicoffer issued a proclamation to the people of southeastern Kentucky, as follows:

> The brigade I have the honor to command is here for no purpose of war upon Kentuckians, but to repel those Northern hordes who, with arms in their hands, are attempting the subjugation of a sister Southern State. They have closed your rivers, embargoed your railroads, cut off your natural and proper markets, left your stock and products on your hands almost valueless, and thereby almost destroyed the value of your lands and labor. We have come to open again your rivers, to restore the ancient markets to your produce, and thereby to return to you the accustomed value of your lands and labor. They have represented us as murderers and outlaws. We have come to convince you that we truly respect the laws, reverence justice, and mean to give security to your personal and property rights. They have forced many of you to take up arms against us. We come to take you by the hand as heretofore—as friends and brothers. Their Government has laid heavy taxes on you to carry on this unnatural war, which is openly avowed to be to set at liberty your slaves, and the ensuing step in which will be to put arms in their hands, and give them political and social equality with yourselves. We saw these things in the beginning, and are offering our hearts' blood to avert those dreadful evils, which we saw the Abolition leaders had deliberately planned for the South. "All men must have the *ballot* or none; all men must have the *bullet* or none," said Mr. Seward, the present Federal Secretary of State. How long will Kentuckians close their eyes to the contemplated ruin of their present structure of society? How long will they continue to raise their arms against brothers of the South struggling for those rights and for that independence common to us all, which was guaranteed to all by the Constitution of 1787? For many long years we remonstrated against the encroachments against rights, and the insecurity to that property thus guaranteed, which these Northern hordes so remorselessly inflicted upon us. They became deaf to our remonstrances, because they believe they had the power, and felt in every fibre the will "to whip us in." We have disappointed them. We have broken their columns in almost every conflict. We have early acquired a prestige of success which has stricken terror into the Northern heart. Their grand armies have been held in check by comparatively few but stern-hearted men; and now they would invoke Kentucky valor to aid them in beating down the true sons of the South who have stood the shock, and in bringing common ruin upon Kentucky and her kindred people. Will you play this unnatural part, Kentuckians? Heaven forbid! The memories of the past forbid! The honor of your wives and daughters, your past renown, and the fair name of your posterity, forbid that you should strike for Lincoln and the abolition of slavery against those struggling for the right of independence of your kindred race. Strike with us for independence and preservation of

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your property, and those Northern invaders of your soil will soon be driven across the Ohio.

This force encamped at Mill Spring, fortifying their position, in which Gen. Zollicoffer remained until the 19th of January, when he was killed, and his army routed by a strong force under Gen. Thomas, at the battle of Webb's Cross Roads or Mill Spring.

The small Federal force in Eastern Kentucky was under the command of Gen. Nelson, a Lieutenant in the Navy, who had been detached from his naval duties and sent to Kentucky, of which State he was a native, and well known to her citizens. Being furnished with arms by the Federal Government, he collected and organized a force in the eastern part of the State, near Virginia. With these he advanced, and on the 2d of November occupied Prestonburg without any resistance. The enemy fell back about six miles. At this place he issued the following proclamation, on the 5th of November:

Having this day occupied the town of Prestonburg with the force under my command, I declare to all whom it may concern: That the jurisdiction of the State of Kentucky is restored in this section of the State, and that the regular fall terms of the courts will be held in those counties in which the time for holding the same has not passed. And all civil officers are ordered to attend at the times and places of holding said courts, and attend to the duties of their respective offices.

His next movement was on Pikeville, near which a Confederate force under Gen. Williams had taken position. Pikeville is the capital of Pike County, on the west fork of the Big Sandy River. On the forenoon of the 7th, he despatched a force, under Col. Sill, of one regiment of infantry with a light battalion of three companies, and two companies of Kentucky volunteers mounted from the teams, and a section of artillery, to march by the way of John's Creek, and pass to the left of Pikeville, where was the Confederate position—a distance of about forty miles—and turn or cut them off. On the 8th, at 5 A. M., Gen. Nelson moved forward with three Ohio regiments, a battalion of Kentucky volunteers, and two sections of artillery, and took the State road direct to Pikeville, distant twenty-eight miles. Eight miles from Prestonburg they met a picket of about forty cavalry, which escaped. At one P. M., the cavalry had advanced along the narrow defile of the mountain that ends at Ivy Creek. This mountain is the highest along the river, very precipitous, and thickly covered with brush and undergrowth, and the road, which is but seven feet wide, is cut along the side of it, about twenty-five feet above the river, which is close under the road. The ridge descends in a rapid curve and very sharp to the creek, or rather gorge, where it makes a complete elbow. Behind this ridge, and along the mountain side, the enemy, seven hundred strong, lay in ambush, and did not fire until the head of the Kentucky battalion, Col. C. A. Marshall, was up to the elbow. Four were instantly killed and thirteen wounded, and the Kentuckians were ordered to charge. Col. Harris led his Second Ohio regiment up the mountain side with much gallantry, and deployed them along its face. Col. Norton, who had just reached the defile, led his Twenty-first Ohio regiment up the northern ridge of the mountain, deployed them along the creek, and made an attack. Two pieces of artillery were got in position on the road, and opened on the enemy. In an hour and twenty minutes the Confederate force dispersed and fled, leaving a number killed and wounded, of whom thirty were found dead on the field. The Federal loss was six killed and twenty-four wounded. In their retreat they obstructed the road by felling trees and burning or cutting all the bridges.

On the morning of the 10th, Gen. Nelson reached Pikeville, where Col. Sill had arrived, according to orders, on the previous day, having twice encountered mounted men. The result of these movements was so effectual, that, on the 10th, Gen. Nelson issued the following proclamation:

SOLDIERS!—I thank you for what you have done. In a campaign of twenty days you have driven the rebels from Eastern Kentucky, and given repose to that portion of the State. You have made continual forced marches over wretched roads, deep in mud. Badly clad, you have bivouacked on the wet ground, in the November rain, without a murmur. With scarcely half rations, you have pressed forward with unfailing perseverance. The only place that the enemy made a stand, though ambushed and very strong, you drove him from, in the most brilliant style. For your constancy and courage I thank you, and with the qualities which you have shown that you possess, I expect great things from you in future.

Thus closed the campaign in Eastern Kentucky. In the central part of the State the military movements were more extensive. Louisville, the head-quarters of the Union Department, is situated on the Ohio River, on the northern boundary of the State, and connected by river and railroad with all the Northern States, and by railroad with the localities of active operations near the borders of Central Tennessee. The level land on which the city is located, extends uninterruptedly south to Rolling Fork River, a stream two hundred feet in width and three feet deep. Crossing by bridge or a ford, a good road leads through a level country for two miles to a series of rugged hills, known as Muldraugh's Hills. The railroad follows a stream called Clear Creek, crossing it about half way up the ascent by a tresselwork ninety feet high, and two miles further south enters at its base Tunnel Hill. It emerges on a smooth level plain, which extends many miles south to Green River. Elizabethtown is four miles from Tunnel Hill and forty-two miles from Louisville. Nolin Creek is the first stream of any importance south of Elizabethtown, and fifty-three miles from Louisville. Munfordsville is on the right bank of Green River, and seventy-two miles from Louisville. Green River empties into the Ohio, and is navigable by steamboats most of the year. The railroad

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crosses it by an extensive bridge. Bowling Green is on the railroad, one hundred and fourteen miles from Louisville and seventy-one miles from Nashville. It is also at the head of navigation on Barren River, which flows into Green River thirty miles below. A branch railroad to Memphis commences here; the distance by which to Clarksville, on the Cumberland River, is 62 miles, and from thence to Memphis one hundred and fifty-seven miles. The importance of Bowling Green is manifest from its position at the junction of two roads leading into Tennessee, furnishing great facilities for transportation. The entrance of hostile forces into the western part of the State, in September, produced great excitement at Louisville. Union Home Guards began to assemble, and other Union troops began to arrive from Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. On the 18th of September, a body of the latter advanced to Rolling Fork, where they found the bridge had been destroyed by a hostile force under Gen. Buckner, formerly commander of the State Guard. This force was then five miles below, on Muldraugh's Hills, but subsequently withdrew to Elizabethtown. At this time Gen. Anderson, formerly in command at Fort Sumter, was ordered to the Department of Kentucky, and promoted to the rank of a brigadier-general. He immediately entered upon his duties, and on the 21st of September, issued the following proclamation:

KENTUCKIANS: Called by the Legislature of this my native State, I hereby assume command of this department. I come to enforce, not to make laws, and, God willing, to protect your property and your lives. The enemies of the country have dared to invade our soil. Kentucky is in danger. She has vainly striven to keep peace with her neighbors. Our State is now invaded by those who professed to be her friends, but who now seek to conquer her. No true son of Kentucky can longer hesitate as to his duty to his State and country. The invaders must, and, God willing, will be expelled. The leader of the hostile forces who now approaches is, I regret to say, a Kentuckian, making war on Kentucky and Kentuckians. Let all past differences of opinion be overlooked. Every one who now rallies to the support of our Union and our State is a friend. Rally, then, my countrymen, around the flag our fathers loved, and which has shielded us so long. I call you to arms for self-defence, and for the protection of all that is dear to freemen. Let us trust in God and do our duty as did our fathers.

Three days previously, Gen. Buckner, the commander of the Confederate force, issued a proclamation. It was dated at Bowling Green on the 18th.

TO THE PEOPLE OF KENTUCKY: The Legislature of Kentucky have been faithless to the will of the people. They have endeavored to make your gallant State a fortress, in which, under the guise of neutrality, the armed forces of the United States might secretly prepare to subjugate alike the people of Kentucky and the Southern States. It was not until after three months of covert and open violation of your neutrality, with large encampments of Federal troops on your territory, and a recent official declaration of the President of the United States not to regard your neutral position, coupled with a well-prepared scheme to seize an additional point in your territory, which was of such vital importance to the safety and defence of Tennessee, that the troops of the Southern Confederacy, on the invitation of the people of Kentucky, occupied a defensive post in your State. On doing so the commander announced his purpose to evacuate your territory simultaneously with a similar movement on the part of the Federal forces, whenever the Legislature of Kentucky shall undertake to enforce against both belligerents the strict neutrality which they have so often declared. I return among you, citizens of Kentucky, at the head of a force, the advance of which is composed entirely of Kentuckians. We do not come to molest any citizen, whatever may be his political opinion. Unlike the agents of the Northern despotism, who seek to reduce us to the condition of dependent vassals, we believe that the recognition of the civil rights of citizens is the foundation of constitutional liberty; and that the claim of the President of the United States to declare martial law, to suspend the privileges of the writ of habeas corpus, and to convert every barrack and prison in the land into a Bastile, is nothing but the claim which other tyrants have assumed to subjugate a free people. The Confederate States occupy Bowling Green as a defensive position. I renew the pledges of commanders of other columns of Confederate troops to retire from the territory of Kentucky on the same conditions which will govern their movements. I further give you my own assurance that the forces under my command will be used as an aid to the Government of Kentucky in carrying out the strict neutrality desired by its people, whenever they undertake to enforce it against the two belligerents alike.

On the 24th of September, Gen. Anderson issued another brief proclamation dated at Louisville, in which he said:

The Commanding General, understanding that apprehension is entertained by citizens of this State, who have hitherto been in opposition to the policy now adopted by the State, hereby gives notice that no Kentuckian shall be arrested who remains at home attending to his business, and does not take part, either by action or speech, against the authority of the General or State Government, or does not hold correspondence with, or give aid or assistance to those who have chosen to array themselves against us as our enemies.

General Anderson was soon compelled to resign his command, in consequence of ill health, and was succeeded by Gen. Sherman, who for the same reason retired, and was succeeded by Gen. Buell.

As early as the 10th of October, a very considerable Federal force was in Camp Dick Robinson, in Garrard County—which was daily becoming more formidable. At the same time the Confederate General Buckner, who had boasted of an intention to spend the winter in Louisville with his troops, began to retire to Bowling Green, and on the 13th, a portion of the iron bridge over the Green River was blown up. Friends in Louisville and throughout the State had given him strong assurances that if he would come to Louisville, or even to Bowling Green, at the head of a force capable of maintaining its position for a short time, reënforcements would immediately pour in by thousands, rendering his army too powerful to be resisted. Unquestionably he came with the full conviction that these assurances would be verified, but he found them all falsified. There was reason to believe that not more than a thousand men joined him.

Accumulations of Federal troops from the States north of the Ohio river, with stores for a vast army, were made during the month of

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November. On the part of the Confederates the same course was pursued. On the 1st of December, the Federal troops in the State were estimated at 70,000, of which there were nine regiments from Illinois, sixteen from Indiana, seventeen from Ohio, three from Pennsylvania, one from Michigan, three from Wisconsin, and two from Minnesota, and at least twenty-five thousand of her own soldiers. The army was well appointed, and with batteries of artillery and squadrons of cavalry to give it greater efficiency. The force of Kentucky alone, on the 10th of December, may be stated as follows:

Ready to be sworn in	17,200
To which add four regiments recruited in Camp Dick Robinson and in service . . .	4,000
Two regiments in Rousseau's Brigade . . .	2,000
Provost-Marshal's force at Louisville . . .	500
Kentuckians in the two regiments in Western Virginia, say	1,000
Residents of the State who went to other States and entered the service, say . . .	1,000
Recruited for the regular army, say	300
Making a force of	26,000

This vast force was looking ultimately to Nashville and the State of Tennessee; to withstand it, there was the force of Gen. Buckner, now estimated at thirty thousand men. No affair of importance occurred between these hostile troops during the year, except a small one at Munfordsville. (*See* MUNFORDSVILLE.)

Early the next year the Federal force commenced its march with brilliant success, and by the 1st of March, 1862, every Confederate soldier had left the State. The effect of such a state of affairs as existed in Kentucky, upon all industrial pursuits, can be more easily imagined than described. Trade was paralyzed, commerce destroyed, the happiest social relations forever extinguished, and citizens of every class deeply embarrassed or ruined. Many prominent individuals in the State joined the South and became leaders in the Confederate army, among whom may be named Humphrey Marshall and John C. Breckinridge. The latter was Vice-President of the United States during the previous term, and a Senator in Congress previous to his appointment to a brigadier-generalship in the Southern army.

Battles and Skirmishes in Kentucky in 1861.

Place.	Date.	Federal Loss.			Confed. Loss		
		Killed.	Wounded.	Prisoners.	Killed.	Wounded.	Prisoners.
Boston	Nov. 5	..	..	..	9	..	..
Buffalo Hill	Oct. 8	10	10	..	50	..	..
Cromwell	Oct. 28	..	..	..	2	5	..
Lucas Bend	Sept. 10	..	..	..	68	..	..
" "	Sept. 26	..	..	..	4	..	5
Morgantown	Oct. 31	..	..	..	loss	.	..
Prestonburg	Nov. 2	..	..	..	rout	..	..
Piketon	Nov. 11	6	22	..	22	..	..
Saratoga	Oct. 28	..	3	..	13	17	44
Wildcat	Oct. 21	4	20	..	..	..	..
Woodbury	Oct. 2[illegible]	1	..	..	50	..	..

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LACORDAIRE, JEAN BAPTISTE HENRI, a celebrated preacher of the Roman Catholic Church, born at Recey-upon-Ource, in the department of Côte d'Or, France, May 12, 1802, died in Paris, Dec. 1861. He was the son of a physician, at whose death his widow devoted herself to the education of her three sons in the Catholic faith. He entered the College of Dijon at an early age, and graduated in 1819 with the highest honor, but avowed himself, despite his mother's cares and anxieties, an infidel of the Voltairean School. He next entered upon a course of law studies at Dijon, and distinguished himself among his associates equally by his eloquence and his irreligious tendencies. Admitted to the bar in 1822, he came to Paris, and for 18 months practised his profession in the Court of Cassation. In 1824 he suddenly abandoned the law and entered the theological seminary of St. Sulpice. Here he became as remarkable for devotion as he had been before for scepticism, but carried his love of liberty into his new calling, and occasioned his superiors much anxiety by his erratic movements. In 1827 he was ordained to the priesthood, and soon after appointed almoner to the College of Henry IV., where he formed the acquaintance of Lamennais, the founder of a new system of politico-theology, in which ultra devotion to the Church was combined with the completest radicalism in politics. In 1830 Montalembert and Lamennais associated Lacordaire with them in founding a new journal, "*L'Avenir*," ("The Future,") for which they adopted the motto "God and Liberty," and which they announced was to be devoted alike to the absolute authority of the Pope and the people. The audacity of the theories propounded by this journal, and the vehemence of its language, soon caused its editors to be arraigned before the courts, where Lacordaire pleaded their cause and secured their triumphant acquittal. The Pope, Gregory XVI., in 1832 issued an encyclical letter, condemning in the severest terms the doctrines advanced in "*L'Avenir*," declaring "the whole idea of the regeneration of the church absurd, liberty of conscience a delirium, freedom of the press fatal, and inviolable submission to the prince a maxim of faith." Lacordaire, who with Montalembert had a short time previously established a free school without legal authorization, and by his eloquence in the court averted all the threatened penalties of the law except a trifling fine, was startled by the papal denunciations of the doctrines of *L'Avenir*, and hastened with his colleagues to effect a reconciliation. Lamennais was stubborn and defiant, but Lacordaire

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humbly submitted himself to the Holy Father, and on his return announced his determination thenceforward to know no other guide than the Church. He now gave his whole mind to preaching, and his conferences at Notre Dame drew a large assemblage of eminent men, attracted alike by his eloquence, his fervor, and his free discussion, under a religious guise, of all sorts of political and social questions. At the end of two years he again visited Rome, where he was favorably received by the Pope, and where he wrote his *Lettre sur le Saint Siége*, published in 1838, which is a solemn protest and argument against his former views as developed in *L'Avenir*. On his return to Paris he again preached for a time at Notre Dame, and then entered the convent of Minerva, and in April, 1840, took the Dominican habit, and added to his other titles that of founder of a new order of Dominicans. While in the convent he wrote his *Vie de Saint Dominique*, Paris, 1840, and in 1841 returned to Notre Dame, and with shaven head and white robe ascended the pulpit there and preached with a more intense fervor and a more burning eloquence than ever before. The ancient cathedral was crowded to hear him. In 1848, at the outbreak of the revolution, he was elected to the Constituent Assembly, and took his place with the most ultra-radical members; but finding himself in uncongenial society, he soon resigned. In 1853 some pointed political allusions in one of his sermons caused his temporary removal from Notre Dame, and the following year he retired permanently, and assumed the direction of the College of Sorreze in the department of Tarn. In Feb. 1860, he was elected to the French Academy as the successor of Alexis de Tocqueville. His health, which had not for some time been firm, and which he had impaired by the rigor of his asceticism, now failed, and he became sleepless and suffered from an intense exaltation of the brain and nervous system, which rendered the touch of even the most delicate fabric a torture, but gave to his intellect a preternatural activity. He dictated incessantly, and with the most extraordinary eloquence to a corps of amanuenses, who relieved each other in turn, and continued thus to pour out his thoughts till his days of suffering were finished by the utter exhaustion of his physical system. Besides the works already named, Father Lacordaire published *Considérations philosophiques sur le système de M. de Lamennais*, Paris, 1834, 8vo.; *Memoire pour le rétablissement en France de l'ordre des frères prêcheurs*, 1840, 8vo.; *Conférences de Notre Dame de Paris*, 1835–1850, 3 vols., 8vo.; *Conférences du R. P. Lacordaire prechées à Lyon et à Grenoble*, Lyons, 1845, 8vo.; *Sermons et Eloges Funèbres*, 1844–1847, 8vo.

LEBANON is a small village in Boone County, Missouri, about forty-two miles north by west from Jefferson City, the capital of the State.

On the 13th of October, a sudden dash was made upon a body of Confederate troops numbering about three hundred, by a Federal force, a few miles east of Lebanon. The Confederate force had gathered on the side of a hill on the right of a road running eastward, and were drawn up in line of battle, expecting an attack from a corn-field on the opposite side of the road. In this position they remained an hour and a half, when, suddenly, two companies of Federal cavalry, under Capts. Montgomery and Switzler, advanced over the brow of the hill in their rear, and plunged forward to within a hundred paces, delivering, at the same time, a destructive fire on the enemy, who were scattered and retired precipitately on the road towards Lebanon. Several of the Confederate force were killed, and thirteen taken prisoners.

LEESBURG is a handsome town, and the capital of Loudon County, Virginia. It is situated near the Kittoctan Mountains, three miles from the Potomac River. The streets are well paved, and the town is built in a substantial manner. It is 150 miles north of Richmond, 38 miles northwest of Alexandria, and about 20 miles south by east of Harper's Ferry. It is the termination of the Alexandria, Loudon, and Hampshire railroad. All the buildings of this road were destroyed by the Confederate troops when they evacuated this place on the 15th of June. This evacuation was immediately followed by its occupation by Union troops, under Col. Stone, who subsequently evacuated the place, when it was again occupied by Confederate troops, who remained in possession until withdrawn from northeastern Virginia.

LEXINGTON has been a thriving town, and the capital of Lafayette County, Missouri. It is in a high and healthy situation, on the right bank of the Missouri River, 120 miles, by the road, west of Jefferson City. The population was about 5,000.

On the 29th of August a body of Home Guards, with some United States regulars posted at Lexington, were attacked by a large Confederate force. The Federal force numbered 430, and was intrenched. The assailing party had no artillery, and were repulsed with a considerable loss, and subsequently withdrew. This attack showed the importance of sending forward reënforcements. Accordingly, on the 9th of September, the town was occupied by an Irish brigade under Col. Mulligan, which, in addition to a small force there, consisting of Home Guards, a few Kansas troops, a portion of the Missouri Eighth Regiment, and seven hundred of the Illinois Cavalry, swelled the number to 2,500 men. Soon after a Confederate force under Gen. Price threatened an attack upon them. No time was lost in the work of intrenching their position, chosen about midway between the new and old towns of Lexington, which are about a mile apart, connected by a scattering settlement. Midway stood a solid brick edifice, built for a college, and about this a small breastwork had been already begun. By Col. Mulligan's order this was extended, and the troops commenced the con-

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struction of an earthwork, ten feet in height, with a ditch eight feet in width, enclosing a large area, capable of containing a force of 10,000 men. The army train, consisting of numerous mule teams, was brought within this. The work was pushed with great vigor. This work went on for three days, or until Thursday, the 12th, at which time that portion of the works assigned to the Irish Brigade was well advanced, that of the Home Guard being still weak on the west or New Lexington side.

The college building, within the fortification, became Col. Mulligan's head-quarters. The magazine and treasure were stored in the cellar and suitably protected. The hospital of the troops was located just outside of the intrenchments, in a northwesterly direction. The river, at that point, is about half a mile wide, and about half a mile distant from the fortifications. The bluff there is high and abrupt, the steamboat landing being at New Lexington.

The artillery of Col. Mulligan consisted of five brass pieces and two mortars, but, having no shells, the latter were useless. The cavalry had only side-arms and pistols.

On the 12th, scouts and advanced pickets driven in reported the near approach of the Confederate force. The attack was led by Gen. Rains with a battery of nine pieces of artillery against the point least prepared to resist assault. The Confederates were repulsed, and the result warned them that they had no easy task on hand. The hospital, containing about twenty-four patients, was not spared by the assailants. Some of the sick were pierced with bayonets or sabres in their cots. The chaplain and surgeon of the brigade were taken prisoners.

Skirmishing continued for several days, during which the enemy brought more of their artillery into action. Messengers had been sent to Jefferson City by Col. Mulligan to urge the necessity of reënforcements, but they had been captured. At the same time, sufficient troops were sent out by the enemy to intercept any Federal reënforcements. Thus a party of 1,500 Iowa troops were met and forced to retire when they had arrived within sixteen miles of the river.

The situation of the Federal force was daily growing more desperate. Within their lines were picketed about the wagons and trains a large number of horses and mules, nearly three thousand in all, now a serious cause of care and anxiety; for, as shot and shell plunged among them, many of the animals were killed or wounded, and from the struggles of these latter the danger of a general stampede was imminent. The havoc in the centre of the intrenchment was immense. Wagons were knocked to pieces, stores scattered and destroyed, and the ground strewn with dead horses and mules.

On the 17th the water gave out, and being cut off from the river, the Union troops were reduced to great straits. Rations, also, began to grow short. Meanwhile, the contest continued with little cessation, as a brilliant moon shone all night. Gen. Price had sent to Col. Mulligan a summons to surrender, to which the latter sent a refusal, saying, "If you want us, you must take us." The Home Guard, however, had become discouraged and disheartened, and on the 21st, while Col. Mulligan was engaged in another part of the camp, a white flag was raised by Major Becker, of the Guards, in the portion of the intrenchments assigned to him. As soon as this was made known to Col. Mulligan, he ordered the flag to be taken down, which was done. The severest of the fighting during that day followed in a charge made upon the enemy's nearest battery. Subsequently, the Home Guards left the outer work and retreated within the line of the inner intrenchments, about the college building, refusing to fight longer, and here again raised the white flag, this time from the centre of the fortifications, when the fire of the enemy slackened and ceased. Under this state of affairs, Col. Mulligan, calling his officers into council, decided to capitulate, and Capt. McDermott went out to the enemy's lines, with a handkerchief tied to a ramrod, and a parley took place. Major Moore, of the brigade, was sent to Gen. Price's head-quarters, at New Lexington, to know the terms of capitulation. These were: that the officers were to be retained as prisoners of war, the men to be allowed to depart with their personal property, surrendering their arms and accoutrements. Reluctantly, this was acceded to.

At 4 P. M. on Sept. 21st, the Federal forces were marched out of the intrenchments. They left behind them their arms and accoutrements, reserving only their clothing. The privates, numbering some 1,500 strong, were first made to take the oath not to serve against the Confederate States, when they were put across the river, and, in charge of Gen. Rains, marched on Saturday night to Richmond, sixteen miles; whence, on Sunday, they marched to Hamilton, a station on the Hannibal and St. Joseph's railroad, where they were declared free to go wherever they pleased. While on this march they experienced generous and humane treatment, both from Gen. Rains and from the residents.

The Federal force at Lexington was composed of the Twenty-third Regiment, (Irish Brigade,) Col. Mulligan, 800; Thirteenth Missouri, Col. Peabody, 840; First Illinois, Col. Marshall, 500; Home Guards, Col. White, 500; total 2,640, with one 4, three 6, and one 12-pounders, and two 4-inch mortars. The Confederate force had been increased from 3,000 by the arrival of reënforcements to a large number, estimated at 20,000. It appears by the official report of Gen. Price, who took command at the outset, that, in addition to the large force he brought with him from the southwest, he was joined, before the battle, by the forces under Martin Green, Harris, Boyd, and Patten, all of whom participated in the siege. Green's force, when he crossed the river at Glasgow, was 2,500 men; Harris had 1,000 when he crossed;

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and Patten and Boyd had about 6,000. If, therefore, the army that Gen. Price brought with him from the southwest is put as low as 12,000, the total force that he brought to bear on the garrison at Lexington was 21,500. The force of the garrison was only 2,640 men. The loss of water, and the inferiority of numbers caused the surrender. Gen. Price says that the firing was continued for fifty-two hours. The enemy adopted for defence a breastwork of hempen bales, which they rolled before them as they advanced. Their loss they state at 25 killed and 72 wounded. The Federal loss in killed and wounded was estimated from 300 to 500. Gen. Fremont, upon hearing of this surrender, sent the following despatch to Washington:

HEAD-QUARTERS, WESTERN DEPARTMENT, ST. LOUIS, *Sept.* 23, 1861.

Col. E. D. Townsend, Adjutant-General:

I have a telegram from Brookfield that Lexington has fallen into Price's hands, he having cut off Mulligan's supply of water. Reënforcements 4,000 strong, under Sturgis, by the capture of the ferry boats, had no means of crossing the river in time. Lane's forces from the southwest, and Davis' from the southeast, upwards of 11,000 in all, could also not get there in time. I am taking the field myself and hope to destroy the enemy either before or after the junction of the forces under McCulloch. Please notify the President immediately. J. C. FREMONT, Major-Gen. Commanding.

Some remarks appeared in the St. Louis "Evening News" a few days after, commenting upon the neglect of the authorities at St. Louis to send out reënforcements, when the paper was immediately suppressed by Gen. Fremont, and its publisher and editor sent to prison, from which they were subsequently unconditionally released.

As a strategetical point, the loss of the town was a serious affair to the Federal cause, and a gain of no small value to the Confederates. Its possession would tend to retain that part of Missouri to the Union side, while its loss would expose Kansas, as well as the northern and western parts of Missouri.

About the 1st of October, on the approach of Gen. Fremont, Lexington was partly evacuated by the Confederate force. On the 16th, Major White, with one hundred and fifty men of the First Missouri, surprised the garrison which remained, and recaptured the town, with all the sick and wounded, also a quantity of guns, pistols, two cannon, and other articles. The garrison numbered about two hundred.

LINCOLN, ABRAHAM. By the election on the 6th November, 1860, he was chosen President of the United States. The vote, as counted by Congress, was proclaimed to be as follows:

The whole number of Electors appointed to vote for President of the United States is 303, of which a majority is 152. The state of the vote for President of the United States was:

For Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois,	180
For John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky,	72
For John Bell, of Tennessee,	39
For Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois,	12

On the morning of the 11th of February following, at 8 o'clock, Mr. Lincoln left Springfield, Illinois, for Washington, to undertake the discharge of the duties of his office. Hitherto, amid all the excitement, anxiety, and alarm of the country—the gloom that hung over commerce, the paralysis of trade and manufactures, and the threatening aspect of the South; amid the secession of States, the attempted dismemberment of the Union, and the efforts of the wisest of the Northern States met in a Convention, consisting of an Ex-President, Ex-Cabinet Ministers, Ex-Foreign Ministers, Ex-Senators, Ex-Members of the House of Representatives, Ex-Chief-Justices of State Courts, Ex-Chancellors, a Governor and Ex-Governors, and Ex-Attorney-Generals, to devise measures to stay the impending ruin; hitherto, indeed, not a word had passed his lips to lift the weight of doubt and trouble that oppressed his countrymen. As he went forth from his humble home to put on the robes of his majestic office, all eyes watched his steps. Secessionist, Unionist, Republican, listened with anxious interest to catch every sound he uttered, as a sign of what the unseen future would be. As he entered the car-house at the Springfield depot, he met over a thousand of his townsmen assembled, to bid him farewell. Shaking hands with them as he approached the train, he then stepped on the platform and spoke as follows:

"My friends: No one not in my position can appreciate the sadness I feel at this parting. To this people I owe all that I am. Here I have lived more than a quarter of a century. Here my children were born, and here one of them lies buried. I know not how soon I shall see you again. A duty devolves upon me which is perhaps greater than that which has devolved upon any other man since the days of Washington. He never would have succeeded except for the aid of Divine Providence, upon which he at all times relied. I feel that I cannot succeed without the same Divine aid which sustained him, and in the same Almighty Being I place my reliance for support; and I hope you, my friends, will all pray that I may receive that Divine assistance, without which I cannot succeed, but with which success is certain. Again, I bid you all an affectionate farewell."

Along the route, multitudes assembled at the railway stations to greet the Presidential party. At Toledo, after a salute and in response to repeated calls, Mr. Lincoln appeared on the platform and said:

"I am leaving you on an errand of national importance, attended, as you are aware, with considerable difficulties. Let us believe, as some poet has expressed it, 'Behind the cloud the sun is shining still.' I bid you an affectionate farewell."

The party next proceeded to Indianapolis, where Mr. Lincoln was welcomed by the Governor of the State, and escorted to a carriage, when a procession was formed, composed of both Houses of the Legislature, the public officers, the municipal authorities, military, and

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firemen. On reaching the "Bates House" the procession halted, and Mr. Lincoln was escorted to the balcony, from which he addressed the people:

"Fellow-citizens of the State of Indiana: I am here to thank you much for this magnificent welcome, and still more for the very generous support given by your State to that political cause, which I think is the true and just cause of the whole country and the whole world. Solomon says 'there is a time to keep silence;' and when men wrangle by the mouth, with no certainty that they mean the same thing while using the same words, it perhaps were as well if they would keep silence. The words 'coercion' and 'invasion' are much used in these days, and often with some temper and hot blood. Let us make sure, if we can, that we do not misunderstand the meaning of those who use them. Let us get the exact definitions of these words, not from dictionaries, but from the men themselves, who certainly deprecate the things they would represent by the use of the words. What, then, is 'coercion'? What is 'invasion'? Would the marching of an army into South Carolina, without the consent of her people, and with hostile intent towards them, be invasion? I certainly think it would, and it would be 'coercion' also if the South Carolinians were forced to submit. But if the United States should merely hold and retake its own forts and other property, and collect the duties on foreign importations, or even withhold the mails from places where they were habitually violated, would any or all of these things be 'invasion' or 'coercion'? Do our professed lovers of the Union, but who spitefully resolve that they will resist coercion and invasion, understand that such things as these, on the part of the United States, would be coercion or invasion of a State? If so, their idea of means to preserve the object of their great affection would seem to be exceedingly thin and airy. If sick, the little pills of the homœopathist would be much too large for it to swallow. In their view, the Union, as a family relation, would seem to be no regular marriage, but rather a sort of 'free-love' arrangement, to be maintained on passional attraction. By the way, in what consists the special sacredness of a State? I speak not of the position assigned to a State in the Union by the Constitution, for that is the bond we all recognize. That position, however, a State cannot carry out of the Union with it. I speak of that assumed primary right of a State to rule all which is less than itself, and to ruin all which is larger than itself. If a State and a County, in a given case, should be equal in extent of territory and equal in number of inhabitants, in what, as a matter of principle, is the State better than the County? Would an exchange of name be an exchange of rights? Upon what principle, upon what rightful principle, may a State, being no more than one-fiftieth part of the nation in soil and population, break up the nation, and then coerce a proportionably larger subdivision of itself in the most arbitrary way? What mysterious right to play tyrant is conferred on a district of country with its people, by merely calling it a State? Fellow-citizens, I am not asserting any thing. I am merely asking questions for you to consider. And now allow me to bid yon farewell."

In the evening Mr. Lincoln held a levee until 9 o'clock, when he retired. In the morning, before his departure for Cincinnati, he took occasion to thank his friends for the reception they had given him, and said he trusted they all might meet again under one flag and one Union.

Proceeding thence to Cincinnati, he arrived in the afternoon, and received a most enthusiastic welcome. Having been addressed by the mayor of the city, and escorted by a civic and military procession to the Burnet House, he there addressed the multitude in these words:

"Fellow-citizens: I have spoken but once before this in Cincinnati. That was a year previous to the late Presidential election. On that occasion, in a playful manner, but with sincere words, I addressed much of what I said to the Kentuckians. I gave my opinion that we, as Republicans, would ultimately beat them as Democrats, but that they could postpone the result longer by nominating Senator Douglas for the Presidency than they could in any other way. They did not, in any true sense of the word, nominate Mr. Douglas, and the result has come certainly as soon as ever I expected.

"I also told them how I expected they would be treated after they should have been beaten, and now wish to call their attention to what I then said:

"'When we do, as we say we will, beat you, you perhaps want to know what we will do with you. I will tell you—as far as I am authorized to speak for the opposition—what we mean to do with you. We mean to treat you as near as we possibly can, as Washington, Jefferson, and Madison treated you. We mean to leave you alone, and in no way to interfere with your institutions; to abide by all and every compromise of the Constitution. In a word, coming back to the original proposition, to treat you, as far as degenerate men—if we have degenerated—may, according to the example of those noble fathers, Washington, Jefferson, and Madison. We mean to remember that you are as good as we; that there is no difference between us other than the difference of circumstances. We mean to recognize and bear in mind always that you have as good hearts in your bosoms as other people, or as we claim to have, and to treat you accordingly.'

"Fellow-citizens of Kentucky, friends, brethren: May I call you such? In my new position I see no occasion and feel no inclination to retract a word of this. If it shall not be made good be assured that the fault shall not be mine." In the evening he had a reception, when large crowds called upon him.

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On the next morning, at 9 o'clock, he left Cincinnati, and arrived at Columbus at 2 o'clock. He was received with a national salute and every demonstration of enthusiasm. He visited the Governor in the Executive Chamber, and was subsequently introduced to the members of the Legislature in joint session, when he was formally welcomed by the Lieutenant-Governor, to whom Mr. Lincoln responded in these words:

"It is true, as has been said by the President of the Senate, that very great responsibility rests upon me in the position to which the votes of the American people have called me. I am deeply sensible of that weighty responsibility. I cannot but know, what you all know, that without a name—perhaps without a reason why I should have a name—there has fallen upon me a task such as did not rest upon the Father of his Country. And so feeling, I cannot but turn and look for the support without which it will be impossible for me to perform that great task. I turn, then, and look to the American people, and to that God who has never forsaken them.

"Allusion has been made to the interest felt in relation to the policy of the new Administration. In this, I have received from some a degree of credit for having kept silence, from others some depreciation. I still think I was right. In the varying and repeatedly shifting scenes of the present, without a precedent which could enable me to judge for the past, it has seemed fitting, that before speaking upon the difficulties of the country I should have gained a view of the whole field. To be sure, after all, I would be at liberty to modify and change the course of policy as future events might make a change necessary.

"I have not maintained silence from any want of real anxiety. It is a good thing that there is no more than anxiety, for there is nothing going wrong. It is a consoling circumstance that when we look out there is nothing that really hurts anybody. We entertain different views upon political questions, but nobody is suffering any thing. This is a most consoling circumstance, and from it I judge that all we want is time and patience, and a reliance on that God who has never forsaken this people."

On the 14th of February, Mr. Lincoln proceeded to Pittsburg. At Steubenville, on the route, in reply to an address by Judge Lloyd in behalf of the crowd present, he said:

"I fear that the great confidence placed in my ability is unfounded. Indeed, I am sure it is. Encompassed by vast difficulties, as I am, nothing shall be wanted on my part, if sustained by the American people and God. I believe the devotion to the Constitution is equally great on both sides of the river. It is only the different understanding of that instrument that causes difficulty. The only dispute is, 'What are their rights?' If the majority should not rule who should be the judge? Where is such a judge to be found? We should all be bound by the majority of the American people—if not, then the minority must control. Would that be right? Would it be just or generous? Assuredly not." He reiterated, the majority should rule. If he adopted a wrong policy, then the opportunity to condemn him would occur in four years' time. "Then I can be turned out and a better man with better views put in my place."

He remained at Pittsburg until the next morning, when he left for Cleveland. Before his departure he made an address to the people in which he said:

"In every short address I have made to the people, and in every crowd through which I have passed of late, some allusion has been made to the present distracted condition of the country. It is naturally expected that I should say something upon this subject, but to touch upon it at all would involve an elaborate discussion of a great many questions and circumstances, would require more time than I can at present command, and would perhaps unnecessarily commit me upon matters which have not yet fully developed themselves.

"The condition of the country, fellow-citizens, is an extraordinary one, and fills the mind of every patriot with anxiety and solicitude. My intention is to give this subject all the consideration which I possibly can before I speak fully and definitely in regard to it, so that, when I do speak, I may be as nearly right as possible. And when I do speak, fellow-citizens, I hope to say nothing in opposition to the spirit of the Constitution, contrary to the integrity of the Union, or which will in any way prove inimical to the liberties of the people or to the peace of the whole country. And, furthermore, when the time arrives for me to speak on this great subject, I hope to say nothing which will disappoint the reasonable expectations of any man, or disappoint the people generally throughout the country, especially if their expectations have been based upon any thing which I may have heretofore said.

"Notwithstanding the troubles across the river, [the speaker, smiling, pointed southwardly to the Monongahela River,] there is really no crisis springing from any thing in the Government itself. In plain words, there is really no crisis except an artificial one. What is there now to warrant the condition of affairs presented by our friends 'over the river'? Take even their own view of the questions involved, and there is nothing to justify the course which they are pursuing. I repeat it, then, there is no crisis, except such a one as may be gotten up at any time by turbulent men, aided by designing politicians. My advice, then, under such circumstances, is to keep cool. If the great American people will only keep their temper on both sides of the line, the trouble will come to an end, and the question which now distracts the country will be settled just as surely as all other difficulties of like character which have originated in this Gov-

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ornament have been adjusted. Let the people on both sides keep their self-possession, and just as other clouds have cleared away in due time, so will this, and this great nation shall continue to prosper as heretofore."

He then referred to the subject of the tariff, and said:

"According to my political education, I am inclined to believe that the people in the various portions of the country should have their own views carried out through their representatives in Congress. That consideration of the Tariff bill should not be postponed until the next session of the National Legislature. No subject should engage your representatives more closely than that of the tariff. If I have any recommendation to make, it will be that every man who is called upon to serve the people, in a representative capacity, should study the whole subject thoroughly, as I intend to do myself, looking to all the varied interests of the common country, so that when the time for action arrives, adequate protection shall be extended to the coal and iron of Pennsylvania and the corn of Illinois. Permit me to express the hope that this important subject may receive such consideration at the hands of your representatives, that the interests of no part of the country may be overlooked, but that all sections may share in the common benefits of a just and equitable tariff."

Mr. Lincoln, upon his arrival in Cleveland, also made a speech, in which he adverted to the same subject in the following terms:

"It is with you, the people, to advance the great cause of the Union and the Constitution, and not with any one man. It rests with you alone. This fact is strongly impressed on my mind at present. In a community like this, whose appearance testifies to their intelligence, I am convinced that the cause of liberty and the Union can never be in danger. Frequent allusion is made to the excitement at present existing in national politics. I think there is no occasion for any excitement. The crisis, as it is called, is altogether an artificial crisis. In all parts of the nation there are differences of opinion in politics. There are differences of opinion even here. You did not all vote for the person who now addresses you. And how is it with those who are not here? Have they not all their rights as they ever had? Do they not have their fugitive slaves returned now as ever? Have they not the same Constitution that they have lived under for seventy odd years? Have they not a position as citizens of this common country, and have we any power to change that position? What, then, is the matter with them? Why all this excitement? Why all these complaints? As I said before, this crisis is all artificial. It has no foundation in fact. It was 'argued up,' as the saying is, and cannot be argued down. Let it alone, and it will go down itself."

On Saturday he proceeded to Buffalo, where he arrived at evening, and was met at the door of the car by a deputation of citizens, headed by Ex-President Fillmore.

The crowd surrounding the depot numbered not less than 10,000 people. But one company of soldiers and file of police were detailed to act as escort to the party, and it was with the greatest difficulty that they could protect them from being crushed. While passing from the train to the carriages, in the jam, Major Hunter, of the U. S. Army, one of Mr. Lincoln's suite, had his shoulder dislocated. The passage of the procession up Exchange and Main streets to the American Hotel was a perfect ovation.

Arriving at the American Hotel, Mr. Lincoln was welcomed in a brief speech by acting Mayor Bemis, to which he made a brief reply, as follows:

"Mr. Mayor and fellow-citizens: I am here to thank you briefly for this grand reception given to me, not personally, but as the representative of our great and beloved country. Your worthy Mayor has been pleased to mention in his address to me, the fortunate and agreeable journey which I have had from home—only it is rather a circuitous route to the Federal Capital. I am very happy that he was enabled, in truth, to congratulate myself and company on that fact. It is true, we have had nothing thus far to mar the pleasure of the trip. We have not been met alone by those who assisted in giving the election to me; I say not alone, but by the whole population of the country through which we have passed. This is as it should be. Had the election fallen to any other of the distinguished candidates instead of myself, under the peculiar circumstances, to say the least, it would have been proper for all citizens to have greeted him as you now greet me. It is evidence of the devotion of the whole people to the Constitution, the Union, and the perpetuity of the liberties of this country. I am unwilling, on any occasion, that I should be so meanly thought of, as to have it supposed for a moment that these demonstrations are tendered to me personally. They are tendered to the country, to the institutions of the country, and to the perpetuity of the liberties of the country for which these institutions were made and created. Your worthy Mayor has thought fit to express the hope that I may be able to relieve the country from the present, or, I should say, the threatened difficulties. I am sure I bring a heart true to the work. For the ability to perform it, I trust in that Supreme Being who has never forsaken this favored land, through the instrumentality of this great and intelligent people. Without that assistance I should surely fail; with it I cannot fail. When we speak of threatened difficulties to the country, it is natural that it should be expected that something should be said by myself with regard to particular measures. Upon more mature reflection, however,—and others will agree with me—that when it is considered that these difficulties are without precedent, and never have been acted upon by any

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individual situated as I am, it is most proper I should wait and see the developments, and get all the light possible, so that when I do speak authoritatively, I may be as near right as possible. When I shall speak authoritatively, I hope to say nothing inconsistent with the Constitution, the Union, the rights of all the States, of each State, and of each section of the country, and not to disappoint the reasonable expectations of those who have confided to me their votes. In this connection, allow me to say, that you, as a portion of the great American people, need only to maintain your composure, stand up to your sober convictions of right, to your obligations to the Constitution, and act in accordance with those sober convictions, and the clouds which now arise in the horizon will be dispelled, and we shall have a bright and glorious future; and when this generation shall have passed away, tens of thousands shall inhabit this country where only thousands inhabit it now. I do not propose to address you at length. I have no voice for it. Allow me again to thank you for this magnificent reception, and bid you farewell."

On Monday, Mr. Lincoln proceeded from Buffalo to Albany. Here he was met by the Mayor and City Councils and the Legislative Committees, and, after some brief formalities, was conducted to the Capitol, where he was welcomed by Governor Morgan, and responded briefly as follows:

"Governor Morgan: I was pleased to receive an invitation to visit the Capital of the great Empire State of this nation, while on my way to the Federal Capital. I now thank you, and you, the people of the capital of the State of New York, for this most hearty and magnificent welcome. If I am not at fault, the great Empire State at this time contains a larger population than did the whole of the United States of America at the time they achieved their National Independence; and I was proud to be invited to visit its capital, to meet its citizens as I now have the honor to do. I am notified by your Governor that this reception is tendered by citizens without distinction of party. Because of this I accept it the more gladly. In this country, and in any country where freedom of thought is tolerated, citizens attach themselves to political parties. It is but an ordinary degree of charity to attribute this act to the supposition that, in thus attaching themselves to the various parties, each man in his own judgment supposes he thereby best advances the interests of the whole country. And when an election is passed, it is altogether befitting a free people that, until the next election, they should be one people. The reception you have extended me to-day is not given to me personally. It should not be so, but as the representative, for the time being, of the majority of the nation. If the election had fallen to any of the more distinguished citizens, who received the support of the people, this same honor should have greeted him that greets me this day, in testimony of the unanimous devotion of the whole people to the Constitution, the Union, and to the perpetual liberties of succeeding generations in this country. I have neither the voice nor the strength to address you at any greater length. I beg you will, therefore, accept my most grateful thanks for this manifest devotion—not to me, but to the institutions of this great and glorious country."

He was then conducted to the Legislative halls, and received by the members with demonstrations of respect. Here, in reply to an address of welcome, he made a more formal speech, in which he again adverted to the troubles of the country in the following terms:

"Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Legislature of the State of New York: It is with feelings of great diffidence, and, I may say, feelings even of awe, perhaps greater than I have recently experienced, that I meet you here in this place. The history of this great State, the renown of its great men, who have stood in this chamber, and have spoken their thoughts, all crowd around my fancy, and incline me to shrink from an attempt to address you. Yet I have some confidence given me by the generous manner in which you have invited me, and the still more generous manner in which you have received me. You have invited me and received me without distinction of party. I could not, for a moment, suppose that this has been done in any considerable degree with any reference to my personal self. It is very much more grateful to me that this reception and the invitation preceding it, were given to me as the representative of a free people, than it could possibly have been, were they but the evidence of devotion to me or to any one man. It is true that, while I hold myself, without mock-modesty, the humblest of all the individuals who have ever been elected President of the United States, I yet have a more difficult task to perform than any one of them has ever encountered. You have here generously tendered me the support, the united support, of the great Empire State. For this, in behalf of the nation—in behalf of the President and of the future of the nation—in behalf of the cause of civil liberty in all time to come—I most gratefully thank you. I do not propose now to enter upon any expressions as to the particular line of policy to be adopted with reference to the difficulties that stand before us in the opening of the incoming Administration. I deem that it is just to the country, to myself, to you, that I should see every thing, hear every thing, and have every light that can possibly be brought within my reach to aid me before I shall speak officially, in order that, when I do speak, I may have the best possible means of taking correct and true grounds. For this reason, I do not now announce any thing in the way of policy for the new Administration. When the time comes, according to the custom of the Government, I shall speak, and speak as well as I am able for the good of the

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present and of the future of this country—for the good of the North and of the South—for the good of one and of the other, and of all sections of it. In the mean time, if we have patience, if we maintain our equanimity, though some may allow themselves to run off in a burst of passion, I still have confidence that the Almighty Ruler of the Universe, through the instrumentality of this great and intelligent people, can and will bring us through this difficulty, as he has heretofore brought us through all preceding difficulties of the country. Relying upon this, and again thanking you, as I forever shall, in my heart, for this generous reception you have given me, I bid you farewell."

At Albany, he was met by a delegation from the city authorities in New York, and on the 19th started for that city. Vast crowds greeted him at every important station on the Hudson River Railroad. At Poughkeepsie, he was welcomed by the mayor of the city, who hoped that he would so administer the affairs of the Government that the whole country would bless him. Mr. Lincoln in reply said:

"I am grateful for this cordial welcome, and I am gratified that this immense multitude has come together, not to meet the individual man, but the man who, for the time being, will humbly but earnestly represent the majesty of the nation. These receptions have been given me at other places, and, as here, by men of different parties, and not by one party alone. It shows an earnest effort on the part of all to save, not the country, for the country can save itself, but to save the institutions of the country—those institutions under which, for at least three-quarters of a century, we have become the greatest, the most intelligent, and the happiest people in the world. These manifestations show that we all make common cause for these objects; that if some of us are successful in an election, and others are beaten, those who are beaten are not in favor of sinking the ship in consequence of defeat, but are earnest in their purpose to sail it safely through the voyage in hand, and, in so far as they may think there has been any mistake in the election, satisfying themselves to take their chance at setting the matter right the next time. That course is entirely right. I am not sure—I do not pretend to be sure—that in the selection of the individual who has been elected this term, the wisest choice has been made. I fear it has not. In the purposes and in the principles that have been sustained, I have been the instrument selected to carry forward the affairs of this Government. I can rely upon you, and upon the people of the country; and with their sustaining hand, I think that even I shall not fail in carrying the Ship of State through the storm."

The reception of President Lincoln in New York City was a most imposing demonstration. Places of business were generally closed, and hundreds of thousands were in the streets. On the next day, he was welcomed to the city by Mayor Wood, who, in his address, spoke of the state of public affairs in very emphatic terms, as follows:

"Mr. Lincoln: As Mayor of New York, it becomes my duty to extend to you an official welcome in behalf of the Corporation. In doing so, permit me to say that this city has never offered hospitality to a man clothed with more exalted powers, or resting under graver responsibilities, than those which circumstances have devolved upon you. Coming into office with a dismembered Government to reconstruct, and a disconnected and hostile people to reconcile, it will require a high patriotism, and an elevated comprehension of the whole country, and its varied interests, opinions, and prejudices, to so conduct public affairs as to bring it back again to its former harmonious, consolidated, and prosperous condition.

"If I refer to this topic, sir, it is because New York is deeply interested. The present political divisions have sorely afflicted her people. All her material interests are paralyzed. Her commercial greatness is endangered. She is the child of the American Union. She has grown up under its maternal care, and been fostered by its paternal bounty; and we fear that if the Union dies, the present supremacy of New York may perish with it. To you, therefore, chosen under the forms of the Constitution as the head of the Confederacy, we look for a restoration of fraternal relations between the States—only to be accomplished by peaceful and conciliatory means—aided by the wisdom of Almighty God."

Mr. Lincoln immediately replied, but without affording any satisfaction on those subjects of which the Mayor expressed anxiety.

"Mr. Mayor: It is with feelings of deep gratitude that I make my acknowledgments for the reception given me in the great commercial city of New York. I cannot but remember that this is done by a people who do not, by a majority, agree with me in political sentiment. It is the more grateful, because in this I see that, for the great principles of our Government, the people are almost unanimous. In regard to the difficulties that confront us at this time, and of which your Honor has thought fit to speak so becomingly and so justly, as I suppose, I can only say that I agree in the sentiments expressed. In my devotion to the Union, I hope I am behind no man in the nation. In the wisdom with which to conduct the affairs tending to the preservation of the Union, I fear that too great confidence may have been reposed in me; but I am sure I bring a heart devoted to the work. There is nothing that could ever bring me to willingly consent to the destruction of this Union, under which not only the great commercial city of New York, but the whole country, acquired its greatness, except it be the purpose for which the Union itself was formed. I understand the ship to be made for the carrying and the preservation of the cargo, and so long as the ship can be saved with the cargo, it should never be

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abandoned, unless it fails the possibility of its preservation, and shall cease to exist, except at the risk of throwing overboard both freight and passengers. So long then, as it is possible that the prosperity and the liberties of the people be preserved in this Union, it shall be my purpose at all times to use all my powers to aid in its perpetuation. Again thanking you for the reception given me, allow me to come to a close."

On the next day he proceeded to Philadelphia. At Trenton, on the route, he remained a few hours, and visited both Houses of the Legislature, then in session. On being received in the Senate, he thus addressed that body:

"Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Senate of the State of New Jersey: I am very grateful to you for the honorable reception of which I have been the object. I cannot but remember the place that New Jersey holds in our early history. In the early Revolutionary struggle, few of the States among the old Thirteen had more of the battle-fields of the country within its limits than old New Jersey. May I be pardoned, if, upon this occasion, I mention, that away back in my childhood, the earliest days of my being able to read, I got hold of a small book, such a one as few of the younger members have ever seen, 'Weems' Life of Washington.' I remember all the accounts there given of the battle-fields and struggles for the liberties of the country, and none fixed themselves upon my imagination so deeply as the struggle here at Trenton, New Jersey. The crossing of the river—the contest with the Hessians—the great hardships endured at that time—all fixed themselves on my memory more than any single revolutionary event; and you all know, for you have all been boys, how these early impressions last longer than any others. I recollect thinking then, boy even though I was, that there must have been something more than common that those men struggled for. I am exceedingly anxious that that thing which they struggled for—that something even more than National Independence—that something that held out a great promise to all the people of the world to all time to come—I am exceedingly anxious that this Union, the Constitution, and the liberties of the people, shall be perpetuated in accordance with the original idea for which that struggle was made, and I shall be most happy indeed if I shall be an humble instrument in the hands of the Almighty, and of this, His almost chosen people, for perpetuating the object of that great struggle. You give me this reception, as I understand, without distinction of party. I learn that this body is composed of a majority of gentlemen who, in the exercise of their best judgment in the choice of a Chief Magistrate, did not think I was the man. I understand, nevertheless, that they came forward here to greet me as the constitutional President of the United States—as citizens of the United States, to meet the man who, for the time being, is the representative man of the nation, united by a purpose to perpetuate the Union and liberties of the people. As such, I accept this reception more gratefully than I could do did I believe it was tendered to me as an individual."

He then passed into the Chamber of the Assembly, and upon being introduced by the Speaker, addressed that body as follows:

"Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen: I have just enjoyed the honor of a reception by the other branch of this Legislature, and I return to you and them my thanks for the reception which the people of New Jersey have given, through their chosen representatives, to me, as the representative, for the time being, of the majesty of the people of the United States. I appropriate to myself very little of the demonstrations of respect with which I have been greeted. I think little should be given to any man, but that it should be a manifestation of adherence to the Union and the Constitution. I understand myself to be received here by the representatives of the people of New Jersey, a majority of whom differ in opinion from those with whom I have acted. This manifestation is therefore to be regarded by me as expressing their devotion to the Union, the Constitution, and the liberties of the people. You, Mr. Speaker, have well said, that this is the time when the bravest and wisest look with doubt and awe upon the aspect presented by our national affairs. Under these circumstances, you will readily see why I should not speak in detail of the course I shall deem it best to pursue. It is proper that I should avail myself of all the information and all the time at my command, in order that when the time arrives in which I must speak officially, I shall be able to take the ground which I deem the best and safest, and from which I may have no occasion to swerve. I shall endeavor to take the ground I deem most just to the North, the East, the West, the South, and the whole country. I take it, I hope, in good temper—certainly with no malice towards any section. I shall do all that may be in my power to promote a peaceful settlement of all our difficulties. The man does not live who is more devoted to peace than I am—none who would do more to preserve it. But it may be necessary to put the foot down firmly. And if I do my duty, and do right, you will sustain me, will you not? Received, as I am, by the members of a Legislature, the majority of whom do not agree with me in political sentiments, I trust that I may have their assistance in piloting the Ship of State through this voyage, surrounded by perils as it is; for if it should suffer shipwreck now, there will be no pilot ever needed for another voyage."

On his arrival in Philadelphia a few hours afterwards, he was received with great enthusiasm. The mayor of the city greeted him with an address designed to draw forth, if possible, some expression or sentiment indicative

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of the future policy of the Government. It was as follows:

"Sir: In behalf of the Councils of Philadelphia and of its citizens, who, with common respect for their Chief Magistrate-elect, have greeted your arrival, I tender you the hospitality of this city. I do this as the official representative of ninety thousand hearths, around which dwell six hundred thousand people, firm and ardent in their devotion to the Union; and yet it may not be withheld, that there are but few of these firesides whose cheer is not straitened and darkened by the calamitous condition of our country. The great mass of this people are heartily weary and sick of the selfish schemes and wily plots of mere politicians, who bear no more relation to true statesmanship than do the barnacles which incrust the ship to the master who stands by the helm. Your fellow-countrymen look to you in the earnest hope that true statesmanship and unalloyed patriotism may, with God's blessing, restore peace and prosperity to this distracted land. It is to be regretted that your short stay precludes that intercourse with the merchants, manufacturers, mechanics, and other citizens of Philadelphia, which might afford you a clear discernment of their great interests. And, sir, it could not be other than grateful to yourself to have the opportunity of communicating with the memories of the past, in those historic walls where were displayed the comprehensive intellects, and the liberal, disinterested virtues of our fathers, who framed the Constitution of the Federal States, over which you have been called upon to preside."

Mr. Lincoln replied:

"Mr. Mayor and Fellow-citizens of Philadelphia: I appear before you to make no lengthy speech but to thank you for this reception. The reception you have given me to-night is not to me, the man, the individual, but to the man who temporarily represents, or should represent, the majesty of the nation. It is true, as your worthy Mayor has said, that there is anxiety among the citizens of the United States at this time. I deem it a happy circumstance that this dissatisfied portion of our fellow-citizens do not point us to any thing in which they are being injured, or are about to be injured; for which reason I have felt all the while justified in concluding that the crisis, the panic, the anxiety of the country at this time, is artificial. If there be those who differ with me upon this subject, they have not pointed out the substantial difficulty that exists. I do not mean to say that an artificial panic may not do considerable harm; that it has done such I do not deny. The hope that has been expressed by your Mayor, that I may be able to restore peace, harmony, and prosperity to the country, is most worthy of him; and happy indeed will I be if I shall be able to verify and fulfil that hope. I promise you, in all sincerity, that I bring to the work a sincere heart. Whether I will bring a head equal to that heart, will be for future times to determine. It were useless for me to speak of details of plans now; I shall speak officially next Monday week, if ever. If I should not speak then, it were useless for me to do so now. If I do speak then, it is useless for me to do so now. When I do speak, I shall take such ground as I deem best calculated to restore peace, harmony, and prosperity to the country, and tend to the perpetuity of the nation, and the liberty of these States and these people. Your worthy Mayor has expressed the wish, in which I join with him, that it were convenient for me to remain with your city long enough to consult your merchants and manufacturers; or, as it were, to listen to those breathings rising within the consecrated walls wherein the Constitution of the United States, and, I will add, the Declaration of Independence, were originally framed and adopted. I assure you and your Mayor, that I had hoped on this occasion, and upon all occasions during my life, that I shall do nothing inconsistent with the teachings of these holy and most sacred walls. I never asked any thing that does not breathe from those walls. All my political warfare has been in favor of the teachings that come forth from these sacred walls. May my right hand forget its cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if ever I prove false to those teachings. Fellow-citizens, now allow me to bid you good-night."

On the next morning, which was Friday, Mr. Lincoln visited the old "Independence Hall," (so called because within its walls was held the session of that Congress which issued the Declaration of Independence in 1776,) for the purpose of raising the national flag over it. Here he was received with a warm welcome by one of the prominent citizens, to whom he thus replied:

"Mr. Cuyler: I am filled with deep emotion at finding myself standing here, in this place, where were collected the wisdom, the patriotism, the devotion to principle, from which sprang the institutions under which we live. You have kindly suggested to me that in my hands is the task of restoring peace to the present distracted condition of the country. I can say in return, sir, that all the political sentiments I entertain have been drawn, so far as I have been able to draw them, from the sentiments which originated and were given to the world from this hall. I have never had a feeling politically that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence. I have often pondered over the dangers which were incurred by the men who assembled here, and framed and adopted that Declaration of Independence. I have pondered over the toils that were endured by the officers and soldiers of the army who achieved that independence. I have often inquired of myself what great principle or idea it was that kept this Confederacy so long together. It was not the mere matter of the separation of the colonies from the mother-land, but that sentiment in the

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Declaration of Independence which gave liberty, not alone to the people of this country, but, I hope, to the world for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weight would be lifted from the shoulders of all men. This is a sentiment embodied in the Declaration of Independence. Now, my friends, can this country be saved upon this basis? If it can, I will consider myself one of the happiest men in the world if I can help to save it. If it cannot be saved upon that principle, it will be truly awful. But if this country cannot be saved without giving up that principle, I was about to say I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it. Now, in my view of the present aspect of affairs, there need be no bloodshed or war. There is no necessity for it. I am not in favor of such a course, and I may say, in advance, that there will be no bloodshed unless it be forced upon the Government, and then it will be compelled to act in self-defence.

"My friends, this is wholly an unexpected speech, and I did not expect to be called upon to say a word when I came here. I supposed it was merely to do something towards raising the flag. I may, therefore, have said something indiscreet. I have said nothing but what I am willing to live by, and, if it be the pleasure of Almighty God, to die by."

The party then moved to a platform erected in front of the State House, and the President-elect was invited to perform the ceremony of raising the flag. This drew forth from him another brief speech to the assembled multitude.

Mr. Benton, of the Select Council, then, in a few words, invited the President-elect to raise the flag. Mr. Lincoln responded in a brief speech, stating his cheerful compliance with the request, and alluded to the original flag of thirteen stars, saying that the number had increased as time rolled on, and we became a happy and a powerful people, each star adding to its prosperity. "The future," he added, "is in the hands of the people. It is on such an occasion as this that we can reason together, reaffirm our devotion to the country and the principles of the Declaration of Independence. Let us make up our mind, that when we do put a new star upon our banner, it shall be a fixed one, never to be dimmed by the horrors of war, but brightened by the contentment and prosperity of peace. Let us go on to extend the area of our usefulness, add star upon star, until their light shall shine upon five hundred millions of a free and happy people."

The President-elect then threw off his overcoat, a brief prayer was offered and a gun fired, when hand over hand he raised the flag of thirty-four stars to the top of the staff.

At half-past 9 o'clock the party started for Harrisburg. The Legislature of Pennsylvania was then in session in that city. Both Houses were visited by Mr. Lincoln, and to an address of welcome by the presiding-officer of each, he thus replied:

"I appear before you only for a very few brief remarks, in response to what has been said to me. I thank you most sincerely for this reception, and the generous words in which support has been promised me upon this occasion. I thank your great commonwealth for the overwhelming support it recently gave, not to me personally, but the cause, which I think a just one, in the late election. Allusion has been made to the fact—the interesting fact, perhaps we should say—that I, for the first time, appear at the Capital of the great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania upon the birthday of the Father of his Country, in connection with that beloved anniversary connected with the history of this country. I have already gone through one exceedingly interesting scene this morning in the ceremonies at Philadelphia. Under the high conduct of gentlemen there, I was, for the first time, allowed the privilege of standing in Old Independence Hall, to have a few words addressed to me there, and opening up to me an opportunity of expressing, with much regret, that I had not more time to express something of my own feelings, excited by the occasion, somewhat to harmonize and give shape to the feelings that had been really the feelings of my whole life. Besides this, our friends there had provided a magnificent flag of the country. They had arranged it so that I was given the honor of raising it to the head of its staff. And when it went up I was pleased that it went to its place by the strength of my own feeble arm; when, according to the arrangement, the cord was pulled, and it flaunted gloriously to the wind without an accident, in the bright glowing sunshine of the morning, I could not help hoping that there was in the entire success of that beautiful ceremony at least something of an omen of what is to come. Nor could I help feeling then, as I often have felt, in the whole of that proceeding, I was a very humble instrument. I had not provided the flag; I had not made the arrangements for elevating it to its place. I had applied but a very small portion of my feeble strength in raising it. In the whole transaction I was in the hands of the people who had arranged it, and if I can have the same generous cooperation of the people of the nation, I think the flag of our country may yet be kept flaunting gloriously. I recur for a moment but to repeat some words uttered at the hotel in regard to what has been said about the military support which the General Government may expect from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in a proper emergency. To guard against any possible mistake do I recur to this. It is not with any pleasure that I contemplate the possibility that a necessity may arise in this country for the use of the military arm. While I am exceedingly gratified to see the manifestation upon your streets of your military force here, and exceedingly gratified at your promise here to use that force upon a proper emergency—while I make these acknowledgments, I desire

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to repeat, in order to preclude any possible misconstruction, that I do most sincerely hope that we shall have no use for them; that it will never become their duty to shed blood, and most especially never to shed fraternal blood. I promise that, so far as I may have wisdom to direct, if so painful a result shall in any wise be brought about, it shall be through no fault of mine. Allusion has also been made by one of your honored speakers to some remark recently made by myself at Pittsburg, in regard to what is supposed to be the especial interests of this great Commonweath of Pennsylvania. I now wish only to say, in regard to that matter, that the few remarks which I uttered on that occasion were rather carefully worded. I took pains that they should be so. I have seen no occasion since to add to them or subtract from them. I leave them precisely as they stand, adding only now, that I am pleased to have an expression from you, gentlemen of Pennsylvania, significant that they are satisfactory to you. And now, gentlemen of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, allow me to return you again my most sincere thanks."

The afternoon was devoted to the reception of the citizens, and at 6 o'clock Mr. Lincoln retired to his private apartments, declining to receive any more visitors. The arrangements for the next day were that he should leave Harrisburg in the morning, stop at noon in Baltimore, and arrive at Washington in the evening. To the amazement of every one, however, telegraphic despatches from Washington on the next morning reported that Mr. Lincoln was in that city. This proved to be true. Mr. Lincoln had assumed, to prevent recognition, a plaid cap and cloak, and taken a special train that night and passed through to Washington without being recognized. This sudden and unexpected arrival at an early hour in the morning caused a great surprise, and curiosity was excited to discover the motives of this secret change in the manner of Mr. Lincoln's journey. Several reports were immediately in circulation. One was that a telegraphic despatch was sent requesting him to be present at Washington for reasons of State, before the separation of the Peace Conference; a second was that a despatch from official parties in Washington requested him to come in advance of the time announced, in order to prevent possible disturbances that might grow out of conflicting purposes of political clubs in Baltimore—of the Republican clubs to honor Mr. Lincoln with a public demonstration, and of their far more numerous opponents to prevent it; another was, that under all the circumstances of the case, Mr. Lincoln deemed it would be best to avoid all chances of turmoil, and at the same time he would be relieved of all further demonstrations, of which his journey had already been amply full.

As early as the 16th of January rumors were afloat of combinations forming to interfere with the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln. In reply to a letter from the mayor of Washington, on the subject of those rumors, the marshal of Baltimore, on the 16th, said:

SIR: In reply to your wish that I would state to you my opinion with reference to the truth of the rumors which you say prevail in Washington, and are industriously circulated there, to the effect that associations of armed men are being formed here for the purpose of making unlawful demonstrations at the seat of Government on the 4th of March, I beg to say, with all the confidence begotten by the fullest means of information, that they are wholly without foundation. No such organization now exists, none has existed, nor will the citizens of Baltimore tolerate any such.

The people of Baltimore are a conservative and law-abiding people. They hope and believe, and mean to act upon that belief, that the day for mobs and riots in their midst has passed, never to return.

That the citizens of Maryland have a strong sympathy with their Southern brethren, and that upon every lawful occasion for the expression of that sympathy it will doubtless be emphatically heard, cannot be denied; but that they will tolerate or connive at the unlawful doings of a mob, or permit violence or indignity to any public functionary passing through the State, I believe to be entirely devoid of truth. The whole thing is probably a political *canard*, receiving a slight coloring of reality from the thoughtless expressions of a class of people who, in times of excitement, are mostly to be found at street corners or in public bar-rooms.

The President-elect will need no armed escort in passing through or sojourning within the limits of this city or State, and, in my view, the provision of any such at this time would be ill-judged.

The insult offered to President Buchanan in the streets of this city on the eve of his inauguration, to which reference has been made as the ground for apprehending a similar indignity to the President-elect, it is well known, was the act of two or three members of one of the fanatical clubs of his political opponents which at that time infested our city, but which have long since been numbered among the things that were.

In expressing to you the opinion I have given, I do it with full confidence that no such organization could exist here without being speedily brought to my knowledge.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,
GEORGE P. KANE.

On the Wednesday following the Mayor and Council of the city waited upon Mr. Lincoln and tendered to him a welcome. He replied as follows:

"Mr. Mayor: I thank you, and through you the municipal authorities of this city who accompany you, for this welcome. And as it is the first time in my life since the present phase of politics has presented itself in this country, that I have said any thing publicly within a region of country where the institution of slavery exists, I will take this occasion to say that I think very much of the ill-feeling that has existed, and still exists, between the people in the sections from whence I came and the people here, is dependent upon a misunderstanding of one another. I therefore avail myself of this opportunity to assure you, Mr. Mayor, and all the gentlemen present, that I have not now, and never have had, any other than as kindly feelings towards you as the people of my own section. I have not now, and never have had, any disposition to treat you in any respect otherwise than as my own neighbors. I have not now any purpose to withhold from you any of the benefits of the Constitution, under any

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circumstances, that I would not feel myself constrained to withhold from my own neighbors; and I hope, in a word, that, when we shall become better acquainted, and I say it with great confidence, we shall like each other the more. I thank you for the kindness of this reception."

Again, on the next evening, a serenade was given to him by the members of the Republican Association, accompanied by the marine band. Upon this occasion Mr. Lincoln addressed a few words to the multitude, as follows:

"My friends: I suppose that I may take this as a compliment paid to me, and as such please accept my thanks for it. I have reached this city of Washington under circumstances considerably differing from those under which any other man has ever reached it. I am here for the purpose of taking an official position amongst the people, almost all of whom were politically opposed to me, and are yet opposed to me, as I suppose.

"I propose no lengthy address to you. I only propose to say, as I did on yesterday, when your worthy Mayor and Board of Aldermen called upon me, that I thought much of the ill-feeling that has existed between you and the people of your surroundings and that people from amongst whom I came, has depended, and now depends, upon a misunderstanding.

"I hope that, if things shall go along as prosperously as I believe we all desire they may, I may have it in my power to remove something of this misunderstanding; that I may be enabled to convince you, and the people of your section of the country, that we regard you as in all things our equals, and in all things entitled to the same respect and the same treatment that we claim for ourselves; that we are in no wise disposed, if it were in our power, to oppress you, to deprive you of any of your rights under the Constitution of the United States, or even narrowly to split hairs with you in regard to those rights, but are determined to give you, as far as lies in our hands, all your rights under the Constitution—not grudgingly, but fully and fairly. (Applause.) I hope that, by thus dealing with you, we will become better acquainted, and be better friends.

"And now, my friends, with these few remarks, and again returning my thanks for this compliment, and expressing my desire to hear a little more of your good music, I bid you good night."

The inauguration took place on the 4th of March, and Mr. Lincoln became President of the United States amid a greater display of military force than had ever before been witnessed on such an occasion. (*See* WASHINGTON.)

LITERATURE AND LITERARY PROGRESS OF 1861. I. IN THE UNITED STATES.—The public attention was so strongly attracted from almost the beginning of the year by the progress of events which speedily culminated in secession and open war, that there was very little demand for any works except those treating upon the questions then agitating the public mind. Essays, orations, sermons, and addresses on the right, causes, and consequences of secession, and on the subject of slavery in its relation to the secession movement, were numerous, and in great demand. The daily and weekly newspapers, especially the illustrated papers, also felt the influence of the popular excitement, and their circulation greatly increased. When hostilities actually began, there was a call at once for works on military science, and immense numbers of manuals of infantry, cavalry, and artillery tactics, military dictionaries, works on ordnance, gunnery, fortification, &c., &c., were sold, and a great variety of cheap manuals for the use of soldiers prepared. The reading public not directly connected with the army, also demanded sketches of prominent persons, places, and events connected with the war, beyond the ability of the daily and weekly press, active as that press was, to supply; and this demand was satisfied by the issue of an infinitude of handbooks, charts, maps, &c. The whole number of books, pamphlets, &c., having direct reference to the war, published during the year, exceeded 450; of these about 250 were sermons, addresses, and orations; about 60 were works on military science and art; eight were serials, chronicling the events, history, or biography of the war; and the remainder, essays, descriptions, charts, biographies, &c. Among the most noticeable of the serials were "The Rebellion Record," edited by Mr. Frank Moore; "The Southern Rebellion and the War for the Union," by Mr. Orville J. Victor; "Pictorial History of the War of 1861," edited by Hon. E. G. Squier; "The Fallen Brave," edited by Mr. J. Gilmary Shea; and "Heroes and Martyrs, Notable Men of the Time, &c.," edited by Mr. Frank Moore. "The Illustrated News," "Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper," and "Harper's Weekly," among the illustrated weekly papers, devoted the greater part of their space to pictorial and descriptive representations of the battles and other incidents of the war. The scientific works called out by the war were, many of them, of high merit. Among them were a "Military Dictionary," by Col. H. L. Scott, Inspector-General of the United States army; "A new Manual of the Bayonet," and one of "Sword and Sabre Exercise," by Capt. J. C. Kelton, U. S. A.; "Notes on Sea Coast Defence," by Major (now General) J. G. Barnard, United States Engineers; "Evolutions of Field Batteries of Artillery," by Major (now General) Robert Anderson; "A Treatise on the Camp and March," by Capt. Henry D. Grafton, U. S. A.; "Rifles and Rifle Practice," by Major (now General) C. M. Wilcox; "Manual of Bayonet Exercises," by Major-General George B. McClellan: "The Ordnance Manual," prepared under direction of the War Department; "Instruction in Field Artillery," prepared by a board of ar-

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tillery officers; "The Field Manual of Evolutions of the Line," "A Manual of Military Surgery," by S. D. Gross, M. D.; "A Practical Treatise on Military Surgery," by Frank H. Hamilton, M. D.; "Naval Ordnance and Gunnery," by Commander J. H. Ward, &c., &c.

But though the principal demand of the public during the year was for literature connected directly or indirectly with the war, there were a few books published on other topics, worthy of note. In the department of theological and religious literature, Muller's "Life of Trust," a compilation and abridgment from the reports and narratives of that remarkable man, prepared by Rev. H. L. Wayland, was remarkably popular; "Thoughts on Preaching," by Rev. James W. Alexander, D. D., and "Notes on New Testament Literature and Ecclesiastical History," by his brother, Rev. J. Addison Alexander, D. D., were very favorably received, as were also "Twelve Sermons," by Horace Mann; "Discourses on Sacramental Occasions," by Rev. Ichabod S. Spencer, D. D.; Sermons by Rev. Cortland Van Rensselaer, D. D.; "Evenings with the Doctrines," by Rev. Nehemiah Adams, D. D.; "Morning Hours in Patmos," by Rev. A. C. Thompson, D. D.; and "Sermons preached at Harvard College," by Rev. James Walker, D. D. Among other discussions of theological and religious questions of the year were "Human Destiny," and "Debt and Grace," by Rev. C. F. Hudson; "Thoughts on the Administration of God's Moral Government," by a plain man; "Christ in the Will, the Heart, and the Life," by Rev. A. B. Muzzey; "New Testament Standard of Piety," by W. Macdonald; and "Religio-political Physics," by Calvin Blanchard.

In sociology and political science, a book entitled "Negroes and Negro Slavery; the first an Inferior Race, the latter its Normal Condition," by J. H. Van Evrie, M. D., excited some attention from its absurdity and gross perversion of all the facts of science, in the attempt to demonstrate that the negro belonged to a different and lower species of beings than the white, and was therefore intended for menial service; an elaborate defence of "American Slavery, distinguished from the slavery of English theorists, and justified by the Law of Nature," by Rev. Samuel Seabury, D. D., also attracted notice, from the calmness of its tone, and the conspicuous position of the author; "The Doctrine and Policy of Protection," by William Elder, M. D., an attack on the system of protective tariffs, by a distinguished advocate of free trade; "Woman's Rights under the Law," by Mrs. Caroline H. Dall, a candid exposition of the legal disabilities and privileges of the female sex, under ancient and modern legislation; and "The Cotton Kingdom," by Fred. Law Olmsted, an abridgment and re-arrangement of the author's previous observations in the slave States, were the only other noticeable books in this department.

In history and biography, the principal works were the 15th and 16th volumes of Benton's Abridgment of the Debates of Congress, completing the work; vol. III. of Hopkins' "History of the Puritans," completing that work; "The Destruction of H. M. war sloop Gaspee," from official documents, compiled by John Russell Bartlett; "Rehoboth in the Past," a historical oration by S. C. Newman; "Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Connecticut, prepared for the 150th anniversary of the (Congregational) General Association of the State;" "Life, Times, and Services of Gen. Anthony Wayne," by Orville J. Victor; "Life and Times of André;" "Memoirs of Nathaniel Emmons, with Sketches of his Friends and Pupils," by Prof. Edwards A. Park; "Memoir and Writings of Gen. Nathaniel Lyon;" "Lives of Eminent Physicians of the 19th Century," by S. D. Gross, M. D.; "Memoirs of Bishop Bruté," by Bishop Bayley; "Life of Bishop Berkeley," by J. N. Norton; "Autobiography of William Neil, D. D.;" "Memoirs of Daniel Safford," and "The Wetmore Family in America."

In the department of travels, usually so prolific in American literature, there were very few books published, but one of these produced a decided sensation on both sides of the Atlantic; it was the "Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa," of Mr. Paul B. Du Chaillu. The new animals and the hitherto unknown African races described by the traveller, and his details of their strange and extraordinary cannibalism, excited much interest, and produced protracted controversy; but, in the end, his statements were mostly corroborated by missionaries and others, familiar with some of the countries he had traversed. The only other volumes of travels at all noteworthy, were "Life and Adventures in the Southern Pacific," by a roving printer; "After Icebergs with a Painter," by Rev. L. L. Noble; "Pictures of Southern Life," being W. H. Russell's Letters to the London "Times" from the Southern States; and "European Recollections," by Peter C. Baker.

In the department of science and art, the contributions were considerably numerous. Two volumes of the "New American Cyclopædia," the 12th and 13th, were published during the year. In mechanical science, Mr. A. L. Holley issued a valuable work on "American and European Railway Practice;" Commander Walker, of the United States Navy, "Notes on Screw Propulsion;" and the late W. H. King, United States Navy, "Lessons and Practical Notes on Steam, the Steam Engine, Propellers, &c." In numismatics appeared: "Coins, Medals, Seals, &c.," by William C. Prime; "A Description of the Medals of Washington, of National and Miscellaneous Medals, illustrated by seventy-nine fac-simile engravings," &c., by James Ross Snowden, Director of U. S. Mint; and "A Description of Ancient and Modern Coins in the Cabinet Collection at the Mint of

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the United States," by the same author. In medical science, the principal works were: "Theory and Practice of the Movement Cure," by Chas. F. Taylor, M. D.; "Phthisis Pulmonalis, a Practical Treatise," by L. M. Lawson, M. D.; "Diphtheria, its Nature and Treatment," being the essay which received the Fiske Fund prize in 1860, by Daniel D. Slade, M. D.; "A Warning to Fathers, Teachers, and Young Men, in relation to a Frightful Cause of Insanity," by W. S. Chipley, M. D.; "Diseases of the Throat and Lungs," by R. T. Trall, M. D.; "The Breath of Life," by George Catlin, an admirable essay on the advantages of keeping the mouth closed; "Currents and Counter-Currents in Medical Science," by Oliver Wendell Holmes, M. D.; Guilmette's "Vocal Physiology;" "Principles and Practice of Obstetrics," by Gunning S. Bedford, M. D.; and "Tobacco, What It Is and What It Does," by Dan King, M. D.

In agricultural and geological science, the elaborate work of J. H. Klippart, the Secretary of the Ohio Board of Agriculture, on "The Principles and Practice of Land Drainage;" "Manual of Agriculture for the School, Home, and Farm," by Geo. B. Emerson and Charles L. Flint; and "The First Principles of Geology," by David A. Wells, are worthy of notice. The inventor is informed "How to get a patent," by Mr. T. P. How; and in educational science we have Calkins' "Primary Object Lessons," and Warren's "Manual of Elementary Geometrical Drawings."

In the department of belles-lettres, we find not more than half-a-dozen novels, properly so called, and some of these belong to the class of religious fiction: Meta Lander (Mrs. Prof. Lawrence) published "Marion Graham; or Higher than Happiness;" Alexander Clark, "The Old Log School House," an educational story; C. E. K., "Daisy Deane;" and 'Mrs. Madeline Leslie' "Tim, the Scissors-Grinder;" the sequel to "Tim," and "The Dermott Family," in 5 vols., all S. S. Stories; Geo. W. Curtis, "Trumps, a Novel;" Mrs. Emma D. E. N. Southworth, "The Gipsy's Prophecy;" Miss Virginia F. Townsend, "Amy Deane, and other Tales;" "Grace Greenwood," "Old Wonder Eyes;" the lamented Theodore Winthrop left a posthumous novel, "Cecil Dreeme." Poetry and the drama were still less liberally represented; a new and enlarged edition of the "Poems" of John G. Saxe; a collection, now made for the first time, of the "Poems" of Samuel Woodworth, the author of the "The Old Oaken Bucket;" "Elijah, a Sacred Drama, and other Poems," by Rev. Dr. Davidson; "The Shadowy Land, and other Poems," by Rev. Gurdon Huntington,; and "Flirtation, and what comes of it," a comedy by Frank B. Goodrich; were all the new published poems, indigenous to American soil, of the year, unless we add Mr. Richard Grant White's "National Hymns, how they are written, and how they are not written," which gives numerous examples of the good and bad among the hymns sent in for the $500 prize. "The Dutch Dominie of the Catskills" was a piece of descriptive and semi-biographical writing, by Rev. David Murdoch, D. D.; the Springfield philosopher "Timothy Titcomb" (Dr. J. G. Holland) made a successful venture with another of his volumes of unique but readable essays, entitled "Lessons in Life." Prof. Chas. D. Cleveland, of Philadelphia, added to his list of popular compendiums of literature, an admirable "Compendium of Classical Literature," and Rev. R. S. Maclay, a missionary for many years in China, described in a graceful little volume some features of "Life among the Chinese."

The magazine literature of the year was of a high character. In original articles of great literary excellence, the "Atlantic Monthly" took the lead, its contributions being equal to those of any magazine in the language; while "Harper's Monthly" added to a large number of articles of great merit, the attractions of abundant illustration; the Knickerbocker Magazine, Godey's, and Peterson's, all maintained a high rank, and most of them obtained an increased circulation. At the close of the year, a new candidate for public favor made its appearance, —the "Continental Monthly," under the editorship of Mr. C. G. Leland, and devoting more space than the others to the discussion of political questions. Besides those named, there were a considerable number of monthly periodicals of religious character, but occasionally discussing national or other popular questions, all of them conducted with ability.

Among the bi-monthly and quarterly periodicals, which mostly belong to the class of reviews, there were quite a number of marked excellence, and which, during the past year, gave proofs of extraordinary vigor and ability. We may specify among these "The North American Review," the oldest of our quarterly periodicals, and always ably conducted; the "Christian Examiner," a bi-monthly review of very high order; Barnard's "American Journal of Education," unsurpassed in the ability and range of its educational articles; "The National Review," a young but promising quarterly; "The Bibliotheca Sacra," a valuable repository of biblical and classic science and literature; the "American Theological Review," a periodical which at once took the front rank in theological science; the "Biblical Repository," the organ of the Princeton theologians, and inferior to none of the others in ability; the "New Englander," the representative of the New Haven theology, but handling also, with much freedom and spirit, the popular questions of the day; and "Brownson's Review," a quarterly which, while professedly Roman Catholic, discussed with an earnestness and liberality unusual in the periodicals of that Church, subjects of national or political interest. Besides these, which, though some of them under the influence of particular classes and sects of religionists, may in some sense be considered national, each denomination has its

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quarterly review, some of them, indeed, more than one; most of them ably edited, and some of them having an extensive circulation; "The Methodist Quarterly," the "Boston Review," the "Christian Review," the "Presbyterian Quarterly," the "Mercersburg Review," and the "Free Will Baptist Quarterly," are the most widely known of these.

The interests of science were promoted by the "American Journal of Science," a bi-monthly now approaching its fiftieth year, and which, by the aid of its numerous collaborators, fully represented every department of general science. The medical profession possessed an able quarterly, "The American Journal of the Medical Sciences," devoted to their interest, besides numerous monthly journals, and one semi-monthly; the mechanical, engineering, railway, banking, insurance, and mercantile interests had each their periodical or periodicals, all conducted by men of high reputation in their several professions. The number of strictly literary magazines, monthly or weekly, was not so great in the United States as in England, but the number of newspapers and their circulation was far greater, and their influence over the people fully equal. In the case of the religious press, the contrast between the two countries is very strongly marked. The number of religious newspapers in England, aside from those which are the organs of some of the great religious benevolent societies, is small; they are all, or nearly all, in part political, and their circulation is of very moderate extent. The leading religious papers here have a very large circulation, and, except in the case of the present war, when they have mostly entered with zeal into the discussion of the causes and consequences of the war, they have usually abjured questions of party politics. The "Independent," the family of "Christian Advocates," the "New York Observer," and, we believe, also several others of the religious papers, each have a circulation nearly or quite equal to the aggregate of any two or three of the English religious newspapers.

The so-called literary papers of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, have also a greatly larger weekly sale than that of papers of a corresponding class in Great Britain, and though some of them have fallen off during the past year, the pictorial war newspapers having taken a considerable share of their circulation, the aggregate is still counted by millions.

II. In Great Britain.—The year was one of extraordinary activity in every department of literature. In the department of religious and theological works, the publication of the "Essays and Reviews," in the autumn of the preceding year, and the circumstances which gave notoriety to that work, led to the publication, throughout the year, of numerous works bearing directly or indirectly on the topics treated in the "Essays." The range of these topics was extended so far, that it admitted very considerable diversity in the subjects of the replies, and while one class occupied themselves with the defence of the chronology and authenticity of the historical books of the Old Testament, or with those of the Pentateuch, or the Kings or Chronicles, in particular, another class discussed the inspiration of the Scriptures, another the chronology, another the character and fulfilment of the prophecies; while others still gave their attention to the events of the New Testament history, to the alleged mythical or allegorical character of Christ, to his divinity, and to the various theological questions connected with these. A collection, said not to be complete, of the various works called out by this book, had over sixty titles. The millenarian views urged so persistently by Rev. Dr. Cumming, and reiterated with more than his previous eloquence early in the year in his "Great Tribulation," and "Great Preparation," also elicited several replies, either in the form of commentaries on Daniel and the Apocalypse, or in direct controversy with the views he had maintained. The two controversies to which we have referred, enlisted many of the ablest theological writers of Great Britain; among them were the Archbishops of Canterbury and Dublin, several bishops, especially those of London, Ripon, Chester, Killaloe, &c. Profs. Rawlinson, Ellicott, &c., and numerous clergymen of the Established Church; among the members of the Scottish and dissenting Churches, Rev. Donald McDonald, and such laymen as Edward Miall and the venerable Isaac Taylor. The essayists and reviewers and their friends were also active in defending the views they had put forth, and numerous sermons, essays, and dissertations maintaining one or other of their positions appeared. Aside from these discussions, the number of works in this department was not very great. The most important were "The Lost Tribes and the Saxons of the West, with new views of Buddhism, and readings of the Rock-records," by George Moore, M. D., well known as a psychological writer; "English Puritanism and its Leaders, Cromwell, Milton, Baxter, Bunyan," by Principal Tulloch; "Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church," by Arthur Penrhyn Stanley; "The Providence of God Manifested in Natural Law," by John Duncanson, M. D.; "Creation in Plan and Progress," by Prof. Challis, of Cambridge; "The Sanskrit Text, part III., The Vedas," by J. Muir; "Life of Rev. Dr. Doyle, Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare," by W. J. Fitzpatrick; "Notes on Hebrews," by Rev. E. H. Knowles; "Life and Letters of Rev. John Angell James," by Rev. R. W. Dale; "The Epistles to the Seven Churches in Asia," by R. C. Trench, D.D.; "The Acts and Writings of the Apostles," by C. P. Clarke; "The Missionary in Many Lands," by Erwin House; "The Platonic Dialogues for English Readers," by W. Whewell, LL. D.

In the department of politics, sociology, &c., the American war called out a very considerable number of pamphlets and some works of

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greater pretension. Mr. Herbert Spencer published a series of brilliant essays on "Education;" Mr. Edward Arnold published a treatise on the subject of education in India and its necessity; and Mr. E. T. Rogers, an Oxford examiner, a work on "Education at Oxford; its Methods, its Aims, and its Results;" Mr. J. Austin a treatise on "The Province of Law Determined;" J. Francillon, "Lectures, Elementary and Familiar, on English Law;" A. H. Louis a learned and able essay entitled "England and Europe, a Discussion of National Policy;" Miss Martineau one of her politico-economic tales on Health, Husbandry, and Handicraft; Mr. Montague Bernard discussed "The Principle of Non-Intervention;" and two anonymous writers, of decided ability, "The Progress of Nations," and "Admiralty Administration, its Faults and Defaults." The trouble between the indigo planters in India and the ryots also gave rise to a considerable number of pamphlets.

In the way of travel and exploration, the list is somewhat larger: Mr. A. H. Tilley published a gossipy book on "Japan, the Amoor, and the Pacific;" Mr. T. Forrester described his "Rambles in Corsica and Sardinia;" Mr. J. L. Farley, "The Massacres in Syria;" and Mrs. Harvey, "Our Cruise in the Claymore," one of the war vessels sent to the Syrian coast. "Social Life and Manners in Australia" were portrayed by "a Resident." Capt. C. S. Forbes narrated his experiences in the "Campaigns of Garibaldi," as well as his observations of "Iceland; its Volcanoes, &c.;" Mr. H. B. Tristram penetrated into "The Great Sahara," and gave a somewhat dry account of his journeyings; Dr. N. Davis informed the public of the results of his explorations in "Ancient Carthage;" Mrs. Bromley, in a series of letters to her father, gave the detail of 20,000 miles of journeyings in the New World in ten months, under the title of "A Woman's Wanderings in the Western World;" Rev. J. C. Browne described what he himself observed and learned of "The Punjab and Delhi in 1857;" and Mr. E. Leckey confuted some of the "Fictions Connected with the Indian Outbreak in 1857;" J. Hollingshead, as a result of travels nearer home, gives a touching picture of "Ragged London in 1861;" Rev. W. M. Mitchell, of Toronto, C. W., gave an account of "The Underground Railroad;" Capt. Sherrard Osborne described some incidents of Japanese life, under the title of "Japanese Fragments," which he illustrated by fac-similes of Japanese drawings. The often trodden route to Sinai was once more traversed by Mr. Beaumont in his "Cairo to Sinai, and Sinai to Cairo." The late Chinese war was described by Mr. Robert Swinhoe, in a volume with the title of "The North China Campaign of 1860." Lady Charlotte Pepys gave some glimpses of "Domestic Life in Russia," and an anonymous writer treated of "The Spanish Peninsula; its past History, present Condition, and future Prospects."

Large contributions were made to the catalogue of scientific books. In natural history, the most remarkable books were "John Hunter's Essays and Observations on Natural History," edited and enriched by Richard Owen; Darwin's "Origin of Species;" Hartwig's "The Sea and its Living Wonders;" Dr. Hicks' "The Honey Bee; its Natural History, &c.;" Sir John Herschel's treatises on "Physical Geography and Meteorology;" Thos. Moore's "British Ferns and their Allies;" Bentley's "Botany;" Von Kittlitz' "Vegetation of Coasts and Islands of the Pacific;" E. Maling's "Indian Plants;" Lovell Reeve's "Elements of Conchology;" Dr. John Blackwall's "History of Spiders of Great Britain and Ireland;" David Page's "Past and Present Life of the Globe;" Dr. Geo. Ogilvie's "The Genetic Cycle in Organic Nature;" Sir R. Murchison and Mr. A. Geikie's "Geologic Map of Scotland;" Chas. Boner's "Forest Creatures;" and Robt. McWilliam's Foot Notes from the Page of Nature, or First Forms of Vegetation." In mechanics, engineering, architecture, &c.: William Fairbairn's "Iron; its History, &c.;" E. Hull's "Coal Fields of Great Britain;" Dollman and Jobbin's "Analysis of Ancient Domestic Architecture;" Humber's "Cast and Wrought Iron Bridge Construction;" R. Scott Burns' "Illustrations of Mechanical Movements and Machines;" and Sir John Herschel's "Essay on the Telescope." In archæology and philology, Mr. S. Sharpe on Egyptian Hieroglyphics," and Mr. Craik's "History of the English Language from the Norman Conquest." The principal contributions to medical science were: Dr. R. B. Todd's "Clinical Lectures;" Dr. Greenhow on "Diphtheria;" Dr. Parke's "On the Urine in Health and Disease;" Dr. Holmes' "System of Surgery;" Dr. Mayne's "Expository Lexicon of Medicine;" Dr. Edwin Smith's "Health and Disease, as influenced by Changes in the Human System;" Dr. Brinton's "Food and its Digestion;" Dr. G. M. Humphrey's "Human Foot and Human Hand;" Dr. Walton's and Dr. Holmes' treatises on "Diseases of the Eye;" Dr. John Gardner's "Household Medicine;" Dr. E. Meryon's "History of Medicine;" and Dr. J. Rutherfurd Russell's "History and Heroes of the Art of Medicine;" Dr. C. B. Radcliffe's "Epileptic and other Convulsive Affections;" and Messrs. Walsh and Lupton's "The Horse, in the Stable and the Field; his Diseases, &c." Knight's "Cyclopedia of Arts and Sciences," vols. 7 and 8, completing that section; and the whole work, which extended to 22 volumes, were published in the course of the year, as was also a 22d volume of the "Encyclopedia Britannica," containing an analytical index, and completing that work.

The contributions to history and biography were also extensive, and some of them of great value; the fifth volume of Baron Macaulay's "History of England," edited by his sister, Lady Trevelyan, was perhaps the most valu-

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able, but among the other important historical works were: Mr. Froude's "History of the Tudors;" Vaughan's "Revolutions in English History;" the Calendars of State Papers collected and arranged by Mrs. Everett Greene, Mr. W. N. Sainsbury, and others, the former referring to the time of Charles II.; "Annals of the Wars of the Eighteenth Century," by Hon. Sir Edward Cust; "Domestic Annals of Scotland, 1688–1745," by Robert Chambers; a large class of historic biographies and correspondence of persons either themselves eminent, or associating with persons of distinction; among these were Lord Colchester's "Diaries and Correspondence;" Mrs. Delany's (Mary Granville) "Autobiography and Correspondence," containing reminiscences of George III. and Queen Charlotte; Lord Stanhope's "Life of William Pitt;" Dr. Doran's "Memoir of Queen Adelaide;" J. S. Watson's "Life of Porson;" "Autobiography of Miss Cornelia Knight, Lady Companion to the Princess Charlotte;" "Life of Mrs. Cameron;" "Life and Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu," by W. M. Thomas (vol. II.); Miss Strickland's "Bachelor Kings of England;" Napier's "Life of Sir Charles Napier;" "Memoir of the Life and Times of A. De Tocqueville;" Dr. Thomas Somerville's "My own Life and Times, 1741–1814;" T. Macknight's "Life and Times of Edmund Burke;" Burton's "Lectures on Archbishop Cranmer;" Martha W. Freer's "Henry IV. and Marie di Medici;" Froude's republication of "The Pilgrim; a Dialogue relative to the conduct of Henry VIII.," by a Welshman, named Thomas, contemporary of that king; Dean Ramsay's second series of "Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character;" Lord Brougham's "History of England under the House of Lancaster;" Rev. B. W. Savile's "Introduction of Christianity into Britain." Besides these there were monographs, such as "Arminius; a History of the German People," by the late Thomas Smith; "Malta under the Phœnicians, Knights, and English," by W. Tullock; "Private Diary of General Sir Robert Wilson, 1812–1814;" "History of Manchester;" "Secret History of France under Louis XV.;" Muir's "Life of Mahomet;" Dicey's "Memoir of Count Cavour;" J. Hepworth Dixon's "Life of Francis Bacon;" Ellis' "Armenian Origin of the Etruscans;" Black's "Guide to Surrey;" MacFarlan and Thompson's "Comprehensive History of England;" Rev. P. Jones' "History of the Ojibway Indians;" "The Twelve Great Battles of England, from Hastings to Waterloo;" Pearson's "Early and Middle Ages of England;" J. Goldwin Smith's "Irish History and Irish Character;" G. Smith's "History of Wesleyan Methodism;" the "Memoirs of Joseph Alleine, Samuel Drew, &c.;" Mrs. Jane Williams' "Literary Women of England;" an anonymous but wretchedly compiled volume of "Contemporary Biography," and George Coutie's "Annals of Eminent Living Men," also belong to this department.

In the department of belles-lettres the year was remarkably prolific; all the English novelists of high reputation have furnished their quota of fiction. Mr. Dickens' "Great Expectations" was received with much favor; Mr. Thackeray's "Lovell, the Widower," first published in the "Cornhill Magazine," enhanced his popularity; "George Eliot" (Miss Evans) followed her "Mill on the Floss" by "Silas Marner, the Weaver of Raveloe," a tale of great power; Shirley Brooks published "The Silver Cord;" the Trollope brothers, "Framley Parsonage," and "La Beata;" Mrs. Henry Wood, "East Lynne;" Wilkie Collins, "Hide and Seek;" Walter Thornbury "Cross Country;" W. G. Wills "Notice to Quit;" J. F. Corkran, "East and West, or Once upon a Time;" Edward Copping, "The Home of Rosefield;" Garth Rivers, "Miss Gwynne of Woodford;" Mary C. Hume, "The Wedding Guests, or the Happiness of Life;" Philip Ireton, "The Broken Troth," a tale of village life in Tuscany, from the Italian; J. Blagden, "Agnes Tremorne;" John Saunders, "The Shadow in the House;" 'Holme Lee,' "Legends from Fairy Land;" Mr. E. Peacock, "Gryll Grange;" F. C. Armstrong, "The Frigate and the Lugger, a Nautical Romance." Several anonymous novels of merit appeared during the year; among them were "Memoirs of an Unknown Life;" "My Heart's in the Highlands;" "Tilbury Nogo, or Passages in the Life of an Unsuccessful Man;" "The Anchoret of Montserrat;" and "Wild Dayrell, a biography of a Gentleman Exile."

In the way of essays, the second series of "Recreations of a Country Parson" and "The Country Parson in Town," by Rev. A. K. H. Boyd, and "Horæ Subsecivæ, or Spare Hours," by Dr. John Brown, author of "Rab and his Friends," were received with great favor. "Three Lectures on Translating Homer," by Matthew Arnold, show very clearly how the Greek poet should not be translated. The late Mr. S. Leigh Sotheby published, just before his death, an exquisitely illustrated work entitled "Ramblings in Elucidation of the Autograph of Milton;" and Mr. J. R. Wise gratified the lovers of Shakspeare by the publication of an admirable guide-book to Stratford-on-Avon, adorned with some of Linton's best drawings, under the title of "Shakspeare; his Birthplace and Neighborhood." Two translations of Hindoo works deserve notice: Mr. Edward Arnold's "Book of Good Counsels," translated from the Hitopadesa, and Father Beschi's "Adventures of Gooroo Simple and his Five Disciples," a collection of Hindoo satires, illustrated by Alfred Crowquill. Mr. (Dr.?) J. H. Brenton, in his "Tragedy of Life; Reminiscences of some Phases of Lunacy in a Physician's Practice," worked with considerable success the vein struck many years ago by Samuel Warren in his "Diary of a Physician." Miss Strickland, leaving for awhile the stately walks of history, gave some pleasant sketches of East

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Anglian manners and customs in her "Old Friends and New Acquaintances;" and Mr. Alex. Leighton furnished a second instalment of his "Traditions of Scottish Life."

In the way of poetry, the events of the year were the publication of Alexander Smith's "Edwin of Deira," and, near its close, Tennyson's "Idylls of the King." Among other poems of some merit published during the year were: "Tannhäuser, or the Battle of the Bards," by Neville Temple and Edward Trevor; "Shakspeare's Curse, and other poems;" and "Poems, by the author of the Patience of Hope." Mr. Theodore Martin translated with extraordinary skill and elegance the "Poems of Catullus;" Mr. Francis T. Palgrave made an admirable collection of our best lyrics, under the title of "The Golden Treasury of the Best Songs and Lyrical Poems in the English Language;" and Mr. David Irving published an elaborate and valuable "History of Scottish Poetry, from the Middle Ages to the Close of the Seventeenth Century."

The magazine literature of Great Britain had received a new and extraordinary impulse from the success of the "Cornhill Magazine;" and prompted by its extraordinary success "Temple Bar," edited by Mr. G. Augustus Sala, and the "St. James Magazine," edited by Mrs. S. C. Hall, were commenced with the year, and both attained an extensive circulation. The "Once a Week," and "All Round the Year," as well as "Good Words," and several other magazines of the previous year, were issued in monthly parts, and all attained to a high reputation, while MacMillan, Frazer's, "Chambers' Journal," and "Blackwood" abated nothing of their popularity. The leading publishing houses find a magazine necessary to the successful prosecution of their business, and, under the rivalry of competition, pay almost incredible prices to secure contributions from distinguished writers. "Framley Parsonage," certainly not a novel of extraordinary merit, was first published in the "Cornhill Magazine," and Mr. Trollope, without relinquishing his right to the profits of its publication in book-form, received a check of £1,000 for its appearance there. Tennyson's poetry is undoubtedly valuable, but a hundred guineas for a hundred lines, when the author still retains his property in them, is certainly a liberal compensation. The tendency of the time is towards magazine writing, and very few successful novels appear for the first time in bound volumes. The temptation to the serial form of publication is strong, but there is a probability that it will in the end impair the quality of the novels themselves. Interest in a serial novel can hardly be kept up except by the introduction, in each monthly part, of some startling or exciting incident; but this, which adds to its vivacity, as a serial, almost inevitably ruins the effect of the work as a whole. It requires talent as well as tact of the highest order to avoid this danger, and the writers even of the highest rank who have been successful in the attempt have been very few.

We must content ourselves with a mere glance at the literature of France and Germany, which have been as prolific, in this respect, as England. The political, religious, and financial questions which agitated France during the year led to the publication of numberless pamphlets, some in the interests of the Pope, and some opposing him; some blaming, and others defending the Italian king; some advocating war, and others seeking for peace; some discussing with favor, and others with disfavor, the budget, the taxes, the Mires defalcation, and the deficiency of cotton. Numerous too, have been the *brochures* relative to the war in America. Each side had its advocate, and the battles of the war have been discussed with great fulness and freedom, though not always with accurate geographical knowledge.

France has a corps of young philosophical writers, whose works give evidence of profound thought and research, and of vigorous intellect. Among them may be named Ernest Renan, H. Taine, Saint René Taillandier, Edmond Scherer, Jules Simon, Foucher de Careil, Saisset, La Boulaye, Caro, Rondelet, Nourrison, and Jourdain. They are contributors to the leading reviews, the *Revue de Deux Mondes*, *Revue Contemporaine*, *Revue Germanique*, and *Revue Européene*, all of which are issued semi-monthly and have a large circulation. Many of them have also published several volumes on theological, political, or social topics, criticism, or art-subjects, and their books, as well as their contributions to the reviews, are exciting a powerful influence upon the reading classes in France.

In science, the French maintained in 1861 their deservedly high reputation. Their geographical and historical works, and their books of travel, are models for the accuracy and extent of the scientific knowledge they exhibit, and are valuable additions to the archives of science.

In fiction and poetry, their record is meagre of works destined to have a permanent reputation. In the department of philosophical romance, MM. Alfred Assolant, Henri Rivière, Erckmann Chatrian, and Jules Noriac enhanced their previously high reputation by their works of the year. Of writers of novels describing social life, MM. Feydeau, Champfleury, and Duranty, Mesdames Louis Figuier and Charles Reybaud, and M'lle du Plessé, are the most prominent. The vile and pernicious fictions which some years since degraded the literature of France, are far less popular now than then, and the taste of the reading public is becoming elevated and purified. The review in France, like the magazine in England, is absorbing the time and labors of the literary class, and there are very few works of the lighter class which do not appear at first as feuilletons of one or other of the reviews.

To enumerate even the principal writers of

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Germany would be a task far beyond our time or limits; we can merely indicate a few of those who, in the last year, sought to instruct or amuse the public. Of all known countries the literature of Germany is the most extensive and the most varied; and in all the departments of science, art, or belles-lettres, history, biography, or politics, their treatises are more nearly exhaustive than those of any other people. Biography has occupied a considerable share of attention in Germany the past year. Numerous memoirs of Alexander von Humboldt, Karl Ritter, Baron von Stein, Dr. Vogel, and other eminent German scholars have appeared, from the pens of Hauff, Klencke, Wilhelm Baur, &c. Herr Brockhaus, the eminent Leipsic publisher, is issuing in monthly parts an *Unsere Zeit*, or contemporary biographical lexicon, and extends his researches to eminent men of all nations. In geographical, ethnological, and archæological science, the Germans have no superiors, and the great work, now in progress, of the brothers Schlagentweit, descriptive of their scientific exploration of the region of the Himalaya; the *Mittheilungen* of A. Petermann, published monthly at Gotha; and the *Erdkunde* of Berlin, geographical periodicals of the highest value, not less than the works of Sprüner, Sprenger, Ch. Vogel, Barth, Ritter, and Kiepert, are authorities everywhere on questions pertaining to these sciences.

German poetry inclines oftenest to mysticism, and German romance to diffuseness. Schiller is, *par excellence*, the German poet, and the occurrence of the centenary of his birthday in Nov. 1859, created a poetic furor which increased in volume throughout the year 1861, and the poems of the year were inspired by the recollection of the honors and immortality in store for him who should prove himself the poet of the people. The novelists of Germany now possessing the highest reputation are Gustav Freytag, Otfried Mylius, Paul Heyse, M. Gutzkow, one of whose novels extends to eight volumes, Baron Hackländer, the author of Tannhäuser, Fanny Lewald, Louise Ernesti, Marie Nathusius, Eliza von Moscherosch, Auerbach, and Kompert. In dramatic literature the great names of the year are: Labe, Mosenthal, Melchior Meyer, Max Ring, Hersch, Freytag, Oscar de Redwitz, and Brachvogel.

The death of Heinrich Heine and Justinus Kerner, among the German poets, Bäur among the theologians, and of others of equal celebrity in other departments of literature, has left a void in the literary circles of Germany not easily to be filled.

LOUISIANA is one of the Southern States of the United States, and is bounded on the west by Texas, on the south by the Gulf of Mexico, on the east by the State of Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico, and on the north by Mississippi and Arkansas. This State has no parallel on the face of the globe in the natural advantages which she enjoys for river trade with an interior, extending back directly north 2,000 miles to St. Anthony's Falls; northwestward, 3,000 miles to the very base of the Rocky Mountains; northeastward, through the entire extent of the Ohio valley, 2,500 miles, even into the State of New York; besides innumerable intermediate points in the great valleys of the Mississippi, Missouri, Ohio, Arkansas, Tennessee, Cumberland, Red River, and a multitude of tributary streams, which pour the products of fourteen States into her lap; while many more await only the advance of population to add new treasures from tracts roamed by the savage and the buffalo.

The Governor is elected for four years. The Senate consists of 32 members, and the House of Representatives of 97 members, both elected by the people, the former for 4 years, and the latter for 2. The Legislature assembles on the 3d Monday in January. The Governor of the State is Thomas O. Moore, whose term of office expires in January, 1864. Louisiana, including all the territory west of the Mississippi, excepting Texas and New Mexico, and the territory west of the Rocky Mountains, was purchased by President Jefferson in 1803, for the sum of $11,250,000, besides the assumption on the part of the United States of some claims of her citizens against the Government of France.

The authorities of Louisiana were undoubtedly early enlisted in the plans for the secession of the Southern States from the Union, and ready to use all their efforts to secure success. In November, 1860, Governor Moore issued a proclamation for an extra session of the Legislature on the 10th of December. The reason requiring this session was thus stated:

> Whereas the election of Abraham Lincoln to the office of President of the United States by a sectional and aggressive anti-slavery party, whose hostility to the people and the institutions of the South has been evinced by repeated and long-continued violations of constitutional obligations and fraternal amity, now consummated by this last insult and outrage perpetrated at and through the ballot-box, does, in my opinion, as well as that of a large number of citizens of all parties and pursuits, furnish an occasion such as is contemplated by the Constitution; and whereas some of our sister States, aggrieved like ours, are preparing measures for their future security, and for the safety of their institutions and their people, and both patriotism and the necessity of self-preservation require us to deliberate upon our own course of action; now, therefore, I, Thomas O. Moore, Governor of the State of Louisiana, do hereby convene the Legislature of this State in extra session, and do appoint Monday, the 10th day of December next.

On the day appointed this body met at Baton Rouge, and caused to be prepared an act providing for a State Convention, to be held on the 23d of January, and for the election of delegates. On the next day the act was passed by the Senate and House. In the Senate it was eloquently opposed by Randall Hunt. In the House a strong effort was made to cause the question "Convention or no Convention" to be submitted to a vote of the people. It, however, failed of success. At the same time a military act passed both Houses, which appropriated $500,000

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for such purposes, and provided for the appointment of a military commission, the organization and arming of volunteer companies, and for the establishment of military depots. When the bill was on its passage, an amendment was offered which forbade the purchase of arms in the Northern States. This was lost. A bill was also introduced which provided for the confiscation of all goods arriving from the Northern States after the 1st of January, 1861, and ordering that the proceeds of any sales under such confiscation should be appropriated to the purchase of arms. It failed to pass the Legislature. On the 12th, Wirt Adams, commissioner from Mississippi, was introduced to the Legislature in joint session, and made an address, announcing the action of Mississippi, and asking the coöperation of Louisiana. The speech was eagerly listened to by a crowded audience. On the next day the Legislature adjourned to January 21st.

Friends of secession became active in New Orleans, the great city of the State, as soon as the movement commenced in South Carolina, and the sentiment had gathered so much volume that as early as December 21st a general demonstration of joy was made over the secession of that State. One hundred guns were fired, and the Pelican flag was unfurled. Speeches in favor of secession were made by distinguished citizens, and the Marseillaise hymn and polkas were the only airs played.

The movement had now commenced in earnest. The influence and efforts of New Orleans were expected to carry the rest of the State. Only four days later a mass meeting was held to ratify the nomination of the "Southern Rights" candidates, as they were called, for the Convention. It was the largest assemblage of all parties ever held in the city. Speeches were made by prominent citizens advocating immediate secession amid unbounded enthusiasm. The Southern Marseillaise was again sung as the banner of the State was raised, with reiterated and prolonged cheers for South Carolina and Louisiana. A citizen of eminence in the southern part of the State, writing upon the condition of affairs at this time, thus says:

"In our section the excitement is confined to the politicians, the people generally being borne along with the current, and feeling the natural disposition of sustaining their section. I think that ninety-nine out of every hundred of the people sincerely hope that some plan will yet be devised to heal up the dissensions, and to settle our difficulties to the satisfaction of both the North and South; and a combined effort will be made to bring about such a result, even after the States withdraw from the Union."

A State Convention was early called, and the vote in New Orleans for members was close enough to defeat a portion of the secession candidates. The city was entitled to twenty "representative delegates" and five "senatorial delegates." The "immediate secessionists" succeeded in electing all of the latter class and fifteen of the former, whilst the "coöperationists" obtained five of the "representative delegates." The majority of the secessionists for the senatorial delegates was about 350. The number of votes polled was little upwards of 8,000, being less than one-half the voters registered in the city.

Their success, however, was regarded as sufficient to be made the occasion of great rejoicing. This election took place on the 8th of January. On the next day three separate military organizations departed to take possession of Forts Jackson and St. Philip at the mouths of the Mississippi, and also the arsenal at Baton Rouge.

On the 13th the United States revenue cutter Lewis Cass was seized by a military company at Algiers, opposite New Orleans. The vessel was laid up and undergoing repairs. Her armament, consisting of one long 24-pounder and six 8-pounder carronades, with a large quantity of cannon-balls, powder, and other military stores, had been placed in the Belleville Iron Works, an extensive and unoccupied brick building.

About the same time the barracks below the city, which had been for several months occupied as a marine hospital, were taken possession of in the name of the State of Louisiana. They contained at the time 216 invalids and convalescent patients. The collector at New Orleans was required to remove the convalescents immediately, and the sick as soon as practicable. The reason assigned for this act by the State authorities was that they wanted the buildings for quarters for their own troops. (*See* Forts, &c.)

The Legislature of the State assembled at Baton Rouge on the 21st of January, and the Governor in his message represented the finances of the State to be in a flourishing condition, with a surplus in the Treasury.

On the 24th the State Convention met at the same place and organized. A committee of 15 was ordered to report an ordinance of secession. Over the capital waved a flag with 15 stars.

On the 26th the ordinance of secession was adopted by a vote of ayes 113, noes 17. The following is the ordinance:

An ordinance to dissolve the union between the State of Louisiana and other States united with her under the compact entitled "The Constitution of the United States of America."

We, the people of the State of Louisiana, in convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinance passed by us in Convention on the 22d day of November, in the year 1811, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America, and the amendments of said Constitution, were adopted, and all laws and ordinances by which the State of Louisiana became a member of the Federal Union, be, and the same are hereby, repealed and abrogated; and that the union now subsisting between Louisiana and other States, under the name of the "United States of America," is hereby dissolved.

We do further declare and ordain, that the State of Louisiana hereby resumes all rights and powers heretofore delegated to the Government of the United

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States of America; that her citizens are absolved from all allegiance to said Government; and that she is in full possession and exercise of all those rights of sovereignty which appertain to a free and independent State.

We do further declare and ordain, that all rights acquired and vested under the Constitution of the United States, or any act of Congress, or treaty, or under any law of this State and not incompatible with this ordinance, shall remain in force, and have the same effect as if this ordinance had not been passed.

The undersigned hereby certified that the above ordinance is a true copy of the original ordinance adopted this day by the Convention of the State of Louisiana.

Given under my hand and the great seal of Louisiana, at Baton Rouge, this 26th day of the month of January, in the year of our Lord, 1861.

[L. S.] A. MOUTON,
President of the Convention.

J. THOMAS WHEAT, Secretary of the Convention.

The aspect of New Orleans at the time of the passage of this ordinance is thus reported:

"Every thing in this city appears to be in rapid progress towards a war establishment. Trade is at a stand still; the importation of merchandise has almost entirely ceased; the warehouses of the Federal Government are everywhere literally glutted with bonded goods; the banks are remorselessly curtailing their discounts; ordinary creditors are endeavoring by all means short of legal pressure to lessen the liabilities of their debtors; stores and manufactories, traders, and mechanics are diminishing their expenses by the discharge of hands, and, save the office-holders, an influential, wealthy, and important body, electorally considered, everybody looks dubious and bewildered, not knowing what to expect or what may happen. The proceedings at Baton Rouge will take no one by surprise. The Legislature is engaged in spending money profusely, and the Convention is engaged in laying down a broad foundation for the erection of a monstrous superstructure of debt."

In the Convention on the 31st, a resolution was offered to instruct the delegates to the Montgomery Convention, who had been previously appointed, to resist any attempt to reopen the African slave trade. This was laid on the table by a vote of 83 to 28. Mr. Walker, of New Orleans, then offered a resolution, declaring that the foregoing vote was not the sense of the Convention, but that it did not consider it to be proper to bind their delegates by instructions upon this or any other point. After an exciting debate the resolution was passed.

On the same day, the United States Mint and Custom House at New Orleans were quietly taken possession of by the State authorities, and the oath was subsequently administered to the officials under the ordinance. In the mint was $118,811, and in the sub-Treasury $483,984. A draft of the United States for $300,000 was presented soon after, which the sub-Treasurer refused to pay, saying that "the money in his custody was no longer the property of the United States, but of the Republic of Louisiana."

An ordinance was soon passed, however, authorizing the payment of all drafts drawn by disbursing officers in the regular course of disbursement out of funds standing to the credit of said officers respectively, provided the same did not exceed $306,592. Also all drafts of the United States drawn prior to the passage of the ordinance of secession, provided the same did not exceed $146,226. The sum of $31,164, standing to the credit of the Post-office Department, was allowed to remain subject to its draft.

About this time a special agent, appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury at Washington, to secure the revenue cutters McClelland and Lewis Cass from seizure by the authorities of Louisiana, arrived at New Orleans. He found the captain of the McClelland after a long search, and delivered to him the following order:

NEW ORLEANS, *Jan.* 29, 1861.

SIR: You are hereby directed to get the United States revenue cutter McClelland, now lying here, under weigh immediately, and proceed with her to New York, where you will await the further instructions of the Secretary of the Treasury. For my authority to make this order, you are referred to the letter of the Secretary, dated the 19th inst., and handed you personally by me. Very respectfully,

WM. HEMPHILL JONES,
Special Agent.

To Capt. J. G. BRESHWOOD, commanding U. S. revenue cutter Robert McClelland.

To this letter, Captain Breshwood replied as follows:

U. S. REVENUE CUTTER ROBERT MCCLELLAND,
NEW ORLEANS, *Jan.* 29, 1861.

SIR: Your letter, with one of the 19th of January from the Hon. Secretary of the Treasury, I have duly received, and in reply refuse to obey the order.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN G. BRESHWOOD, Captain.

To WM. HEMPHILL JONES, Esq., Special Agent.

The special agent, W. H. Jones, then sent by telegraph a despatch to Secretary Dix, as follows:

NEW ORLEANS, *Jan.* 29, 1861.

Hon. J. A. Dix, Secretary of Treasury:

Captain Breshwood has refused positively in writing, to obey any instructions of the Department. In this I am sure he is sustained by the Collector, and believe acts by his advice. What must I do?

W. H. JONES, Special Agent.

To this despatch Secretary Dix immediately returned the following answer:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *Jan.* 29, 1861.

W. Hemphill Jones, New Orleans:

Tell Lieutenant Caldwell to arrest Captain Breshwood, assume command of the cutter, and obey the order through you. If Captain Breshwood, after arrest, undertakes to interfere with the command of the cutter, tell Lieutenant Caldwell to consider him as a mutineer, and treat him accordingly. If any one attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot.

JOHN A. DIX, Secretary of the Treasury.

This despatch from Secretary Dix was not received. It probably was withheld from the agent. His further proceedings are thus stated in his report to the Secretary of the Treasury:

Believing that Captain Breshwood would not have

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ventured upon this most positive act of insubordination and disobedience of his own volition, I waited upon the Collector at the Custom-House, and had with him a full and free conversation upon the whole subject. In the course of it, Mr. Hatch admitted to me that he had caused the cutter to be brought to the city of New Orleans by an order of his own, dated January 15th, so that she might be secured to the State of Louisiana, although at that time the State had not only not seceded, but the Convention had not met, and in fact did not meet until eight days afterwards. This, I must confess, seemed to me a singular confession for one who at that very time had sworn to do his duty faithfully as an officer of the United States; and on intimating as much to Mr. Hatch, he excused himself on the ground that in these revolutions all other things must give way to the force of circumstances. Mr. Hatch likewise informed me that the officers of the cutter had long since determined to abandon their allegiance to the United States, and cast their fortunes with the independent State of Louisiana. In order to test the correctness of this statement, I addressed another communication to Captain Breshwood, of the following tenor:

NEW ORLEANS, *Jan.* 29, 1861.

SIR: By your note of this date I am informed that you refuse to obey the orders of the honorable Secretary of the Treasury. As, on accepting your commission, you took and subscribed an oath faithfully to discharge your duties to the Government, and as you well know, the law has placed the revenue cutters and their officers under the entire control of the Secretary of the Treasury, I request you to advise me whether you consider yourself at this time an officer in the service of the United States.

Very respectfully,
WM. HEMPHILL JONES, Special Agent.

To Captain BRESHWOOD.

To this letter I never received any reply. I then repaired again on board the cutter, and asked for the order of the Collector bringing her to New Orleans. The original was placed in my possession, of which the following is a copy. And here it may be proper to observe, that the order is written and signed by the Collector himself:

CUSTOM-HOUSE, NEW ORLEANS,
COLLECTOR'S OFFICE, *Jan.* 15, 1861.

SIR: You are hereby directed to proceed forthwith under sail to this city, and anchor the vessel under your command opposite the United States Marine Hospital, above Algiers.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
F. H. HATCH, Collector.

To Capt. J. G. BRESHWOOD.

In the latter part of January, the Collector at New Orleans, acting under instructions from the State authorities, refused to deliver foreign goods that had been imported by merchants in the cities of the Northern States or bordering on the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, unless the duties were paid at New Orleans. Applications for instructions were made by the Collectors of these cities to the Treasury Department at Washington, and the answer was returned "that duties on imports collected by the State of Louisiana, at New Orleans, will not be recognized by the General Government."

On the 7th of February, an ordinance was passed by the Convention conferring the right of citizenship on all persons residing in the State of Louisiana at the date of the adoption of the secession ordinance.

Subsequently a State flag was adopted, consisting of a red ground, upon which appears a single star of pale yellow. The ground is crossed by bars of blue and white, making of the three colors fifteen stripes.

An ordinance was passed making it a penal offence for pilots at the Balize to bring over the bar any United States vessel of war.

Another ordinance was adopted to accept the criminal code of the United States District Court.

In the House of Representatives of the Legislature, on the 15th of February, a joint resolution was introduced and referred, inviting the southern portion of Indiana and Illinois, which gave large majorities against Mr. Lincoln, to form a pro-slavery State and join the Southern Confederacy.

The speech of Mr. Lincoln, at Indianapolis, was regarded by the Legislature in session at Baton Rouge as foreshadowing coercion, and that war was inevitable. It was then declared that, "upon the first demonstration by him, the Provisional Government would send immediately a large army North. The South would never wait to be invaded."

An appropriation bill amounting to one million and a half passed the House on the 19th, and one hundred thousand dollars were asked to put the forts on the Mississippi in a complete state for defence. A regular force of three regiments was to be raised, which, with the volunteers, were supposed to be sufficient for any emergency.

At the same time, the bishop (Polk) of the Protestant Episcopal Church for the Diocese of Louisiana, issued a pastoral letter, arguing that secession likewise embraced that portion of the Church, which thereby separated from the Church in the Northern States. He thus expressed his views:

"Our separation from our brethren of 'The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States' has been effected, because we must follow our nationality. Not because there has been any difference of opinion as to Christian doctrine or catholic usage. Upon these points we are still one. With us it is a separation, not a division—certainly not alienation. And there is no reason why, if we should find the union of our dioceses under our National Church impracticable, we should cease to feel for each other the respect and regard with which purity of manners, high principle, and a manly devotion to truth never fail to inspire generous minds. Our relations to each other hereafter will be the relations we both now hold to the men of our mother Church of England."

On the 4th of March the State Convention re-assembled at New Orleans. On the same day a resolution was passed, that the Convention will unite in a public reception of General Twiggs, and inviting him to a seat on the floor of the Convention. A resolution was also adopted instructing the Louisiana delegates in the Southern Congress not to cede any part of the public domain to the Confederation.

On the next day General Twiggs was enthu-

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siastically received. A salute was fired, and immense crowds gathered along the route of the procession. The military, the members of the State Convention, and others escorted him to his residence. In reply to an address of welcome, he said, "It was his hope that Providence would grant him sufficient strength to take part in the momentous struggle which threatened the country." While the procession was moving, a ludicrous mishap occurred. A file of the neatly-attired citizen soldiers was drawn up along the street in front of a building in course of construction, and close in their rear was a long mortar-bed, two feet deep, with that plastic composition ready for the workmen. The space between the files for the passage of the carriages being rather narrow, the officer ordered his men to take a step back. They did so, and about twenty feet of them instantaneously disappeared from sight backwards, the front file, in close order, preventing the rear rank from recovering themselves, when their heels stumbled against the mortar-bed. They were submerged, and every soldier had his uniform spoiled. They took cabs and disappeared.

By another ordinance, $536,000 were transferred to the Government of the Confederate States as the amount of bullion found and revenue from the customs seized by the State. At a later day, an ordinance to submit the Constitution of the Confederate States to a vote of the people for their acceptance or rejection, was defeated in the Convention by a vote of ayes 26, noes 74. The popular vote of the State for delegates to the Convention was not known until some time after the passage of the ordinance of secession. The names of the delegates who were elected only were sent to the Convention, without the popular vote of the different parishes. It was finally made public, however, as follows: For secession, 20,448; against secessjon, 17,296. At the Presidential election in November, 1860, the vote was as follows: Lincoln, ——; Douglas, 7,625; Breckinridge, 22,681; Bell, 20,204.

At the time when the vote was announced, the distinction between coöperation and secession had lost much of its force. It was, however, asserted in different parts of the State that there was a majority from two to three hundred on the popular vote for coöperation.

The right of secession was discussed at this time, and it was proposed to amend the ordinance ratifying the Constitution by adding thereto the following:

And it is hereby solemnly declared and ordained, That the true meaning and interpretation of this ordinance of ratification is, and shall be, construed as follows:

Whereas a free State cannot be too jealous in guarding its fundamental rights; and whereas many citizens of Louisiana had grave doubts whether separate secession was a peaceable, constitutional remedy for their grievances in the late Union; and whereas those doubts arose from the silence upon that subject, both of the Constitution of the United States of America and of the act by which the State of Louisiana gave in her adhesion thereto; and whereas the Constitution of the Confederate States of America appears in this, as in most respects, to have been modelled after this Constitution of the United States: now, therefore, to prevent misunderstandings, and to secure harmony in future,

It is further ordained by the People of Louisiana, in Convention assembled, That, in adopting the Constitution of the Confederate States of America, the sovereign State of Louisiana does expressly reserve to herself the right peaceably to withdraw from the Union created by that Constitution, whenever, in the judgment of her citizens, her paramount interest may require it.

Mr. Marks, of Orleans, moved to lay the amendment on the table; and the yeas and nays having been called for, the motion was carried by yeas 92, nays 11. So the Convention refused to entertain the proposition.

The Permanent Constitution was, on the 21st of March, ratified in Convention by a vote of ayes 101, noes 71.

On the 26th, a resolution was introduced declaring in favor of entire free trade with the Western States, slave and free, by the Confederate States.

An ordinance was passed transferring the fortifications, arsenals, lighthouses, and revenue cutters of the State to the Confederate Government.

The ordinance on banking was passed, prohibiting the issue of notes of less than ten dollars, and this issue was not to exceed three-fourths of the capital paid in; the liabilities were to be represented by one-third specie and ninety days' paper. The State debt at this time was about $11,000,000, and the apparent surplus in the Treasury was $193,416.

The demand for troops made upon the State by the Confederate Government, was responded to with alacrity. The parishes poured into New Orleans large numbers of troops who were sent forward to Pensacola. They also made liberal appropriations for their support. Tensas parish appropriated $16,000 for the use of the State, and paid $20 a month to each soldier, besides supporting his family during his absence. East Feliciana subscribed $50,000 for the same purpose, and at a large meeting passed a resolution that the Planters' parish in East Feliciana stand pledged to tender to Louisiana and the Government of the Confederate States, should it be needed, the whole of the annual proceeds of the crops, deducting only what may be necessary for current expenses during the continuance of the present hostilities.

The state of affairs at New Orleans at this time is thus reported: "The war fever here is raging intensely, as it is also in all parts of the State, and in Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, Georgia, and other cities and towns in the Confederate States. Indeed, so extensive are the preparations for the coming and inevitable conflict, that every thing in the way of business is lost sight of, and thousands are arranging their personal effects in anticipation of the worst. In this city the ardor and enthusiasm have never been exceeded, and twenty-five thousand men

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could be mustered into the Confederate army. Business here is well nigh suspended. There are few ships here, and these get high figures for freights, especially British bottoms, which have the preference."

On the 24th of April, Governor Moore issued an address calling for 3,000 additional troops. It was as follows:

To the People of Louisiana:

The Government at Washington, maddened by defeat and the successful maintenance by our patriotic people of their rights and liberties against its mercenaries in the harbor of Charleston, and the determination of the Southern people forever to sever themselves from the Northern Government, has now thrown off the mask, and sustained by the people of the non-slaveholding States, is actively engaged in levying war, by land and sea, to subvert your liberties, destroy your rights, and to shed your blood on your own soil. If you have the manhood to resist, rise, then, pride of Louisiana in your might, in defence of your dearest rights, and drive back this insolent barbaric force. Like your brave ancestry, resolve to conquer, or perish in the effort; and the flag of usurpation will never, never fly over Southern soil. Rally, then, to the proclamation which I now make on the requisition of the Confederate Government.

A number of parishes in the State appropriated ten thousand dollars each for the support of the volunteers, and pledged themselves to pay fifty thousand dollars a year, each, as long as the war should last.

This quota of 3,000 men, when made up, would raise the number to 6,000, which had then been sent forward. This last call was completed within thirty days.

By the 1st of June Louisiana had not less than sixteen thousand men under arms. Of these, seven thousand were on duty, as follows: Pensacola, 2,100; in Virginia, and on the way, 2,300; in Arkansas, 1,000; sea-coast and harbor defence, 1,700; marines, 250; total, 7,350. At Tangipaha, in camp, there were, in addition to the above, 4,000, and at New Orleans 5,000. At the ship yards at Algiers several vessels were put in condition for privateers, as the Star of the West, captured in a port of Texas; the McRae, once the Marquis de Havana; and the Sumter, once the Miramon, all of which were strong steamers. On the 10th of July the condition of affairs is thus described by a citizen and permanent resident of the State:

"What do we see? A treasury which a few months ago was full to repletion now collapsed, a great city comparatively defenceless, a people full of chivalrous feeling discouraged, an ardent and zealous local militia disappointed and disgusted; and, while all this is notoriously so, the imbecility which has produced it is perpetually taxing its ingenuity to devise some new expedients, finding fresh pretexts for rewarding hangers-on of disgraceful antecedents or useless appendages of the old militia system."

There are four routes by which New Orleans may be approached. The first is by the Mississippi River; the second is through lakes Borgne and Pontchartrain; another is up the Atchafalaya to Berwick Bay, and thence by bayous Torrel and Plaquemine to Iberville, one hundred miles above New Orleans; and the fourth by way of Grand Pass and Bayou Lafourche to Donaldsonville, eighty miles above the city.

The Mississippi River at the Balize divides into four branches, discharging themselves respectively through Pass a l'Outre, Northeast Pass, South Pass, and Southwest Pass. Above, where these four outlets begin, there are two forts, almost opposite to each other, named Jackson and St. Philip, which were well manned by a Confederate force, and mounted one hundred and seventy guns.

By the route through lakes Borgne and Pontchartrain, vessels drawing eleven feet can be brought to the Lake House, which is five miles from New Orleans. Troops landed there might be taken up the canal by water, or marched at ease in any numbers up the shell road, one of the finest in the country. On each side of it, and the canal, which runs parallel, the ground falls away into a swamp covered with a dense undergrowth, affording excellent covers for skirmishers. There are no fortifications of any kind on this road, except barricades. On this route a large trade is usually carried between New Orleans and Mobile. The length of the two lakes is one hundred and ten miles. At the entrance of Borgne, the more eastern of the two, are three islands, known as Cat, Ship, and Horse Islands. Upon the mainland opposite is Mississippi City.

The Atchafalaya route affords, at the barrel stakes, only twelve feet water, but above that any depth needed, for thirty or forty miles. Through it and the Plaquemine, vessels of that draught can pass to Iberville, thence into the Mississippi, at any time from the 1st of December to the 1st of June, when the river is full.

Vessels of ten feet draught can go up the Bayou Lafourche during the same season of the year. The western extremity of Borgne extends within twelve miles of the city, and from thence troops and munitions of war could be transported, notwithstanding the swampy character of the country, for the greater part of the route.

During the summer, New Orleans became so embarrassed, as a municipal corporation, as to be regarded as bankrupt. This was ascribed to large expenditures to aid the military movements, although the real cause was undoubtedly the utter destruction of her credit and business, and the destitution to which a large portion of her citizens were exposed. All her foreign commerce was destroyed by the blockade.

In September, the banks of the city suspended specie payment, at the request of the Governor of the State, who issued a proclamation stating that the step was necessary to maintain the credit of the one hundred millions of treasury notes issued by the Confederate Government, in order to obtain the means with which to carry on the war. The banks were required to receive and pay out these notes at par.

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Under the confiscation act of the Confederate Congress all branches of northern firms doing business in the city were required to present a full balance sheet to the authorities. For instance, a co-partner of a northern commercial firm was required to close at once and adjust the balances. If there was any thing due to northern co-partners it was at once sequestrated. In October the Governor issued an order directing all military captains to drill their companies once during each day, and he authorized them to force the attendance of their men by placing all who refused to do duty upon the list of persons who were suspected of being unsound in their allegiance to the Confederacy.

The report of the markets for the 9th of November presented the following facts:

"The receipts of cotton since September 1 were 1,789 bales; stock on hand, 11,907 bales. Flour was selling at $11 25 to $12 25 per barrel; week's receipts 4,970 barrels. Corn had advanced to $1 25 per bushel for white; and red wheat $2 25 per bushel. Oats $1 25 per bushel. Western hay $50 per ton, and prairie grass $35 per ton. Mess pork was retailing at $45 per barrel; the stock in private hands was only 99 barrels, the rest of the stock (3,929 barrels) being held for Government stores. Hams were retailing at from 25 to 27 cents per pound, and lard 27 to 28 cents. There had been no receipts for a week of either pork, bacon, or lard. Western butter was quoted at 35 to 40 cents per pound. Kentucky bagging was selling at 24 cents per yard, and India at 24 cents. Gunny bags sold at 30 cents each. Whiskey $1 per gallon, and the week's receipts only amounted to 31 barrels. In regard to the article of coffee there was none in first hands, and the amount held by grocers was very small, the stock being almost exhausted. Sales of Liverpool salt brought the following rates: $10 to $10 50 per sack for coarse, and $11 to $11 50 for fine; packing salt has advanced from $5 50 to $6 per bag of two bushels. Lard oil sold at $2 50 to $3 60 per gallon."

The Governor, in his Message to the Legislature in November, stated that the taxes for State purposes were payable on or before the 1st of December in each year. The amount paid in to the 15th of November was $614,816; the amount then unpaid and due was $1,113,948. Only about one-third of the amount assessed had then been paid in. The amount of funds in the State Treasury on the same day was $383,622.

The appropriations for military purposes made by the last Legislature amounted to $960,000. Of this sum there had been expended $768,446. In addition $670,000 had been borrowed of the banks, of which there had been expended $646,761. The total expenditures for military purposes were $1,415,207. There were at the same time outstanding debts for the same objects amounting to $181,000. Total military expenses, $1,596,807.

This sum is charged to the Confederate States, and was at that time before the authorities at Richmond to be audited and paid. The amount, when allowed, would be an offset against the Confederate tax laid upon the State, and would help the State to settle with the Confederate authorities and assume the collection of the quota of Louisiana through her new officers, and at her own convenience. In making these expenditures, the Governor had obtained a loan of $670,000 from the Bank of New Orleans, of which his balance in hand was $106,101.

The debts to the banks for advances to the quartermasters and for estimated military expenditures, reached $950,000. There were the balance with the banks and the balance of unexpended appropriations, so that new appropriations were required for $653,944, and new means to the amount of $845,499. These are for military advances. The money in the Treasury belonging to the several branches of domestic administration was $383,622, of which sum only a trifle of $12,860 belonged to the general fund applicable to appropriations. Such was the aspect of the Treasury, and it was one evidently requiring the wisdom and sagacity of the Legislature to find means for sustaining the public credit. The willingness of the people to contribute unstintingly to the public wants was constrained only by the lack of ways in which to make their property and means serviceable to the cause in which they were embarked.

The measures recommended by the Governor were the following:

An extension by the Legislature of the time for the collection of taxes.

An act to make Confederate notes receivable for taxes.

Authorizing planters to issue "supply notes," or notes negotiable for the purchase of plantation supplies which should be a lien on crops.

The suspension by the Legislature of the duty imposed on the Attorney-General to institute proceedings for a forfeiture of the bank charters for suspension of specie payment, with provision to submit their action to a convention of the people, to be held after the conclusion of peace.

The issue of small notes by the banks, for the purpose of abating the nuisance of illegal private circulations.

The question of a stay law had been much discussed, and the Governor advised the Legislature to proceed with extreme caution in relation to it. He discouraged any interference with the regular course of probate and judiciary proceedings, and was disposed to approve generally of such legislation as should merely stay executions and secure the lien of creditors on the property of debtors.

At this session of the Legislature an act was passed to suspend all judicial proceedings against persons in the military and naval service. Another to suspend forced sales, known

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as a stay law, was also passed. Property, however, might be sold, when nine-tenths of its appraised value, according to the standard of valuation on the first of June, 1860, were offered.

The position of Louisiana at a distance from the Federal force, enabled her to devote all her military strength to the assistance of the Confederate Government. The number of her troops in service at the close of the year was eight regiments and two battalions in Virginia, three regiments in Kentucky, one in Missouri, and five more within the State. Besides these volunteers, fourteen companies of infantry had been mustered directly into the Confederate service. There were also thirteen companies at Camp Lewis near New Orleans, and it was estimated that 3,891 men had been raised in the State and mustered into the Confederate service directly by the War Department. The aggregate of soldiers furnished by Louisiana up to November was therefore 24,093 men, which was about half of the number of voters.

According to the report of Adjutant-General Grivot, there were, on the 20th of December, 23,577 troops from Louisiana in the Confederate service. The report of the organized militia of the State was incomplete, as many parishes had made no returns. In nine parishes there was a force of 5,898. The first division under Major-General Lewis was 30,499 strong; the regiment of Confederate Guards numbered 752 men, making a total military force reported as organized in the State, of 37,149. The grand total of Louisiana troops in and out of the State was 60,726.

The only hostile movements within the limits of the State in 1861 were made at the mouths of the Mississippi. On the 12th of October, near four o'clock in the morning, as the Federal steamship Richmond, under the command of John Pope, was lying at the Southwest Pass receiving coal from the schooner J. H. Toone, a floating ram, as it was called, was discovered close upon the ship.

By the time the alarm could be given, she had struck the ship abreast of the fore channels, tearing the schooner from her fasts, and forcing a hole through the ship's side.

Passing aft, the ram endeavored to effect a breach in the stern, but failed. Three planks on the ship's side were stove in about two feet below the water line, making a hole about five inches in circumference. At the first alarm the crew promptly and coolly repaired to their quarters, and as the ram passed abreast of the ship the entire port battery was discharged at her, with what effect it was impossible to discover, owing to the darkness.

The sloops of war Preble and Vincennes, and the smaller steamer Water Witch, were lying at anchor a short distance below. A red light was shown from the Richmond as a signal of danger, and the vessels, having slipped their cables, were under way in a few minutes. Soon, three large fire rafts stretching across the river were seen rapidly approaching, while several large steamers and a bark-rigged propeller were astern of them. The squadron, however, moved down the river, and, under the advice of the pilot, an attempt was made to pass over the bar, but in the passage the Vincennes and Richmond grounded, while the Preble went clear. This occurred about eight o'clock in the morning, and fire was opened on both sides. The shot of the fleet fell short, while shells of the enemy burst around them, or went beyond them. About half-past nine o'clock the commander of the Richmond made a signal to the ships outside of the bar to get under way. This was mistaken by Captain Hardy of the Vincennes as a signal for him to abandon his ship. Accordingly, with his officers and crew he left her, after having lighted a slow match at the magazine. But as no explosion occurred for some time, he was ordered to return and attempt to get her off shore. At ten o'clock the enemy ceased firing. No one was killed or wounded on the Federal fleet. No damage was done to any vessel except to the Richmond. The schooner J. H. Toone was captured, having about fifteen tons of coal on board.

The ram, as it was called, was the hull of a steamer, iron-plated with railroad iron, and having a projection on her bow beneath the water line, sufficient to punch a hole in the hull of a wooden vessel when struck with force. It was under the command of Capt. Hollins, formerly of the United States navy, the officer who was in command at the bombardment of Greytown, Nicaragua.

LYON, NATHANIEL, a general of volunteers in the United States army, born at Ashford, Windham Co., Connecticut, July 14, 1819, killed at the battle of Wilson's Creek, Missouri, August 10, 1861. His mother was a daughter of Lieutenant Daniel Knowlton, who served through the old French war and the Revolution. Gen. Lyon graduated at the Military Academy at West Point in 1841, and immediately received the appointment of second-lieutenant in the second regiment of infantry. His first field of service was Florida, during the latter part of the Seminole war, where he distinguished himself as an able and energetic officer. He was subsequently stationed for several years at different posts on the western frontier. In 1847 he was promoted to a first-lieutenancy, and upon the commencement of the war with Mexico was again ordered to active service. He joined Gen. Taylor at Monterey, and accompanied his regiment when it was detached from the command of Gen. Taylor and placed under that of Gen. Scott. He served at the bombardment of Vera Cruz and the battles of Cerro Gordo, Contreras, and Churubusco, and for "meritorious conduct" received the brevet rank of captain. At the close of the war with Mexico, Gen. Lyon was ordered to California, and detailed to service among the Indian tribes, who had become troublesome, and while en-

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gaged in this service was promoted to a full captaincy in 1851. From California Gen. Lyon was ordered to Kansas, during the height of the political troubles there, and used his influence to maintain order and calm the strife of partisans. Some of his articles written for the press at this period, bear evidence of great vigor of intellect, and earnest devotion to his country's good. Early in 1861 Capt. Lyon was placed in command of the United States arsenal at St. Louis; after the fall of Fort Sumter the possession of Missouri seemed to depend upon his energy and coolness. The police commissioners of St. Louis assumed to themselves the power of opposing the Government, and demanded that Capt. Lyon should confine his jurisdiction to the arsenal grounds; this he refused. Not long before, the Governor of Missouri had authorized the formation of camps in various parts of the State. Taken in connection with the action of the commissioners, Capt. Lyon considered the concentration of these forces as an act of open hostility to the Government, and suddenly surrounded one of the camps, known as Camp Jackson, with a large force of the State "Home Guards" under Cols. Blair and Siegèl, and, planting his guns on the heights, demanded of Gen. Frost, the commander of Camp Jackson, an immediate surrender; satisfied that he was unable to resist so large a force, Gen. Frost yielded up his whole command as prisoners of war. (*See* ST. LOUIS.) A few days later Gen. Harney arrived at St. Louis and assumed the command, and Capt. Lyon was appointed general of the first brigade of Missouri Volunteers. He broke up a Confederate force at Potosi, and caused several important seizures of war material destined for Camp Jackson. Upon the removal of Gen. Harney, Gen. Lyon was placed in command of the department. Gov. Jackson and Gen. Price sought an interview with him, in which they insisted that no United States troops should march through or quarter in Missouri, although they had already allowed Confederate troops to do so. Lyon's reply was that the troops of the United States should march peaceably everywhere through the United States, offering insult to none, but would oppose every attack and crush every effort to molest them. Upon this Gov. Jackson withdrew from St. Louis and prepared for war. Gen. Lyon then took the field, but previously issued a proclamation to the citizens of Missouri, in which, after rehearsing the various acts of Gov. Jackson, he concludes: "If, in suppressing these treasonable projects, carrying out the policy of the Government, and maintaining its dignity, hostilities should unfortunately occur, and unhappy consequences should follow, I would hope that all aggravation of those events may be avoided, and that they may be diverted from the innocent and may fall on the heads of those by whom they have been provoked. In the discharge of these plain but onerous duties, I shall look for the countenance and active coöperation of all good citizens, and I shall expect them to discountenance all illegal combinations or organizations, and support and uphold, by every lawful means, the Federal Government, upon the maintenance of which depend their liberties and the perfect enjoyment of all their rights."

Learning that Gov. Jackson and Gen. Price had commenced hostilities, Gen. Lyon moved towards Jefferson City with a small force, and upon his approach Gov. Jackson abandoned his position and retreated to Booneville, where a battle was fought on the 17th of June, which resulted in a complete victory, all the tents, ammunition and supplies falling into Gen. Lyon's hands. Upon entering Booneville, he issued a proclamation, in which, after a statement of the facts in relation to the battle, he said: "I hereby give notice to the people of this State that I shall scrupulously avoid all interference with the business, rights, and property of every description recognized by the laws of the State, and belonging to law-abiding citizens. But it is equally my duty to maintain the paramount authority of the United States with such force as I have at my command, which will be retained only so long as opposition makes it necessary, and that it is my wish, and shall be my purpose, to visit any unavoidable rigor arising in this issue upon those only who provoke it."

He soon after moved forward to Springfield, an important town of Southwestern Missouri, driving the Confederates before him, and defeating them at Dug Spring, about 15 miles from that town. Subsequent to the battle of Dug Spring, the Confederates received heavy reënforcements, and Gen. Lyon, after making several appeals to the Government for more troops, and receiving no response, called a council of war, to determine upon the question of evacuating Springfield. Fearing any retrograde movement would be fatal to the cause, it was decided to attack Gens. McCulloch and Price in their camp at Wilson's Creek, though with scarcely any hope of success, as the Union force was but a little over five thousand, while the Confederate force was nearly twenty-five thousand. The battle was a desperate one, and Gen. Lyon, after being twice wounded, was killed, while making a gallant charge at the head of the First Iowa Regiment, which had lost its colonel. His body was subsequently conveyed to Connecticut, the home of his parents, and upon its way was received everywhere with marked respect. Military honors were paid to it at Cincinnati, Pittsburg, Philadelphia, Jersey City, and New York. The funeral oration was delivered by Galusha A. Grow, Speaker of the United States House of Representatives. In Congress, Senator Pomeroy delivered an eloquent tribute to his memory, and the following resolutions passed both Houses:

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress

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assembled—*First*, That Congress deems it just and proper to enter upon its records a recognition of the eminent and patriotic services of the late Brigadier-General Nathaniel Lyon. The country to whose services he devoted his life will guard and preserve his fame as a part of its own glory. *Second*, That the thanks of Congress are hereby given to the brave officers and soldiers who, under the command of the late General Lyon, sustained the honor of the flag, and achieved victory against overwhelming numbers at the battle of Springfield, in Missouri, and that, in order to commemorate an event so honorable to the country and to themselves, it is ordered that each regiment engaged shall be authorized to bear upon its colors the word "Springfield," embroidered in letters of gold. And the President of the United States is hereby requested to cause these resolutions to be read at the head of every regiment in the army of the United States.

Upon opening his will, it was ascertained that Gen. Lyon had bequeathed his entire property, $30,000, with the exception of some slight bequests, to the Government, to aid in the preservation of the Union.

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MAINE, the easternmost State of the American Union, was admitted in 1820, previous to which period it had formed a district of Massachusetts. It is situated between latitude 42° 57′ and 47° 32′ north, and longitude 66° 52′ and 71° 6′ west from Greenwich. Its extreme length from north to south is 303 miles, and its extreme width 212 miles. Its average length is about 200 miles, and its average width 160 miles. Its area is 31,766 square miles, or 20,330,240 square acres. Population, in 1860, 628,276. It is bounded northwest and north by Canada, east by New Brunswick, southeast and south by the Atlantic Ocean, and west by New Hampshire. It is divided into 16 counties. The valuation of the real and personal property of its citizens in 1850 was $122,777,571; in 1860, $190,211,600.

The following are some of the agricultural statistics of the State, from the census of 1860. The number of acres under cultivation was 2,677,136; value of cultivated lands, $78,688,525; value of stock, $15,437,380; tons of hay raised, 975,686; bushels of potatoes, 6,274,617; corn, 1,546,071; pounds of wool, 1,495,063; maple sugar, 306,942; butter, 11,687,784; value of orchard products, $501,757. Number of vessels built in 1860, 172; tonnage, 57,867 tons, or more than one-fourth of the whole tonnage of vessels built in the United States that year.

There are 79 banks in the State, with an aggregate capital of $7,968,850. These banks have a circulation of $4,075,423; liabilities, $7,338,846; loans and discounts, $12,540,367; specie, $724,036. There are also in the State 14 savings institutions, which have an aggregate deposit of $1,620,270.

The State debt, at the beginning of 1861, was about $1,172,000; and in addition to other property, it held 3,190,000 acres of public lands. The permanent school fund was about $150,000, to be increased by the sale of 487,567 acres of reserved lands, 20 per cent. on all subsequent sales of unsold public lands, and $30,000 in notes for school lands already sold. About $113,000 are appropriated annually for educational purposes by the Legislature, and the towns are obliged to raise by tax for school purposes a sum equal to 60 cents for each inhabitant.

Maine had, on the 1st of January, 1862, 640 miles of railway completed, or in course of construction; of which 450 miles, constructed and equipped at a cost of $16,901,057, were open for traffic. During the session of the Legislature in 1861, measures were taken to promote the completion of a line of railroad, of which considerable sections were already built, connecting by a continuous line Portland, Maine, with Halifax, Nova Scotia, with a branch line to the Aroostook at Hamilton, Maine. This great international undertaking was projected and fairly set in motion, some years ago, at the Portland Convention. The entire distance from Portland to Halifax is 562 miles; of this 238 miles lie in Maine, 200 miles in New Brunswick, and 124 miles in Nova Scotia. Of this line 138 miles are built in Maine from Bangor, 160 miles in New Brunswick from St. John to Shediac, on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and 61 miles in Nova Scotia from Halifax, northward, to Truro. For more than half the distance, therefore, the line is already completed. The provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia built their sections as public provincial works, at the expense of their governments, and were ready to complete their entire portions on being assured of the readiness of Maine to complete its section to the boundary.

The Governor strongly urged on the Legislature the duty of completing their share of the work; but as the Constitution of Maine prohibited the creation of a State debt, or a loan of credit, except for national defence, he advised them to apply the proceeds of the State lands, and of the claims of Maine on the United States Government, to this object.

After much debate, a bill was passed granting the proceeds of one million of acres of land, and the claims of Maine on the Government of the United States, towards the completion of the work.

In view of the secession and threatened secession of several States from the United States Government, the Legislature passed, on the 16th of January, 1861, by a large majority, the following joint resolutions:

Whereas, By advices received from Washington, and by information received in many other ways, it appears that an extensive combination exists of evil-disposed persons to effect the dissolution of the Fed-

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eral Union and the overthrow of the Government; and *whereas* the people of this State are deeply attached to the Union and thoroughly loyal to the Government, and are heartily devoted to their preservation and protection; therefore,

Resolved, That the Governor be, and hereby is, authorized and requested to assure the President of the United States of the loyalty of the people of Maine to the Union and the Government thereof; and that the entire resources of the State in men and money are hereby pledged to the Administration in defence and support of the Constitution and the Union.

On the 11th of March, the Senate passed a bill repealing the Personal Liberty Act. The vote stood 17 for repeal, and 10 against it.

On the 16th of April, Governor Washburn issued the following proclamation, calling together the Legislature, which had adjourned, in an extra session on the 22d of April:

The fact that the laws of the United States have been, and now are opposed, and their execution obstructed, in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas, by a combination too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the power vested in the Marshals by the laws that are; the fact that a requisition has been made on me by the President of the United States for a portion of the militia of the State to aid in suppressing such combinations, and causing the laws to be duly executed; the fact that I find myself without sufficient authority of law to enable me to respond thereto as the exigency of the case requires,—these facts present, in my judgment, one of those extraordinary occasions contemplated in the Constitution for convening the Legislature.

In consideration whereof, I, Israel Washburn, Jr., Governor of the State of Maine, in virtue of the power vested in me by the Constitution to convene the Legislature of this State, hereby require the Senators and Representatives to assemble in their respective chambers at the capitol in Augusta, on Monday, the 22d day of April instant, at 12 o'clock noon, and then and there to consider and determine on such measures as the condition of the country and the obligations of the State may seem to demand.

ISRAEL WASHBURN, Jr.

The session of the Legislature was a brief one, lasting only three and a half days; but during that time, all business necessary to enable the State to meet the remarkable crisis of the country, was performed with promptness and unanimity. Provisions were made to receive, arm, and equip ten regiments of volunteers, not to exceed 10,000 men. To meet this expense, the State credit was to be loaned and scrip issued, to the amount of $1,000,000. A bill was also passed to raise a volunteer corps of militia of three regiments, not to exceed 3,000 men, who should be armed, equipped, and drilled at the expense of the State, and subject to be called into actual service at the demand of the proper authorities. The volunteers in actual service were to receive two months' bounty and the regular pay of $11 per month. The proper steps were taken to place the whole militia force of the State in the most effective condition. A contingent bill was also passed, authorizing the Governor, if in his discretion the public safety should demand it, to provide a coast guard to protect the ships, commerce, and harbors of the State from privateers. To meet the expense of this coast guard, if it should be deemed necessary to organize it, a loan of $800,000 was authorized to be made.

The spirit which prompted this patriotic action pervaded the people of the State during the year. All classes were influenced by it. The ship-builders and ship-owners of the State met and offered their vessels to the Government; the lumbermen of the interior, and the fishermen of the coast willingly volunteered to preserve the Union, and men of all professions hastened to fill up the ranks with loyal and brave soldiers. Sixteen regiments, one of them one of the best cavalry regiments in the service, six batteries of artillery, and a company of sharpshooters, were furnished from this State, being more than 2,500 beyond its quota, and they have maintained the high reputation of the State for bravery and self-possession in their numerous battles.

The elections for State officers and the Legislature gave a majority of nearly 60,000 for the vigorous prosecution of the war.

During the year, arrangements were made for the erection of a fort at the mouth of the Kennebec River. An appropriation of $100,000 was made for it four years ago, but Secretary Floyd would not take the necessary steps for procuring a title and domain over the land necessary for its location. Messrs. Hamlin, Williams, and Poor, the Commissioners of the State, took measures to have the matter brought properly before the Secretary of War, and secured the appropriation. It is to be called Fort Popham, in honor of Governor Popham, who, in 1608, erected a fort on the same site.

The Legislature, at its regular session in 1861, authorized a partial geological survey of the State, which was commenced in the autumn of that year by Messrs. E. Holmes, of Winthrop, Me., and C. H. Hitchcock, of Amherst, Mass., and is to be prosecuted more thoroughly the present year. Their investigations in 1861 were confined mostly to the northern and northeastern parts of the State, and they made a report of the results to the Legislature in a volume of 400 octavo pages. The most important of these results are: the discovery of a rich fertile district in northern Maine, of climate much milder than that of the regions south of it, in which plants that could not endure the climate of Massachusetts grow spontaneously and come to perfection. In the eastern part of Aroostook County, extensive beds of marl and some gypsum were found, as well as valuable quarries of statuary marble of excellent quality, limestone, and roofing slate. Gold was found on the Upper St. John River, and copper ores in the eastern part of Aroostook and the northern part of Washington County. In another section a large mass of tin ore was discovered, and the indications for a tin mine were better than any previously found in this country. Extensive beds of fossils were found in rocks analogous to the Lower Helderberg group and Oriskany sandstone.

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MANASSAS JUNCTION is the spot where the Alexandria Railroad unites with the Manassas Gap Railroad. It is about half-way between the eastern spur of the Blue Ridge and the Potomac below Alexandria, and commands the whole country between. The position is a succession of hills nearly equidistant from each other. On the right, looking towards Washington, a wooded country stretches off towards the head waters of the Occoquan, which can be made almost impassable by felling trees. On the left is a rolling table-land, easily commanded from the successive elevations until a country so rough and rugged is reached that it is a defence to itself. In a military point of view the key of the position is that which was chosen at the outset for the centre of the Confederate forces, and which was fortified in the strongest manner. In front of the hills is a ravine so deep and so thickly wooded, as to be almost impassable except at two points, and those through gorges easily defended by a handful of men. It was of one of these points that an officer of the Confederate army thus spoke: "Here the Washington Artillery of New Orleans were at first encamped, and though only half the battalion was then there, and we had only one company of infantry to support us, we slept as soundly under the protection of our guns as if we had been in a fort of the amplest dimensions."

The strength and advantages of this position at Manassas are very much increased by the fact that fourteen miles further on is a position of similar formation, while the country between is admirably adapted to the subsistence and intrenchment of troops in numbers as large as they can easily be manœuvred on the real battle-field. Water is good and abundant; forage such as is everywhere found in the rich farming districts of Virginia, and the communication with all parts of the country easy.

Here, overlooking an extensive plain, watered by mountain streams which ultimately find their way to the Potomac, and divided into verdant fields of wheat, and oats, and corn, pasture, and meadow, were the head-quarters of the advanced forces of the Confederate army of the Potomac. They were South Carolinians, Louisianians, Alabamians, Mississippians, and Virginians for the most part; the first two, singularly enough, being in front.

The fortifications constructed here ultimately became of the most extensive kind, and the numbers of troops in them during some months of the year comprised the great mass of the Confederate army. It was evacuated in the next spring by means of the railroad to Richmond, at a time when the country roads were in such an almost impassable condition as to prevent all approach of the Union army. The inactivity of the Confederate army after the battle of Bull Run, near Manassas, occasioned great surprise in the Confederate States. The manner in which it was regarded at Richmond in August ensuing is authentically stated as follows:

"Much criticism has been passed upon Gen. Beauregard, and those who are believed to direct the movements of the army, more particularly respecting his failure to occupy or destroy Alexandria and Washington City. Congress called for information on this point, and the President referred the inquiry to Gen. Beauregard, who, in his answer, placed the blame where it really belonged. He had been for weeks almost beseeching the War Department to supply him with the material needful to carry on the war—men, ammunition, provisions, wagons; but the quartermaster and commissariat departments being in incompetent hands, the day of battle came and found our generals without the means of carrying the army forward. Quite an acrimonious debate sprung up in the House upon the reading of this answer, in which Messrs. Miles and Chesnut, of South Carolina, who had been in the staff of Gen. Beauregard at Manassas, and had supported him during that eventful day, found it necessary to vindicate their great chief from the aspersions which certain members were disposed to throw out against his military reputation. Since the 21st July many circumstances have combined to keep the troops in a stationary position. Rain had fallen in great quantities and almost incessantly, rendering the roads impassable for heavy wagon transportation and the marching of large bodies of troops, and there had been a great deal of sickness among the soldiers; probably twenty per cent. were at one time unfit for duty."

MANGUM, Hon. Willie Person, a United States Senator, born in Orange County, N. C., in 1792, died at his residence in Orange County, Sept. 21, 1861. He graduated at the University of North Carolina, in 1815. He was an able lawyer, and was elected to the House of Commons in his native State in 1818. In 1819 he was chosen Judge of the Superior Court, and from 1823 to 1826 served as a Representative in Congress. In 1831 he was elected a United States Senator, and continued to serve for three terms. During President Tyler's administration he was President of the United States Senate. Since 1853 he had withdrawn from political life, and it is probable his death was hastened by depression, on account of the loss of an only son, wounded at the battle of Manassas.

MARTIAL LAW was proclaimed at Baltimore, St. Louis, Alexandria, and other cities, during the year 1861. Various definitions have been given of this law by writers. According to one, "for all practical considerations, martial law and the suspension of the right to *habeas corpus*, are one and the same thing." Another writer considers martial law to be that military rule and authority which exist in time of war, and are conferred by the laws of war, in relation to persons and things under and within the scope of active military operations in carrying on the war, and which extinguish or suspend civil rights, and the remedies founded

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upon them, for the time being, so far as it may appear to be necessary in order to the full accomplishment of the purposes of the war; the party who exercises it being liable in an action for any abuse of the authority thus conferred. It is the application of military government—the government of force—to persons and property within the scope of it, according to the laws and usages of war, to the exclusion of the municipal government, in all respects where the latter would impair the efficiency of military rule and military action. When the public safety requires it, and the civil authority is powerless to provide that safety, the strong arm of the military is invoked, and the will at the head of the military is the governing power. It is not an irresponsible will. It can exercise no more force than is required to effect its object—the public safety. It must cease so soon as the exigency which called it forth has been satisfied. The civil power must then be restored, and for every oppressive act done from corrupt motives, for every wilful abuse of the authority and power thus exercised to the wrong or injury of the public or the citizen, to person or to property, the person committing it will be responsible in the ordinary courts of justice.

Many interesting and important questions arise relative to martial law, such as, "Who has the power to declare it?" &c., which more properly belong to other volumes. The course of events in relation to this subject affords the best exposition of the views of the Government respecting its powers and duties regarding martial law.

At Baltimore, the measures contemplated were gradually adopted, and the extent of their operations appears to have been decided by the views of the commanding General respecting the state of affairs in the city. Martial law was never fully and entirely declared. Civil law continued in force, with the exception that some orders were issued, and some acts were done, which could take place only under a recognized existence of martial law.

Thus, on the 13th of May, General Butler marched a body of troops into Baltimore, and encamped on Federal Hill. On the next day, the 14th, he issued a proclamation to the citizens. For that portion of the proclamation which states his objects in placing his force in the city, *see* BALTIMORE; the remainder of the proclamation, which declares the extent to which he shall exercise his powers, and forbids certain acts on the part of the citizens, was as follows:

No transportation from the city to the rebels of articles fitted to aid and support troops in the field will be permitted, and the fact of such transportation, after the publication of this proclamation, will be taken and received as proof of illegal intention on the part of the consignors, and will render the goods liable to seizure and confiscation.

The Government being ready to receive all such stores and supplies, arrangements will be made to contract for them immediately, and the owners and manufacturers of such articles of equipment and clothing, and munitions of war and provisions, are desired to keep themselves in communication with the Commissary-General, in order that their workshops may be employed for loyal purposes, and the artisans of the city resume and carry on their profitable occupations.

The acting Assistant-Quartermaster and Commissary of Subsistence of the United States here stationed, has been instructed to proceed and furnish, at fair prices, 40,000 rations for the use of the army of the United States, and further supplies will be drawn from the city to the full extent of its capacity, if the patriotic and loyal men choose so to furnish supplies.

All assemblages, except the ordinary police, of armed bodies of men, other than those regularly organized and commissioned by the State of Maryland, and acting under the orders of the Governor thereof, for drill and other purposes, are forbidden within the department.

All officers of the militia of Maryland, having command within the limits of the department, are requested to report through their officers forthwith to the General in command, so that he may be able to know and distinguish the regularly commissioned and loyal troops of Maryland from armed bodies who may claim to be such.

The ordinary operations of the corporate government of the city of Baltimore and of the civil authorities will not be interfered with, but, on the contrary, will be aided by all the power at the command of the General, upon proper call being made, and all such authorities are cordially invited to coöperate with the General in command to carry out the purposes set forth in the proclamation, so that the city of Baltimore may be shown to the country to be, what she is in fact, patriotic and loyal to the Union, the Constitution, and the laws.

No flag, banner, ensign, or device of the so-called Confederate States, or any of them, will be permitted to be raised or shown in this department, and the exhibition of either of them by evil-disposed persons will be deemed and taken to be evidence of a design to afford aid and comfort to the enemies of the country. To make it the more apparent that the Government of the United States by far more relies upon the loyalty, patriotism, and zeal of the good citizens of Baltimore and vicinity than upon any exhibition of force calculated to intimidate them into that obedience to the laws which the Government doubts not will be paid from inherent respect and love of order, the commanding General has brought to the city with him, of the many thousand troops in the immediate neighborhood, which might be at once concentrated here, scarcely more than an ordinary guard, and until it fails him, he will continue to rely upon that loyalty and patriotism of the citizens of Maryland, which have never yet been found wanting to the Government in time of need. The General in command desires to greet and treat in this part of his department all the citizens thereof as friends and brothers, having a common purpose, a common loyalty, and a common country. Any infractions of the laws by the troops under his command, or any disorderly, unsoldierlike conduct, or any interference with private property, he desires to have immediately reported to him, and pledges himself that if any soldier so far forgets himself as to break those laws that he has sworn to defend and enforce, he shall be most rigorously punished.

The General believes that if the suggestions and requests contained in this proclamation are faithfully carried out by the coöperation of all good and Union-loving citizens, and peace and quiet, and certainty of future peace and quiet are thus restored, business will resume its accustomed channels, trade take the place of dulness and inactivity, efficient labor displace idleness, and Baltimore will be in fact what she is entitled to be, in the front rank of the commercial cities of the nation.

Given at Baltimore, the day and year (May 14th, 1861) herein first above written.

BENJ. F. BUTLER,
Brig.-General Comm'g Department of Annapolis.
E. G. PARKER, Lieut.-Col., Aide-de-Camp.

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Soon General Butler was transferred to the command of Fortress Monroe, and General Banks took command of the Department of Annapolis, with his head-quarters at Baltimore. On the 27th of June, the City Marshal of Police, Kane, was arrested by a military force acting under the command of General Banks. At the same time, a Provost-Marshal was appointed, and a proclamation issued by the commanding General. For so much of the proclamation as states the cause and object of the arrest, *see* BALTIMORE. The proclamation then proceeds as follows:

For this reason of superseding his official authority, as well as that of the Commissioners of Police, I have arrested, and do now detain him in custody of the United States; and in further pursuance of my instructions, I have appointed, for the time being, Colonel Kenly, of the First Maryland Regiment of Volunteers, Provost-Marshal in and for the City of Baltimore, to superintend and cause to be executed the Police laws provided by the Legislature of Maryland, with the aid and assistance of the subordinate officers of the Police Department, and he will be respected accordingly. Whenever a loyal citizen shall be otherwise named for the performance of his duty, who will execute the laws impartially and in good faith to the Government of the United States, the military of this Department will render to him that constant and willing obedience which is due from every good citizen to the Government.

N. P. BANKS,
Major-General Commanding.

HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF ANNAPOLIS, *June* 27, 1861.

To Colonel Kenly:

SIR: By virtue of instructions received from the Department of War, at Washington, dated June 24th, 1861, I do hereby appoint you Provost-Marshal in and for the City of Baltimore. You will enter upon your duties forthwith at the head-quarters of Police for the city, and, notifying his Honor, the Mayor, of your appointment, by reading to him this order and the proclamation enclosed herewith, you will proceed at once, with the assistance of the subordinate officers of the Police Department, to superintend and cause to be executed the Police law provided by the Legislature of Maryland, "for the government of Baltimore."

am, very respectfully, yours, &c.,
N. P. BANKS,
Major-General Commanding.

Provost-Marshal Kenly immediately issued the following order:

OFFICE PROVOST-MARSHAL, *June* 27, 1861.

To the Officers and Men of the Police of Baltimore:

By order of Major-General Banks, commanding the Department of Annapolis, I assume and take command of the police force of the City of Baltimore, to superintend, and, with the aid of the subordinate officers of the Police Department, to execute and cause to be executed the Police laws provided by the Legislature of Maryland for the government of the City of Baltimore. You will continue to discharge your duties under existing regulations until further orders.

JOHN B. KENLY, Provost-Marshal.

Immediately after these proceedings, the Police Commissioners met and issued the following protest, which shows the authority by which they were appointed, and under which they acted:

OFFICE BOARD OF POLICE, BALTIMORE, *June* 27, 1861.

Whereas, the laws of the State of Maryland give the whole and exclusive control of the police force of the city to the Board of Police, organized and appointed by the General Assembly; and not only are the said Board bound to exercise the powers vested in and discharge the duties imposed upon them, but all other persons are positively prohibited, under heavy penalties, from interfering with them in so doing. And whereas, there is no power given to the Board to transfer the control over any portion of the police to any person or persons whomsoever, other than the officers of police appointed by them, in pursuance of the express provisions of the law, and acting under their orders. And whereas, by the orders of Major-General Banks, an officer of the United States Army, commanding in this city, the Marshal of Police has been arrested, the Board of Police superseded, and an officer of the army has been appointed Provost-Marshal, and directed to assume the command and control of the police force of the city; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this Board do solemnly protest against the order and proceedings above referred to, of Major-General Banks, as an arbitrary exercise of military power, not warranted by any provisions of the Constitution or laws of the United States, or of the State of Maryland, but in derogation thereof.

(For the additional resolutions adopted by the Board, *see* BALTIMORE.) Upon the appearance of this protest, General Banks issued the following instructions to the Provost-Marshal:

HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF ANNAPOLIS, *June* 27, 1861.

To Colonel Kenly, Provost-Marshal:

SIR: My attention has been called to a resolution, purporting to have been this day passed by the late Board of Police Commissioners, expressing the opinion that "the suspension of their functions suspended at the same time the operations of the police law, and puts the officers and men off duty for the present."

You will take special notice, sir, that by my proclamation of this day, neither the law nor the officers appointed to execute the laws are affected in any manner whatever, except as it operates upon the members of the Board of Commissioners and the Chief of Police, whose functions were and are suspended. Every part of the police law is to be enforced by you, except that which refers to the authority of the Commissioners and Chief of Police, and every officer and man, with the exception of those persons above named, will be continued in service by you, in the positions they now occupy, and with the advantages they now receive, unless one or more shall refuse to discharge their duties.

If any police officer declines to perform his duty, in order to avoid the anarchy which it was the purpose of the Commissioners to bring upon the city, by incorrectly stating that it had been by my act deprived of its police protection, you will select, in conference with such of the public authorities as will aid you, good men and true to fill their places and discharge their duties.

You will also take especial notice that no opinion, resolution, or other act of the late Board of Commissioners, can operate to limit the effective force of the police law, or to discharge any officer engaged in its execution. If any provision of the law fails to be executed, it will be from the choice of the city, and if any officer, except such as are hereinafter named, leave the service, it will be upon his own decision.

You will cause these rules to be made known as the rule of your conduct.

I repeat my declaration and my purpose—no intervention with the laws or government of the city whatever is intended, except to prevent secret, violent, and treasonable combinations of disloyal men against the Government of the United States.

I am, sir, very truly yours, &c.,
NATH. P. BANKS.

These details are sufficient to show the extent of the operations of martial law in Baltimore, and the principles upon which it was

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based. On the 14th of August, General Fremont proclaimed martial law in St. Louis. The following is his proclamation:

HEAD-QUARTERS WESTERN DEPARTMENT, ST. LOUIS, *Aug.* 14.

I hereby declare and establish martial law in the City and County of St. Louis. Major J. McKinstry, United States Army, is appointed Provost-Marshal. All orders and regulations issued by him will be respected and obeyed accordingly.

Signed, J. C. FREMONT,
Major-General Commanding.

On the same day, Major McKinstry issued a proclamation to the citizens, as follows:

To the People of the City and County of St. Louis:

The undersigned having been appointed Provost-Marshal of the City and County of St. Louis, calls upon all good citizens to cheerfully obey the rules it has been deemed necessary to establish in order to insure the preservation of the public peace.

The undersigned enters upon the duties of his office with a full sense of the responsibility that devolves upon him, and he deprecates as sincerely as any citizen can, the state of affairs that compels the establishment of the stringent measures he will enforce, but having confidence in the loyalty and patriotism of the masses, he appeals to them to coöperate with the civil and military authorities in preserving peace and good order in the city and county.

The civil law will remain in force, and the undersigned will exercise the power given him only in case where the civil law is found to be inadequate to the maintenance of the public peace and the public safety. Any violation of order will be followed by prompt and adequate punishment, regardless of persons or positions. J. McKINSTRY,
Major U. S. Army, Provost-Marshal.

Office of the Provost-Marshal, St. Louis, Mo., August 14, 1861.

ORDER NO. 20.

OFFICE PROVOST-MARSHAL, *Aug.* 14, 1861.

The wearing of concealed weapons by any persons not in the military service of the United States, or in the regularly constituted police force of the city, is hereby prohibited.

No excuse of any kind or description will mitigate the severe punishment ordered to be inflicted for a violation of this order. J. McKINSTRY,
Major U. S. Army, Provost-Marshal.

ORDER NO 21.

OFFICE PROVOST-MARSHAL, ST. LOUIS, *Aug.* 14.

Notice is hereby given to gunsmiths and dealers in fire-arms, residents in the city and county of St. Louis, that no description of fire-arms will be permitted to be sold or given away after this date, without a special permit from this office. J. McKINSTRY.
Major U. S. Army, Provost-Marshal.

As a further illustration of this subject, the following documents, although belonging to the records of the ensuing year, are introduced in this place. They serve to show the views entertained by the Confederate Government, and the manner in which it acted in the execution of martial law:

GENERAL ORDERS NO. 1.

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT AND INSPECTOR-GENERAL'S OFFICE, RICHMOND, *April* 8, 1862.

The following proclamation is published for the information of all concerned:

PROCLAMATION.

By virtue of the power vested in me, by law, to declare the suspension of the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus:*

I, Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America, do proclaim that martial law is hereby extended over the Department of East Tennessee, under the command of Major-General E. K. Smith; and I do proclaim the suspension of all civil jurisdiction, (with the exception of that enabling the courts to take cognizance of the probate of wills, the administration of the estates of deceased persons, the qualification of guardians, to enter decrees and orders for the partition and sale of property, to make orders concerning roads and bridges, to assess county levies, and to order the payment of county dues,) and the writ of *habeas corpus* aforesaid.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto signed my name and set my seal, this the 8th day of April, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two.

[Seal.] JEFFERSON DAVIS.

II. Major-General E. K. Smith, commanding Department of East Tennessee, is charged with the due execution of the foregoing proclamation. He will forthwith establish an efficient military police, and will enforce the following orders:

The distillation of spirituous liquors is positively prohibited, and the distilleries will forthwith be closed. The sale of spirituous liquors of any kind is also prohibited, and establishments for the sale thereof will be closed.

III. All persons infringing the above prohibition will suffer such punishment as shall be ordered by the sentence of a court-martial: Provided, that no sentence to hard labor for more than one month shall be inflicted by the sentence of a regimental court-martial, as directed by the 67th Article of War.

By command of the Secretary of War.

S. COOPER, Adj't and Inspector-General.

Official: H. L. CLAY, A. A.-G.

GENERAL ORDERS NO. 23.

HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT EAST TENN., KNOXVILLE, *April* 18, 1862.

I. Col. W. M. Churchwell is appointed Provost-Marshal, and charged, under the direction of the Major-General commanding, with the due execution of the foregoing proclamation in this Department.

By command of Major-General
E. KIRBY SMITH.

H. L. CLAY, A. A.-G.

HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT EAST TENN., OFFICE PROVOST-MARSHAL, KNOXVILE, *April* 18, 1862.

Martial law having been declared in this Department, the people of East Tennessee are notified that whilst the criminal courts of the land continue in the exercise of their functions, they—the people—are amenable for offences committed under the "Articles of War," and they can be tried, under the orders of the Department Commander, by military courts.

The following extracts from the Rules and Articles of War, are published for their information and guidance: * * * * * * *

ARTICLE 5. Any officer or private who shall use contemptuous or disrespectful words against the President of the Confederate States, against the Vice-President thereof, against the Congress of the Confederate States, or against the Chief Magistrate or Legislature of any of the Confederate States in which he may be quartered, if a commissioned officer, shall be cashiered, or otherwise punished, as a court-martial may decide; if a non-commissioned officer or soldier, he shall suffer such punishment as shall be inflicted by the sentence of a court-martial. * * * * *

ART. 28. Any officer or soldier who shall be convicted of having advised or persuaded any other officer or soldier to desert the service of the Confederate States, shall suffer death, or such other punishment as shall be inflicted upon him by the sentence of a court-martial. * * * * *

ART. 55. Whosoever, belonging to the armies of the Confederate States in foreign parts, shall force a safeguard, shall suffer death.

ART. 56. Whosoever shall relieve the enemy with

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money, victuals, or ammunition, or shall knowingly harbor or protect an enemy, shall suffer death, or such other punishment as shall be ordered by the sentence of a court-martial.

Art. 57. Whosoever shall be convicted of holding correspondence with, or giving intelligence to, the enemy, either directly or indirectly, shall suffer death, or such other punishment as shall be ordered by the sentence of a court-martial.

WM. M. CHURCHWELL,
Colonel and Provost-Marshal.

It must be apparent that the principles and operation of martial law are wholly, and perhaps necessarily, undefined. In each of the preceding cases the extent of its operations has been different. Other cases, not stated in detail, present the same result. In all cases, the commanders of the Federal forces issued their proclamations upon the orders of the War Department, which is under the immediate authority of the President as Commander-in-Chief.

MARTINSBURG, a thriving village heretofore, is the capital of Berkley County, Virginia. It is located on the Tuscarora Creek and on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, 180 miles north of Richmond. Its situation is in an elevated and fertile region a few miles west of the Blue Ridge. The force of Gen. Patterson which crossed the Potomac on the morning of July 2d at Williamsport, after the skirmish at Falling Water, moved to Hainesville, and thence to Martinsburg on the 3d July. The nearest force of the Confederates at the time was at Big Springs, on the route to Winchester, three miles below. This was only a double picket-guard. Gen. Johnston had moved forward the heaviest part of his column to Bunker Hill, a small village ten miles below. Whilst this point was in the possession of the Confederate force, a great destruction of locomotives, cars, and other property of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company was made. An eye-witness thus describes the scene presented to his view:

"On the 6th June we rode about three miles along the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. All along were scattered coal-cars in long lines, with the coal still burning, having been set on fire by the Confederate force. They had kindled huge fires around them, burning all the wood-work, and a great deal of the iron. They were all fine iron cars, holding about twenty tons each. Here and there the road led above them, and looking down, we could see the inside—a mass of red-hot coals. Some small bridges had been burnt with the cars on them, and, giving way, the cars were left piled one on another in the small streams below, all battered and bent. We counted the line of locomotives that had been burnt, (forty-one or forty-two in all,) red and blistered with the heat. (*See* B. & O. RAILROAD.) The withdrawal of troops on the retreat of General Patterson again exposed the inhabitants of this town to the power of the Confederate force.

MARYLAND, the most southern of the Middle States, is bounded on the north by Pennsylvania, east by Delaware and the Atlantic, and south, southwest, and west by Virginia, from which it is separated by the Potomac River. The population in 1860, was 516,128 whites, 83,718 free colored, and 87,188 slaves; total, 687,034. The ratio of increase during the previous ten years was 23.49 white, 12.04 free colored, 3.52 slaves. The Governor is elected for four years. The term of Governor Hicks expired at the close of 1861. The Senate consists of twenty-two members, who are elected for four years, and the House of seventy-four members, who are elected for two years. (*See* NEW AMERICAN CYCLOPÆDIA.)

The location of Maryland on the highway between the North and the South, and the position of the District of Columbia within her territory, made her somewhat of a coveted prize with the States determined to secede. By her secession she would take possession of the District of Columbia, and Washington become the capital of the Southern Confederacy. These considerations caused unusual excitement among her citizens as to the course which the State should pursue. Perhaps the most weighty of the material considerations which controlled as well her action as that of Kentucky, arose from her geographical position.

A border State, adjoining a great slave State on one side, and on the other a greater and far more populous free State, which was one of those Maryland had cause to censure as having provoked, although it did not justify the extreme violence of the South, and that was restrained by law and decency from open warfare upon slave property; yet the moment she joined and made common cause with others of the South, then would commence the stampede that in less than six months would either not leave a remnant of that peculiar property in the State, or make the residue evil disposed and of no value.

The slave property in the state, at the commencement of the difficulties of the country was estimated at not less than fifty millions in value. In addition, there would also have been the removal of about one hundred thousand servile laborers from the cultivation of the soil, thereby become desolate. This change of circumstances in her condition would have made her a free State, thereby destroying almost entirely her particular interest for a union with the Southern States, and placing her on terms of disunion and hostility with the free North, to which she had thus become in a degree assimilated.

The first decisive public act of the Governor in favor of the Union, was his reply to A. H. Handy, who had been appointed by the Legislature of Mississippi, as a commissioner from that State to Maryland. The occasion of this visit of the Mississippi Commissioner, as stated by himself, was "the crisis in the national affairs of this country, and the danger which imperils the safety and rights of the Southern States by reason of the election of a sectional candidate to the office of President of the

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United States, and upon a platform of principles destructive of our constitutional rights, which calls for prompt and decisive action for the purpose of protection and future security." To the views expressed by the Commissioner sent upon such an occasion, the Governor replied on the 19th of December. In this reply he declared his purpose to act in full concert with the other Border States, "and I do not doubt," he adds, "the people of Maryland are ready to go with the people of those States for weal or woe." He fully agreed in the opinion as to the necessity for protection to the rights of the South, and while his sympathies were with the gallant people of Mississippi, he hoped they would act with prudence as well as with courage.

From this time unparalleled efforts were made to induce the Governor to call an extra session of the Legislature. The success of this movement involved, among its consequences, the possession of Washington by the Southern Confederacy, the prevention of the inauguration of the President-elect, and the prominence that would be given to the Southern Government in the eyes of the world, by actually supplanting that of the United States in its very citadel. Another consequence of immediate importance to the citizens of Maryland would also follow, and that was whether the State should form a part of the United States or of the Southern Confederacy. With a single eye to this consideration, the Governor appears to have been controlled.

Nevertheless, the friends of the Southern States were strenuous in their efforts to overcome the opposition of the Governor. The action of the Legislature was necessary. to obtain a legal State Convention. Through the decision of such a body it was hoped to place the State side by side with her Southern sisters. Twelve members of the twenty-two, who composed the State Senate, met, and adopted an address to the Governor, urging the necessity of an extra session. Preliminary steps were contemplated for calling an informal State Convention of prominent citizens of all political parties, in order to obtain from that body an expression of the sentiment of the people in favor of an extra session of the Legislature. On the other side, the friends of the Union memorialized the Governor in opposition to such a measure. They said his course of refusal received their full approval, and they hoped he would steadily refuse, unless there should appear to his calm and deliberate judgment just cause to do so. In answer to these appeals he issued an address, stating very fully his views, in which he said:

I firmly believe that a division of this Government would inevitably produce civil war. The secession leaders in South Carolina, and the fanatical demagogues of the North have alike proclaimed that such would be the result, and no man of sense, in my opinion, can question it. What could the Legislature do in this crisis, if convened, to remove the present troubles which beset the Union? We are told by the leading spirits of the South Carolina Convention that neither the election of Mr. Lincoln nor the non-execution of the Fugitive Slave law, nor both combined, constitute their grievances. They declare that the real cause of their discontent dates as far back as 1833. Maryland and every other State in the Union, with a united voice, then declared the cause insufficient to justify the course of South Carolina. Can it be that this people who then unanimously supported the cause of General Jackson, will now yield their opinions at the bidding of modern secessionists? I have been told that the position of Maryland should be defined so that both sections can understand it. Do any really understand her position? Who that wishes to understand it can fail to do so? If the action of the Legislature would be simply to declare that Maryland is with the South in sympathy and feeling; that she demands from the North the repeal of offensive, unconstitutional statutes, and appeals to it for new guarantees, that she will wait a reasonable time for the North to purge her statute-books, as to do justice to her Southern brethren, and, if her appeals are vain, will make her common cause with her sister border States in resistance to tyranny if need be, it would only be saying what the whole country well knows, and what may be said much more effectually by her people themselves, in their meetings, than by the Legislature, chosen eighteen months since, when none of these questions were raised before them. That Maryland is a conservative Southern State all know who know any thing of her people or her history. The business and agricultural classes, planters, merchants, mechanics, and laboring men, those who have a real stake in the community, who would be forced to pay the taxes and do the fighting, are the persons who should be heard in preference to excited politicians, many of whom having nothing to lose from the destruction of the Government, may hope to derive some gain from the ruin of the State. Such men will naturally urge you to pull down the pillars of this "accursed Union," which their allies at the North have denominated a "covenant with hell."

The people of Maryland, if left to themselves, would decide, with scarcely an exception, that there is nothing in the present causes of complaint to justify immediate secession; and yet, against our judgments and solemn convictions of duty, we are to be precipitated into this revolution, because South Carolina thinks differently. Are we not equals? Or shall her opinions control our actions? After we have solemnly declared for ourselves, as every man must do, are we to be forced to yield our opinions to those of another State, and thus in effect obey her mandates? She refuses to wait for our counsels. Are we bound to obey her commands? The men who have embarked in this scheme to convene the Legislature, will spare no pains to carry their point. The whole plan of operations, in the event of the assembling of the Legislature, is, as I have been informed, already marked out, the list of ambassadors who are to visit the other States is agreed on, and the resolutions which they hope will be passed by the Legislature, fully committing this State to secession, are said to be already prepared. In the course of nature, I cannot have long to live, and I fervently trust to be allowed to end my days a citizen of this glorious Union. But should I be compelled to witness the downfall of that Government inherited from our fathers, established, as it were, by the special favor of God, I will at least have the consolation, at my dying hour, that I neither by word nor deed assisted in hastening its disruption.

THOMAS H. HICKS.

As time passed on, it became apparent that the approval of the policy of Gov. Hicks was almost unanimous on the eastern shore, and that in the western part of the State the same sentiment prevailed. A meeting for a counter movement, called under favorable circumstances in Baltimore, was attended by only a few hundred persons. On the 18th and 19th of Febru-

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ary, an irregular State Convention was held at Baltimore, in which most of the counties in the State were represented. Its object was to take into consideration the position of Maryland in reference to the national difficulties, and its deliberations resulted in an address and a series of resolutions.

The action proposed was simply to wait. The resolutions asserted that a full and fair expression of the popular will was most likely to be had by a Convention called on the recommendation of the Governor, and that, as it was asserted that the Governor would, by proclamation, authorize such a movement in the event of a failure upon the part of Congress and the Peace Conference, to adopt any satisfactory plan of compromise, the Convention approved that purpose, and adjourned until the 12th of March, to await the Governor's action; unless, intermediately, the State of Virginia should secede, when the Convention was to be immediately reassembled at the call of its President. If the Governor declined to call a "Sovereign" Convention previous to the 12th of March, then the Convention would at once recommend to the people to proceed to the election of delegates to such a Convention.

This Convention reassembled again on the 12th of March, in reduced numbers. The result of its action was simply a negation of the necessity for any movement on the part of Maryland at that time. The Convention further resolved that the proposition for a Conference among the Southern Border States, by delegates deriving authority from the people, would meet the approval of Maryland, and appointed a committee to visit the Virginia Convention and express to them that assurance. Those of the delegates who desired to go farther than was proposed by the report of the Committee on Resolutions, submitted amendments, declaring that all attempts upon the part of the Government to "reoccupy, repossess, or retake" any forts or any other property within the limits of the seceded States, would be acts of war, and that such acts would absolve Maryland and the Border States from all connection with the United States. These amendments were opposed, as in reality opening the way to secession, and as initiating a programme that would not be sanctioned by the people of Maryland. Finally the subject was postponed.

Movements were also commenced for the organization of a Union party in the State. At a public meeting held at Frederick, a State Convention to be held on the 2d May, was recommended to form a Union party.

The assault on Fort Sumter made no changes in the Governor's views. He still contended that Maryland should maintain the same position of devotion to the Union and the Constitution that she had held throughout this period of national trouble. Secession was no remedy for any wrongs complained of, and in the case of Maryland especially would be an aggravation of them all, with the accompaniment of civil strife among her own citizens, bringing ruin to all her varied commercial and agricultural interests. The election for members of Congress would give a fair opportunity for a test of the sentiment of the State on the question of secession, and there was no doubt that it would be conducted on the issue of "Union" or "Disunion."

To the proclamation of the President and the requisition for a quota of troops from Maryland, the Governor replied by stating the position of affairs in the State, and issued the following proclamation:

To the People of Maryland:

The unfortunate state of affairs now existing in the country has greatly excited the people of Maryland.

In consequence of our peculiar position it is not to be expected that the people of this State can unanimously agree upon the best mode of preserving the honor and integrity of the State, and of maintaining within her limits that peace so earnestly desired by all good citizens.

The emergency is great. The consequences of a rash step will be fearful. It is the imperative duty of every true son of Maryland to do all that can tend to arrest the threatened evil.

I therefore counsel the people, in all earnestness, to withhold their hands from whatever may tend to precipitate us into the gulf of discord and ruin gaping to receive us. I counsel the people to abstain from all heated controversy upon the subject; to avoid all things that tend to crimination and recrimination; to believe that the origin of our evil day may well be forgotten now by every patriot in the earnest desire to avert from us its fruit.

All powers vested in the Governor of the State will be strenuously exerted to preserve the peace and maintain inviolate the honor and integrity of Maryland.

I call upon the people to obey the laws, and to aid the constituted authorities in their endeavors to preserve the fair fame of our State untarnished.

I assure the people that no troops will be sent from Maryland, unless it may be for the defence of the National Capital.

It is my intention in the future, as it has been my endeavor in the past, to preserve the people of Maryland from civil war; and I invoke the assistance of every true and loyal citizen to aid me to this end.

The people of this State will, in a short time, have the opportunity afforded them in a special election for members of the Congress of the United States to express their devotion to the Union or their desire to see it broken up. THOMAS H. HICKS,
Governor of Maryland.

BALTIMORE, *April* 18, 1861.

The exciting events at Baltimore on the 19th of April, produced greater impression in the neighborhood of that city than elsewhere in the State. (*See* BALTIMORE.) The object of the Governor was to gain time. He had thus far opposed a session of the Legislature, under a conviction that a majority of the members were in favor of secession, and desired to place the State in antagonism to the Federal Government. Under the excitement produced by the events at Baltimore, the Senator from that county, Coleman Gellott, after advising with the Board of Police Commissioners, and being instigated by the more prominent secessionists, issued, without a shadow of lawful authority, a proclamation for an assembling of the Legislature at Baltimore. That would have placed that body in the midst of the largest and most

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active portion of the secessionists of the State. Speaking of this state of affairs at a subsequent day, the Governor said:

"I knew it was time for me to act. True, I might then have called upon the President of the United States to quell the insurrection, but this would almost certainly have caused the destruction of the city of Baltimore. I might have called out the militia to endeavor to restore quiet; and, indeed, I did make an effort to that end. But I discovered that nearly all the officers were in league with the conspirators, and the volunteer corps of the city and vicinity which possessed arms were almost entirely in the same category. It is true, there was a considerable loyal military force in Baltimore, but it was undisciplined, and entirely unarmed. So that if I had effectively called out the militia at that time, I should have actually assisted the conspirators in their designs. I concluded, therefore, after anxious deliberation, that there was but one course left to me. I summoned the Legislature to assemble at Frederick City, in the midst of a loyal population, on the 26th day of April, believing that even the few days thus gained would be invaluable."

An election was immediately held in the city of Baltimore for members of this Legislature. Only one ticket was nominated. This received about 9,200 votes. The vote of the city at the Presidential election was 30,150.

On the 26th this body assembled at Frederick. The Governor, in his Message, briefly described the recent events which had taken place in the State, and his own action in connection with them. He said:

Believing it to be the design of the Administration to pass over our soil troops for the defence of the City of Washington, and fearing that the passage of such troops would excite our people and provoke a collision, I labored earnestly to induce the President to forego his purpose. I waited upon him in person, and urged the importance of my request. I subsequently communicated with him and his Cabinet by special despatches, intreating an abandonment of his designs. To all my requests I could get but the reply that Washington was threatened with attack; that the Government had resolved to defend it; that there was no other way of obtaining troops than by passing them over the soil of Maryland, and that the military necessity of the case rendered it impossible for the Government to abandon its plans, much as it desired to avoid the dangers of a collision. My correspondence with the authorities at Washington is therewith submitted. The consequences are known to you. On Friday last a detachment of troops from Massachusetts reached Baltimore, and was attacked by an irresponsible mob, and several persons on both sides were killed. The Mayor and Police Board gave to the Massachusetts soldiers all the protection they could afford, acting with the utmost promptness and bravery. But they were powerless to restrain the mob. Being in Baltimore at the time, I coöperated with the Mayor to the fullest extent of my power in his efforts. The military of the city were ordered out to assist in the preservation of the peace. The railroad companies were requested by the Mayor and myself to transport no more troops to Baltimore City, and they promptly acceded to our request. Hearing of the attack upon the soldiers, the War Department issued orders that no more troops would pass through Baltimore City, provided they were allowed to pass outside its limits. Subsequently a detachment of troops were ascertained to be encamped at or near Cockeysville, in Baltimore County. On being informed of this, the War Department ordered them back. Before leaving Baltimore, Colonel Huger, who was in command of the United States arsenal at Pikesville, informed me that he had resigned his commission. Being advised of the probability that the mob might attempt the destruction of this property, and thereby complicate our difficulties with the authorities at Washington, I ordered Colonel Petherbridge to proceed with sufficient force and occupy the premises in the name of the United States Government, of which proceeding I immediately notified the War Department. On Sunday morning last I discovered that a detachment of troops, under command of Brigadier-General Benjamin F. Butler, had reached Annapolis in a steamer, and taken possession of the practice-ship Constitution, which during that day they succeeded in getting outside of the harbor of Annapolis, where she now lies. After getting the ship off, the steamer laid outside the harbor, and was soon joined by another steamer having on board the Seventh regiment, from New York City. Brigadier-General Butler addressed me, asking for permission to land his forces. It will be seen from the correspondence herewith submitted, that I refused my consent. The Mayor of Annapolis also protested. But both steamers soon afterwards landed and put off with the troops. Subsequently other large bodies of troops reached here in transports, and were landed. I was notified that the troops were to be marched to Washington. They desired to go without obstruction from our people, but they had orders to go to Washington, and were determined to obey those orders. In furtherance of their designs they took military possession of the Annapolis and Elk Ridge Railroad, in regard to which act I forwarded to Brigadier-General Butler the protest, and see the reply herewith submitted. On Wednesday morning the two detachments landed, and took up the line of march for Washington. The people of Annapolis, though greatly exasperated, acting under counsel of the most prudent citizens, refrained from molesting or obstructing the passage of the troops through the city. Seriously impressed with the condition of affairs, and anxious to avoid a repetition of events similar to those which had transpired in Baltimore, I deemed it my duty to make another appeal at Washington. Accordingly, I sent a special messenger to Washington, with a despatch to the Administration, advising that no more troops be sent through Maryland; that the troops at Annapolis be sent elsewhere, and urging that a truce be offered with a view of a peaceful settlement of existing difficulties by meditation. I suggested that Lord Lyons, the British Minister, be requested to act as mediator between the contending parties. These events have satisfied me that the War Department has concluded to make Annapolis the point for landing troops, and has resolved to open and maintain communication between this place and Washington. In the brief time allowed, it is impossible for me to go more into detail. I shall promptly communicate such other information as may reach me.

Notwithstanding the fact that our most learned and intelligent citizens admit the right of the Government to transport its troops across our soil, it is evident that a portion of the people of Maryland are opposed to the exercise of that right. I have done all in my power to protect the citizens of Maryland, and to preserve peace within our borders. Lawless occurrences will be repeated, I fear, unless prompt action be taken by you. It is my duty to advise you of my own convictions of the proper course to be pursued by Maryland in the emergency which is upon us. It is of no consequence now to discuss the causes which have induced our troubles. Let us look to our distressing present and to our portentous future. The fate of Maryland, and perhaps of her sister border slave States, will undoubtedly be seriously affected by the action of your honorable body. Therefore should every good citizen bend all his energies to the task before us, and therefore

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should the animosities and bickerings of the past be forgotten, and all strike hands in the bold cause of restoring peace to our State and to our country. I honestly and most earnestly entertain the conviction that the only safety of Maryland lies in preserving a neutral position between our brethren of the North and of the South. We have violated no right of either section. We have been loyal to the Union. The unhappy contest between the two sections has not been commenced or encouraged by us, although we have suffered from it in the past. The impending war has not come by any act or any wish of ours. We have done all we could to avert it. We have hoped that Maryland and other border slave States, by their conservative position and love for the Union, might have acted as mediators between the extremes of both sections, and thus have prevented the terrible evils of a prolonged civil war.

The majority of the Committee on Federal Relations, to whom had been referred a memorial of 216 voters of Prince George's County, praying the Legislature, if in its judgment it possesses the power, to pass an ordinance of secession without delay, reported that in their judgment the Legislature did not possess the power to pass such an ordinance, and that the prayer of the said memorialists cannot therefore be granted. The minority reported favorably to the prayer of the petitioners. On the question to substitute the minority report for that of the majority, it was rejected; ayes, 13—noes, 53. This was considered as settling the question against any constitutional power on the part of the Legislature to pass an act of secession.

The change in public sentiment was very rapid. Soon after the disturbances in Baltimore, the determination became strong to stand by the Government and its laws, without meaning thereby to endorse the President or his policy. The 13th of June was designated by the Governor as the day for the election of the members of Congress to represent the State at the extra session.

The Commissioners appointed by the Legislature to wait upon President Lincoln, submitted a report to that body on the 6th of May, in which, after stating that they were courteously received by the President, and had represented to him the sense of the Legislature of Maryland in relation to the occupation of a portion of the soil of that State by the Federal troops, they proceed to say:

"Full explanations were exchanged between the undersigned and the Secretary of War and Secretary of State, who were present, and participated in the discussion, as to the facts and circumstances that rendered necessary the extraordinary incidents accompanying the passage of Federal troops through Maryland en route to the city of Washington, and especially in reference to those acts of the authorities of the city of Baltimore which arrested the progress of the troops by the railroads leading from Pennsylvania and Delaware into Maryland, and of the opposition to the landing of the troops subsequently at Annapolis by the Governor of the State. And in connection with this action of the authorities of the State, the hostile feeling manifested by the people to the passage of these troops through Maryland was considered and treated with entire frankness by the undersigned, who, while acknowledging all the legal obligations of the State to the Federal Government, set forth fully the strength of sympathy felt by a large portion of our people for our Southern brethren in the present crisis. Although many of the incidents and circumstances referred to, were regarded in different lights by the undersigned and the Federal Government, even to the extent of a difference of opinion as to some of the facts involved, yet in regard to the general principle at issue, a concurrence of opinion was reached. The President concurred with the undersigned in the opinion that so long as Maryland had not taken, and was not about taking, a hostile attitude to the Federal Government, that the exclusive military occupation of her ways of communication, and the seizure of the property of her citizens, would be without justification; and what has been referred to in this connection, so far as it occurred, was treated by the Government as an act of necessity and self-preservation.

"The undersigned did not feel themselves authorized to enter into any arrangements with the Federal Government, to induce it to change its relations to the State of Maryland, considering it proper, under the circumstances, to leave the entire discretion and responsibility of the existing state of things to that Government, making such representations as they deemed proper, to vindicate the moral and legal aspects of the question, and especially insisting on its obligation to relieve the State promptly from restraint and indignity, and to abstain from all action in the transportation of troops that can be regarded as intended for chastisement or prompted by resentment.

"The undersigned are not able to indicate to what extent or to what degree the Executive discretion will be exercised in modifying the relations which exist between the State of Maryland and the Federal Government, and in the particular matter of the commercial communications between the city of Baltimore and other parts of the country, brought to the attention of the General Assembly by the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore. But they feel authorized to express the opinion that some modification may be expected."

In the Legislature, stay laws were passed, also an act to relieve the Governor and Mayor of Baltimore, and all acting under their orders, from prosecutions, on and after the 19th of April.

The Governor replied to a call for information by the Legislature, "if he consented to or authorized the burning of the bridges on the Baltimore and Harrisburg, and Baltimore and Philadelphia Railroads," that he "neither authorized nor consented to the destruction of the bridges, but left the whole matter in the hands of the Mayor of the city of Baltimore, with the declaration that he had no authority in the premises; I was a lover of law and order, and

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could not participate in such proceedings." The Mayor of Baltimore stated that the assent of the Governor was unequivocal; to this is added certificates of the Marshal and Police Commissioners.

The House passed, by vote of ayes 43, noes 12, a series of strong resolutions, condemning the war and the military occupation of the State.

On the 14th both Houses adjourned, to meet again in the city of Frederick, on the 4th of June. They previously adopted, as a compromise, a resolution providing for a committee of eight members, (four from each House,) to visit the President of the United States and the President of the Southern Confederacy, and to lay before them the report of resolutions of the Committee of the Legislature on Federal Relations. The manner in which this committee discharged their duties was reported at the next session. On the 5th of June, the four members of the committee on the part of the House, submitted their report, in which they say:

"The manifest purpose of those resolutions was, in the opinion of your committee, to secure, if possible, through the instrumentality of Maryland, peace to our disturbed country; and if failing in that, then a cessation of hostilities on the part of the armies of the Federal and Confederate troops until Congress should express its opinion on the subjects which now agitate the people. The purposes being defeated by the movement of Federal troops in Virginia, and an actual commencement of hostilities, we have considered our mission as ended, and therefore have not felt authorized, on the part of the sovereign State of Maryland, to present a request which has in advance been repudiated. The dignity of the State as well as self-respect seemed to demand this of us."

The Commissioners appointed to visit President Davis, received from him a letter. (*See* CONFEDERATE STATES.)

Nothing was done to make any change in the state of affairs at this session. The movement of Virginia State troops to Harper's Ferry and upon the Maryland side of the river, led to the concentration of Union forces in their neighborhood. A kind of border warfare took place, which, although not marked by any large or vigorous skirmishes, was, nevertheless, for months destructive to the peace and prosperity of the inhabitants. Forces moved from Chambersburg, in Pennsylvania, to the neighborhood of Harper's Ferry. Western troops, under Gen. McClellan, with many brilliant skirmishes, advanced to Cumberland. The transportation of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was entirely suspended, and great destruction was made of their property. This state of affairs continued throughout the year.

When the destruction of the railroad and of the Chesapeake canal property commenced, the principal officer of the latter corporation visited the Confederate camp at Harper's Ferry, to endeavor to stop it. He reached Dam No. 4, near Williamsport, while a skirmish was going on between the Marylanders and the Virginians —the latter endeavoring to destroy the dam, and the former to defend it. He crossed the river under a flag of truce, and demanded to be taken to Harper's Ferry. An escort of twelve men was furnished, who conducted him to Gen. Johnston, the commander of the Confederate forces. He remonstrated against the destruction of the dams, boats, and other property of the company, claiming that they were the property of Marylanders, and should be exempt from seizure and destruction. Gen. Johnston replied that his orders were positive to destroy all property that could in any way be made to benefit the United States forces, and that it was useless to talk of the property belonging to Maryland. He should therefore obey his instructions, and destroy every thing that he could reach.

The election for members of Congress, early in June, was a complete triumph for the friends of the Union. Not an advocate of the Southern Confederacy was elected throughout the State.

The movement of troops, as already stated, from Chambersburg, in Pennsylvania, towards Harper's Ferry, took place early in June, and on the 18th, the force arrived at Hagerstown and Williamsport, comprising the Pennsylvania First, Second, Third, Seventh, Eleventh, Thirteenth, and Twenty-fourth Regiments, together with the First Rhode Island, two regiments of U. S. Regulars, and seven hundred U. S. Cavalry. The next day, a division of the troops under Gen. Cadwallader was ordered across the Potomac, and pressed forward towards Martinsburg.

The Legislature continued to hold short sessions, adjourning from time to time. At the session ending June 25, an effort had been made to pass an act of amnesty for the benefit of those who participated in the riot of April 19th. The following is a section of this act:

SEC. 1. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland*, That all the courts, public officers, and Grand Jury, *are hereby forbidden to prosecute or punish any person concerned in the aforesaid affray* with the soldiers in the City of Baltimore on the 19th of April last, or for any offence arising from or growing out of said affray, or in any way connected therewith.

It failed to pass. A joint resolution was, however, passed, directing the Governor to return the State arms to the companies that he had disarmed, also a bill to suspend proceedings on the bonds of officers of companies for the return of arms.

The Legislature again assembled, after adjournment, on the 31st of July. In the Senate a preamble and resolution was offered setting forth that, in view of the almost unanimous declaration of Congress, that the present war was not being waged to subjugate the South, but only to assert the supremacy of the Constitution, the people of Maryland ought not to heed the in-

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temperate declarations of a few members, but ought to maintain the position of the State in the Union, and should discountenance rebellion in all its forms. This proposition was laid over.

No measures of importance to the State were adopted, nor did the session serve any other purpose than tend to keep alive the spirit of dissatisfaction. An adjournment soon took place until the 17th of September. The session was prevented at that time by the military arrest of some secession members of the House, (*see* HABEAS CORPUS,) and the refusal of the Senate to assemble. This high proceeding of arresting by military force, members of a legislative body, would, at any other time and under any other circumstances, have been regarded as a most flagrant offence. In this case, the Union members were doubtless gratified, and returned to their homes, while public sentiment had inclined to the side of peace and Union. None, therefore, espoused the cause of the prisoners.

The views of the President at the time, relative to these arrests, were understood to be to the following effect:

"The public safety renders it necessary that the grounds of these arrests should at present be withheld, but at the proper time they will be made public. Of one thing the people of Maryland may rest assured: that no arrest has been made, or will be made, not based on substantial and unmistakable complicity with those in armed rebellion against the Government of the United States. In no case has an arrest been made on mere suspicion, or through personal or partisan animosities, but in all cases the Government is in possession of tangible and unmistakable evidence, which will, when made public, be satisfactory to every loyal citizen."

The usual State election for Governor took place on the 6th of November. A Union candidate and a State rights candidate were offered for the choice of the voters, when the former was elected by an unusually large majority, and the candidates of similar views, for other offices, were elected by about the same majority. This was regarded as such an overwhelming victory for the Union, that all open movements of sympathy for the Confederate States ceased.

The Governor then issued a proclamation, calling the Legislature of the State to assemble in extra session, at Annapolis, on the 3d of December. In his proclamation he said, that "as the people of the State had at their recent election again expressed their unalterable devotion to the Union and the Government of our fathers, it is important that the Legisature should, as speedily as possible, conform to and carry into effect the will of the people so expressed, by furnishing all necessary aid to the Government of the United States in its efforts to suppress the unholy insurrection that seeks the dissolution of that Union and the destruction of that Government." He therefore called this extra session, "to consider and determine the steps necessary to be taken to enable the State of Maryland to take her place with the other loyal States, in defence of the Constitution and Union."

This newly elected Legislature assembled at Frederick, on the 3d of December. The Governor, Hicks, in his final Message, delivered on the same day, presents an explicit statement of affairs in the State during the year. The action of the last Legislature is thus described:

> The history of that Legislature is before the country. Not only did it fail to do its duty, as representing a loyal State, but it actually passed treasonable resolutions, and attempted to take, unlawfully, into its hands both the purse and the sword, whereby it might plunge us into the vortex of secession. It was deterred from doing this latter only by the unmistakable threats of an aroused and indignant people.
>
> Restricted in the duration of its sessions by nothing but the will of the majority of its members, it met again and again; squandered the people's money, and made itself a mockery before the country. This continued until the General Government had ample reason to believe it was about to go through the farce of enacting an ordinance of secession; when the treason was summarily stopped by the dispersion of the traitors.
>
> Inasmuch as the Legislature in ordinary times is presumed to represent the people of a State, the treasonable action of the late Senate and House of Delegates has apparently placed Maryland in an attitude of hostility to the General Government, and her Union-loving people in a false and unwarrantable position. I say apparently, because the votes of the people on the 13th of June, and again on the 6th of November, have declared in the most emphatic tones, what I have never doubted, that Maryland has no sympathy with rebellion, and desires to do her full share in the duty of suppressing it.

Under the tax bill passed at the session of Congress in July, the proportion of Maryland was $436,000, which it was proposed that the State should assume.

In consequence of the omission of the Legislature, to provide money to pay the expense of recruiting and equipping the quota of troops required from the State by the Federal Government, that number was not raised.

Although a portion of the northwestern part of the State was occupied by Federal troops after the month of June, yet the Governor, in his Message, says:

"I congratulate you, and the people of the State, upon the immunity we have enjoyed from the dreadful evils which have fallen upon some of the other States. While carnage and desolation have stalked through Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, we here, in Maryland, have had no battle-fields, no wanton destruction of homes, no outrages upon helpless women and children. True, in every section of the State, rancor and deadly hatred, and in some cases even judicial persecution, have been openly indulged against those whose only offence is loyalty to the Government. But this hatred, bitterness, and persecution have not yet culminated in bloodshed. The tread of hostile armies has not interfered with the calling of the husbandman, but the earth has yielded more bountifully than ever before."

The only invasion of Maryland which took place, from the Confederate States, was made

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by the first Virginia troops which marched to Harper's Ferry. This force crossed the Potomac and took a position on the heights on the Maryland side. A protest was immediately made by Governor Hicks to Governor Letcher, of Virginia, and the troops were at once ordered to withdraw to the Virginia side of the Potomac.

The commercial affairs of the State suffered the same embarrassment and decline which prevailed through all the Northern States.

MASSACHUSETTS, one of the six New England States, was one of the original thirteen of the Union. It has a general surface 150 miles long by 50 broad, although the eastern end spreads out nearly 90 miles, and shoots out a long tongue of sand bank into the ocean. On the north are the States of New Hampshire and Vermont; on the west, New York; and on the south, Connecticut and Rhode Island. It has an area of 7,800 square miles, and is between 41°15′ and 42°52′ north latitude, and 69°50′ and 73°30′ west longitude. It has a population more dense than most of the States, and although naturally one of the least favored soils, yet its wealth is greater per head than that of any other State in the Union. Its manufacturing and commercial industry has, under protective tariffs, found ample and remunerative home markets in all the other States of the Union, and its wealth has accumulated in an unparalleled manner. The energy of its people has been conspicuous from the earliest times, and always made itself felt in the councils of the nation. The population has increased as follows:

1790	378,717	1840	737,699
1800	423,345	1850	994,514
1810	472,040	1855	1,132,539
1820	523,287	1860	1,231,697
1830	610,408		

The manufacturing wealth of Massachusetts is very large. The productions enumerated in the State census for 1855, show nearly $300 per head per annum for each inhabitant.

The distribution of these manufactures by counties is as follows, as compared with the population and taxable valuations in 1860:

	1855.		1860.	
	Population.	Amount of Manufactures.	Population.	Taxable Valuation.
Barnstable	35,442	$3,092,442 11	36,010	$12,621,201
Berkshire	52,791	12,756,264 99	55,136	24,186,692
Bristol	87,425	29,328,874 18	98,811	66,994,256
Dukes	4,401	762,232 20	4,401	2,908,194
Essex	151,018	39,848,019 74	165,635	84,687,837
Franklin	31,655	5,038,250 84	31,499	12,448,961
Hampden	54,352	12,120,444 68	57,392	26,252,663
Hampshire	35,485	7,022,878 84	37,977	17,737,649
Middlesex	194,042	58,205,633 71	216,434	135,458,009
Nantucket	8,064	1,608,800 03	6,097	3,875,598
Norfolk	94,448	24,244,054 53	108,165	85,805,800
Plymouth	61,513	12,884,702 05	66,734	29,160,937
Suffolk	171,818	48,188,956 32	192,768	301,201,107
Worcester	149,545	40,719,627 78	159,644	73,413,160
Total	1,132,599	295,820,682 00	1,231,808	876,602,264

The construction of railroads wrought a great change in the internal commerce as well as in the manufactures of Massachusetts. They not only offered the means of cheap conveyance of materials to the best factory sites, but also brought away the goods to market at low rates, while they afforded the cheap and easy means of circulating labor. Their extended lines also placed Massachusetts in connection with the most remote sections of the Union on terms as favorable as those enjoyed by any other State. They thus concentrated her energies to produce and at the same time extended the market for the sale of goods.

The returns of railroads of Massachusetts for the year 1861 were as follows:

Length of roads, in miles	1,530.60
" double track, "	342.77
" branches, "	153.28
Capital paid in	$49,367,606.02
Debt	18,798,035.53
Cost of roads, &c., equipments	63,272,801.71
Number of miles run	6,369,474
" passengers carried	11,252,621
" tons freight	3,521,299
Total income	$9,016,149.12
Expense, working	5,880,004.04
Interest	746,389.14
Net income	2,916,411.80
Dividends, rent, etc	2,524,519.22

Thus over $63,000,000 have in Massachusetts been expended in those means of communication, and the outlay itself yields a handsome interest, while it has been the means of increasing the State wealth in a much larger ratio.

The manufacturing industry seems to have absorbed all others. The agriculturists have apparently migrated from the State, while manufacturing labor has been supplied by immigration from abroad; nevertheless, the agricultural interests of the commonwealth have been highly prosperous during the year 1861. Their products are estimated as exceeding thirty-two millions of dollars. The season was propitious, and the crops, with few exceptions, were abundant and profitable. The census of 1850, which gave the nativities of the people, disclosed the following facts in relation to Massachusetts:

Natives of Massachusetts living in Massachusetts	695,236
Foreigners living in Massachusetts	299,278
Total population	994,514
Natives of Massachusetts living in other States	199,382

How many natives of Massachusetts there are living in foreign countries is not known. But only three-fourths of all born in the State are living in it.

The amount of taxable property is large, but official investigation shows that about $150,000,000 eludes assessment. Hence the real amount is, in round numbers, one thousand millions, or an average of $811 for every soul in the State. The average in New York is less than $400. In other words, while Massachusetts has 4 per cent. of the whole white population of the Union, she has 10 per cent. of the taxable wealth, a state of things which strongly illustrates the thrift of her people under Federal

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laws, which have given them the monopoly of manufacturing for the agricultural sections.

In politics Massachusetts, always strongly whig, is more decidedly republican. The vote at the last presidential elections was as follows:

In 1856, Fremont had 108,518 votes. Mr. Fillmore, 19,679, and Buchanan, 39,287. Mr. Lincoln had 2,000 less votes than Mr. Fremont, and the three Union candidates had together 3,700 more than Buchanan and Fillmore, united. This decline in the republican vote would seem to be due to the apprehensions of approaching troubles, which the canvass developed. The views under which the canvass was conducted, are manifested in the speech of W. H. Seward, in Bowdoin Square, Boston, August 14. He was attended by Gov. Banks, C. F. Adams, and Henry Wilson. In the course of his remarks he stated: "Here I can play no part; I can affect no disguise; because, although not a son of Massachusetts, nor even of New England born, I feel and know it my duty to confess that if I have ever studied the interests of my country and of humanity, I have studied them in the school of Massachusetts. If I have ever conceived a resolution to maintain the rights and interests of these free States in the union of the Confederacy, I learned it from Massachusetts. It is twenty-two years ago, not far from this season, when a distinguished and venerable statesman of Massachusetts had retired to his home, a few miles in the suburbs of your city, under the censure of his fellow-citizens, driven home to his quarters by the peltings of remorseless pro-slavery people, that I, younger then, of course, than I am now, made a pilgrimage from my own home, which was not molested on my way, to the Sage of Quincy, there to learn from him what became a citizen of the United States, in view of the deplorable condition of the intelligence and sentiment of the country under its demoralization by the power of slavery. And there I received, and thence I have derived, every resolution, every sentiment, that has animated and inspired me in the performance of my duty as a citizen of the United States, all this time. I know, indeed, that those sentiments have not always been popular, even in the State of Massachusetts. I know that citizens of Massachusetts, as well as citizens of other States, have attempted to drive the disciples of that illustrious teacher from their policy. But it is to-night that I am free to confess that whenever any man, wherever he might be found, whether he was of Northern or Southern birth, whether he was of the 'solid men of Boston,' or of the light men of Mississippi, has assailed me for the maintenance of these doctrines, I have sought to commune with his spirit, and to learn from him whether the thing in which I was engaged was well and worthily done. What a commentary upon the wisdom of man is given in this single fact, that fifteen years only after the death of John Quincy Adams, the people of the United States, the people who hurled him from power and from place, are calling to the head of the nation, to the very seat from which he was expelled, Abraham Lincoln, whose claim to that seat is that he confesses the obligation of that higher law which the Sage of Quincy proclaimed, and that he avows himself, for weal or woe, for life or death, a soldier on the side of freedom in the irrepressible conflict between freedom and slavery. This, gentlemen, is my simple confession. I desire, now, only to say to you that you have arrived at the last stage of this conflict before you reach the triumph which is to inaugurate this great policy into the government of the United States. You will bear yourselves manfully. It behooves you, solid men of Boston, if you are here, and if the solid men are not here, then the lighter men of Massachusetts, to bear onward and forward, first in the ranks, the flag of freedom. But let not your thoughts or expectations be confined to the present hour. I tell you, fellow-citizens, that with this victory comes the end of the power of slavery in the United States. I think I may assume that a democrat is a man who maintains the creed of one or the other branch of the democratic party at the present day. Assuming that to be so, I tell you, in all sincerity, that the last democrat in the United States is born."

The results of the election were celebrated in Boston on the 9th of November, and the meeting was addressed by Gov. Andrew and others. The Governor distinctly declared that success at the election was the first step towards carrying out the anti-slavery programme, which had been announced.

On the 3d of December a meeting in honor of John Brown was called at the Tremont Temple by the leading partisans of his principles. This aroused the indignation of the citizens, and it was broken up. The Unionists in the hall passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That the people of this city have submitted too long in allowing irresponsible persons and political demagogues of every description to hold public meetings that disturb the public peace, and misrepresent us abroad; that they have become a nuisance which, in self-defence, we have determined shall henceforward be summarily abated.

A confederacy of the New England States as opposed to the Southern Confederacy was immediately projected, and plans emanating from Washington, were put in activity. January 5, 1861, Gov. Andrew despatched agents to Maine, Vermont, and Rhode Island, to present to the Executives of those States certain documents concerning the expediency of placing the militia of those States in condition for a prompt movement to the defence of the city of Washington, if a call should be made for troops for that purpose;—and also, (at the request of responsible gentlemen in Washington,) concerning organizing a national celebration of the anniversary of January 8th.

The agent sent to Maine and New Hampshire was A. G. Browne, jr., afterwards military sec-

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retary to Gov. Andrew; and the Vermont agent was David W. Wardrop, of New Bedford, colonel of the first regiment detailed for service on the fall of Fort Sumter. At the same time, the first week in January, that these agents were despatched to the New England States, the volunteer militia of the State began active drilling nightly in their several armories. There were 5,000 men thus drilling; of them 3,000 were armed with the Springfield rifle musket, and the adjutant-general sent to the War Department for permission to draw 2,000 more rifled muskets from the Springfield armory in advance of the annual quota.

It would seem from the fact that Massachusetts could only at first arm 3,000 men, and was many months getting 10,000 into the field, that she was but little better prepared than the other Northern States for war; yet her usual vigor and energy finally triumphed over all obstacles, and she fully met the demands upon her for troops.

It is remarkable that on the same day on which the five commissioners to the peace conference were voted in the Massachusetts Legislature, Feb. 7, military orders were promulgated to the 1st division to hold itself ready for immediate service at the national capital.

Lieutenant-Colonel Harrison Ritchie, of my personal staff, said Governor Andrew, was sent by me to Washington, for the purpose of consulting with the General-in-Chief of the Federal army, and with other officers, civil as well as military, with reference to the despatch of troops by this Commonwealth for the defence of the City of Washington, in event of any emergency which would render the employment of militia for that purpose desirable. It is not deemed expedient to insert in this communication the report made by Colonel Ritchie of his mission. It is sufficient to state, that a satisfactory understanding was established with the General-in-Chief, and an arrangement effected, according to which, if it should be found necessary to despatch our troops, and their way between Philadelphia and Baltimore should be obstructed over land, they should be directed upon Baltimore by sea (landing under cover of its forts,) or upon Annapolis and from thence to Washington.

Thus the troops were drilled and equipped, and ready to start at a moment's notice. The Massachusetts Senators at Washington were persevering in urging upon the President the services of the Massachusetts men. When the expedition to Fort Sumter resulted in hostilities, Senator Wilson immediately telegraphed to Governor Andrew to send twenty companies to Washington. In the course of the same day the formal requisition of the department was received, and Col. Wardrop, at New Bedford, of the 3d Regiment, Col. Jones, at Lowell, of the 6th, Col. Packard, at Quincy, of the 4th, and Col. Munroe, at Lynn, of the 8th, were ordered to muster on the Common forthwith, and they appeared on the following day. On the 16th they began to arrive in Boston. The first companies came from Marblehead on the evening of the 15th, which was the same day the proclamation was issued. This town has the reputation of sending the first troops to Cambridge, in 1775. Other companies arrived by the various railroads, all with full ranks. The excitement in the several towns whence they came was intense. The friends and neighbors of the soldiers in many instances raised $1,000 and $2,000 for the benefit of their families. They were cheered as they left home, and frequently addressed by clergymen, ex-governors, ex-members of Congress, and others. The general feeling expressed was that civil war with all its horrors was preferable to anarchy. On the 16th Senator Wilson again telegraphed for a brigade of four regiments. On the 17th Col. Wardrop with 11 companies, 3d Regiment, was ordered immediately to Fortress Monroe, followed by Col. Packard with the 4th. Col. Jones with 13 companies, comprising the 6th Regiment, was ordered to Washington forthwith via New York. This regiment was attacked in Baltimore, April 19, the anniversary of the battle of Lexington, 1775. On the receipt of the news in Boston, April 19th, of the attack on the military at Baltimore, the populace became almost frantic. The workmen left their shops and factories in their shirt sleeves and congregated in crowds, resolving to avenge the wrong at all cost. Bodies of men from all ranks were organizing and preparing to leave at the earliest moment, determined to redress the outrage with their lives.

On the 20th of April, F. B. Crowninshield was despatched to Europe to purchase 25,000 stand of arms, and was furnished with a credit of $250,000 for that purpose. There were expended $251,339 for English Enfield rifles, and $23,617 for infantry equipments. The remainder of a sum of $562,488 was expended. The balance was made up of American infantry equipments, ordnance, ordnance stores of every description, and wagons and caissons for the battery companies, freight, repairs, and the like. All regiments and companies, whether of infantry or artillery, both for three months and for three years service, furnished by the State to the General Government, with the exception of one battery, received all their armament from the Commonwealth. The horse equipments and sabres for cavalry were received from the United States. Of the troops in the three years' service, 14 regiments were armed with the Enfield rifled musket, 4 with the Springfield rifled musket, and 5 with the Springfield smooth-bored musket. The 15th and 21st regiments were at first provided with smoothbores, which were afterwards replaced by rifled arms.

Massachusetts also loaned 2,000 Springfield guns to arm Western Virginia.

The State made a further contract for 5 000 Enfield rifles, of which 320 arrived before the affair of the Trent caused the interdict of the Queen of England against the further export of arms.

The troops continued to move forward rapidly, and 6 regiments three-months men, numbering 3,736, were up to the 3d of May forwarded.

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At that date the President called for three-years volunteers. Of these there were forwarded 26,175 during the year, (of whom 4,337 only were from Boston and neighborhood,) making 30,736 men in addition to 2,900 Massachusetts men in independent and other organizations. There were also 11,000 men enlisted in the navy. From this number are to be deducted 1,622 men of other States enlisted in Massachusetts regiments. The following are the three-months regiments:

Regiments.	Colonels.	Men.
3d Infantry	D. W. Wardrop	444
4th "	A. B. Packard	636
5th "	S. C. Lawrence	823
6th "	E. F. Jones	683
8th "	T. Munroe	711
3d Rifles	Major C. Devens	322
Battery	A. M. Cook	115
Total		3,736

These were from every county in the State, Boston furnishing 352 men.

The three-years men were as follows:

Regiment.	Colonels.	Places.	Left.
1st	Rob. Cowdin	Boston	June 15
2d	S. H. Gordon	"	July 11
7th	J. H. Wheelock	"	July 8
9th	Thos. Cass	"	June 24
10th	Henry S. Briggs	Pittsfield	July 25
11th	W. Blaisdell	Boston	June 24
12th	Fletcher Webster	Marshfield	July 23
13th	S. H. Leonard	Boston	July 30
14th	W. B. Green	Haverhill	Aug. 7
15th	Charles Devens	Worcester	Aug. 8
16th	P. T. Wyman	Boston	Aug. 17
17th	T. C. Amory	U. S. A.	Aug. 23
18th	J. Barnes	Springfield	Aug. 24
19th	E. W. Hink	Lynn	Aug. 28
20th	W. R. Lee	Roxbury	Sept. 4
21st	A. Morse	Leominster	Aug. 22
22d	J. A. Gore	Concord, N.H.	Oct. 8
23d	J. Kurtz	Boston	Nov. 11
24th	J. G. Hevener	N. York	Dec. 9
25th	E. Upton	Fitchburg	Oct. 31
26th	E. F. Jones	Pepperell	Nov. 21
27th	H. C. Lee	Springfield	Nov. 2
28th	W. Monteith	N. York	at home
29th	E. W. Pierce	Freetown	Jan. 6
1st Cavalry	R. Williams	Va.	Dec. 25
1st Battery	J. Porter	"	Oct. 3
2d "	O. F. Nims	"	Aug. 8
3d "	A. P. Martin	"	Oct. 7
4th "	C. H. Murray	"	Nov. 23
5th "	M. Eppendorf	"	Dec. 25

Thus, previous to the battle of Bull Run, Massachusetts had supplied but four regiments of three-years men to the war, notwithstanding the urgency with which the troops had been pressed upon the War Department early in January, and drilling and arming had been extensively carried on at a time when conciliation was generally attempted. In the same period of time, viz., from May 19 to July 12, New York had sent forward 42 regiments, 36,000 men.

The Massachusetts Legislature met in the first week in January, and Gov. Banks, in his valedictory address, Jan. 3, 1861, dwelt long on the importance of repealing the personal liberty bills, on account of their unconstitutional character, but repelled the idea of peaceable secession.

Gov. Andrew, in his Message to both Houses, sustained the personal liberty bill.

The Massachusetts Senate, Jan. 15, passed a resolution endorsing Mr. Buchanan's position in his last annual Message. In the House, on the same day, resolutions were passed by unanimous vote, tendering to the President aid in men and money to support the Federal authority, and declaring that the State of South Carolina had committed acts of war. A bill also passed to increase the volunteer military of the State.

Jan. 19, resolutions were passed establishing the office of Private Military Secretary to the Governor, and Mr. Brown, the agent to Maine for a military confederacy, was appointed.

Jan. 24, the Senate Committee on Federal Relations reported that a law to prevent search for runaway slaves in Massachusetts would be in violation of the Constitution of the United States. The same committee reported that the militia laws of the commonwealth were in conformity with the Federal laws.

The Committee on Federal Relations voted to report leave to withdraw on the several petitions for a law against slave-hunting in Massachusetts.

An order was introduced in the House looking to the enactment of laws for the protection of citizens travelling in the States, which was referred.

Gov. Andrew sent in a Message to the House enclosing a communication from Col. Jones, of the Sixth Regiment, tendering the services of the regiment to the Government; also, a similar offer from Major-General Sutton and staff. The light artillery, National Lancers, and numerous other efficient military corps of the city and State, voted nearly unanimously to respond to a call for active service.

April 5, the House of Representatives unanimously passed a resolution on the petition of fifty-four mercantile houses trading with Hayti, instructing the Massachusetts Senators and Representatives in Congress to use their influence to obtain the recognition of Haytian independence.

The Rhode Island boundary question, which had been pending many years, was settled, finally, by the adoption of a new line, which transfers Pawtucket and part of Seekonk, Mass., to Rhode Island; and Fall River, R. I., to Massachusetts.

On the 24th of January, amidst the public anxiety, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society announced its annual sittings in the Tremont Temple, where the John Brown meeting had been attempted. This it was declared would not be suffered, and the aid of the Mayor was invoked. The Mayor replied that "he knew nothing of the character of the meeting, or of the threats to 'summarily abate such assemblies as a nuisance,' but if the originators of the meeting and the trustees of the Tremont Temple thought that any thing would be said during the sessions against the Government, or likely

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to peril the peace of the city, they would be responsible for any disturbances which might follow!" He also said that "since in the present excited state of the public mind, it was evident an anti-slavery meeting could not be held in Boston without serious and perhaps violent opposition, we ought not to hold one; and if it was held, and such opposition was provoked, he should arrest those who called and conducted the meeting, as the aggressors upon the public peace!"

There was an attempt to hold the meeting, and Mr. Wendell Phillips began to speak amidst great uproar, and the Mayor finally closed the place. About 200 citizens went to the house of Phillips, in Essex street, with the design to destroy it, but it was protected by the police.

An attempt was made in the Legislature in consequence, to take from the Mayor the control of the police, and place it with the Governor, but the attempt failed.

The Tremont Temple, the Melodeon, and the rooms in the Mercantile Library Building, were refused to the Anti-Slavery Society for its annual May meeting.

In February, petitions from Boston with 22,000 signatures in favor of the Crittenden compromise were forwarded to Washington.

February 5, the Governor of Massachusetts appointed seven commissioners to the convention at Washington, in accordance with the action of the Legislature. An immense Union meeting was held at Faneuil Hall by all parties, and the most extraordinary earnestness for the preservation of peace was manifested. Resolutions were passed appealing to the Border States to remain faithful, and conceding the equal rights of the States in the territories of the United States, and approving of the Crittenden compromises. A meeting was held at the Board of Trade rooms in favor of a petition for compromise, which was as follows:

Your memorialists humbly pray that such measures may be speedily adopted by Congress for the pacific settlement of our present difficulties, as will embrace substantially such a plan of compromise as may be deemed expedient to restore tranquillity and peace to our distracted country.

This was signed by an immense number of names. Similar petitions were largely circulated, and in some cases obtained as many local names as there were voters. A committee, composed of Ed. Everett, R. C. Winthrop, Chief-Justice Lemuel Shaw, E. S. Toby, Amos A. Lawrence, the Union candidate for Governor, C. L. Woodbury, went to Washington with the Union memorial of the city to Congress, and on the 29th it was presented to that body. It contained 14,127 signatures of legal voters. The vote of the city at the last election had been 19,000. Two days were required to obtain the signatures, which were those of persons of all political parties. The petition was carried to the clerk's desk, enveloped in the flag of the Union, amid the applause of a large number of the representatives and of the spectators.

The Legislature adjourned April 13, the day of the attack on Fort Sumter, having been in session 100 days. The events which immediately followed, made an extra session necessary, and it was convened May 14. A law was passed, May 21, creating a sinking fund to redeem the war debt by applying to it moneys that may be received from the United States, and a tax of one-tenth per cent. of the balance over such sums.

On the same day was passed an "act for the maintenance of the Union and the Constitution." This ratified the proceedings of the Governor in relation to the war, and invested him with power to arm, equip, and officer troops, and fix their rank and pay, and to adjust accounts with the United States. It created the "Union Fund," and authorized the issue of $3,000,000 in scrip, bearing 6 per cent. coupons, payable after 10 years or at 30 years.

A supplemental act empowered the Governor to issue scrip for $7,000,000 6 per cent. to be loaned to the United States, and expended in treasury notes.

On the 23d was passed an act "in aid of the families of volunteers." It empowered towns and cities to raise money for soldiers' families. A bill for organizing the home guard was also passed.

On the 23d the Legislature adjourned. Many of the members made a donation of their pay to the volunteer fund, and the session closed by singing the "Star-Spangled Banner," and other patriotic songs.

Sept. 30, over $1,200,000 were bid at and above par for the new Massachusetts 6 per cent. State loan for $1,000,000.

The Republican State Convention, fully attended, was called to order at Worcester, Oct. 1. Gov. Andrew was nominated by acclamation. The resolutions adopted declared that the maintenance of the Constitution transcends any other question, and demands the life and property of all citizens; expressed a desire for the union of all the friends of the country against its pretended friends and open enemies; declared that no rights secured to loyal citizens shall be endangered, and that disloyal citizens have no rights adverse to those who are loyal; approved the acts of the Administration; recognized the devotion of the volunteers; endorsed the acts of Governor Andrew, and recommended the exercise of great care in nominating subordinate officers.

Resolutions were also offered, declaring that the people of the State would rejoice, when the time should come, in the wisdom of the Government, to remove slavery, and to free all slaves within the lines of the Federal armies, compensating loyal owners.

This resolution was laid on the table, and the motion to adjourn was carried without acting upon it.

The vote at the election for Governor was:

1860.....	Andrew, 104,527;	opposition,	85,007
1861.....	" 65,261;	"	31,264

On the 24th of November the San Jacinto

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arrived with Messrs. Mason, Slidell, and suite, who were incarcerated in Fort Warren. A committee of the city government waited on Commander Wilkes, who was entertained at the expense of the city.

There are in Massachusetts some 250 joint stock companies for different manufacturing purposes. The capital of these in 1861 was $16,055,800, and paid in $12,387,651.36.

The receipts and expenditures of the treasury of the State of Massachusetts for 1861 were:

Cash, January 1, 1861		$154,841.58
Revenue receipts		1,133,986.08
		$1,288,827.56
Ordinary expenses		1,153,742.56
Cash, December 31, 1861		$135,085.00
Received for several funds:		
Union fund loan	$2,217,500.00	
Sale of State scrip	300,000.00	
From U. S. reimbursements	984,376.00	
Emergency fund	3,201,547.00	
Total military	$6,703,423.00	
Other expenses	1,141,375.00	
		$7,844,798.00
Arming troops	3,343,694.41	
Repaid banks	2,780,500.00	
Sinking fund	984,376.15	
Other expenses	631,362.44	
		$7,739,933.00
Cash on hand		104,865.00

MATTHIAS POINT, on the south or right bank of the Potomac, was early made the site for a battery by the Confederate troops. It is about fifty miles below Washington and is formed by a change in the course of the river suddenly to the northward, thence sharply to the south. The channel of the river is within the range of ordinary cannon from the point.

It was here that Capt. James H. Ward, of the gunboat Freeborn, was killed, on the 27th of June. A landing was made in the morning, and the Confederate pickets driven in by Lieut. Chaplin with two boats' crews from the Pawnee and one from the Freeborn, containing between thirty and forty men.

Finding preparations for the erection of a Confederate battery there, it was determined to throw up breastworks and mount guns thereon to give the enemy a warm reception, should they attack the crews, who were about to clear the point by cutting down the woods. Accordingly, the men were set to work, under cover of the Freeborn's guns, at throwing up a sand-bag breastwork, and succeeded in working four hours and a half, and got their works completed about five in the evening. They then went to the boats to go on board for guns to mount on the work, when, as they were embarking, they were surprised by the Confederates, estimated at one thousand strong, who poured in a heavy and continuous fire of musketry upon them from the bushes near by.

Under cover of the guns of the Freeborn the crews precipitately made for the steamer, leaving a few of the men on shore, the guns of the Freeborn meanwhile opening with activity and precision apparently upon the enemy, who were concealed by the underbrush. Some ten shells were thrown among them, with what effect could not be seen.

Captain Ward behaved with coolness, standing by the guns and directing the fire. When his gunner received a wound in the thigh, which disabled him, Capt. Ward immediately took his place, and was sighting the gun, when he received a Minié musket ball in the abdomen, which caused his death a few hours after.

The men left on the shore by the boats in their retreat swam out to the Freeborn—one of the men carrying on his back a wounded comrade named Bess, who had four musket balls into him. Only three men of the boats were wounded, and the only life lost was that of Capt. Ward, who, the moment the enemy were discovered, blew the signal for the crews to come aboard, and instantly opened on the foe with his heavy guns.

While the crews were engaged on the breastworks, a slave approached the shore with a white flag on a pole, and getting aboard the Freeborn, informed Capt. Ward that the enemy were in the underbrush near by, one thousand strong. Still the work was continued, and made ready, as the event turned, for the Confederates to occupy it with guns.

McKENZIE, WILLIAM LYON, a Canadian politician, and leader of the rebellion in 1837, born about 1800, died near Toronto, August 26, 1861. In Dec. 1837, after the capture by the English general, Sir John Colborne, of the village of St. Eustatie had quelled the revolutionary spirit of Lower Canada, but only imparted new vigor to that of the upper province, William Lyon McKenzie, then a prominent politician and popular advocate of Upper Canada, led a body of insurgents to Toronto, and demanded from Sir Francis Head, the governor-general of Canada, his consent to the calling of a convention for the settlement of the difficulties between the people and the Government. Sir Francis refused, and the insurgents prepared to commence hostilities, but were compelled, from want of means, to retreat to Navy Island on the Niagara River. A body of 500 American sympathizers, under the leadership of Mr. Van Rensselaer, a graduate of West Point, reënforced them, and McKenzie established a provisional government, and issued a proclamation offering, in the name of the new government, 300 acres of land and $100 to all volunteers to the army on Navy Island, and a reward of £500 for the apprehension of Sir Francis Head, the governor-general. The introduction of salutary reforms in Canada by the British Government, and the indifference and unsympathizing position of the citizens of the United States except those immediately on the border, disheartened the insurgents. McKenzie, having been arrested and held to bail in Buffalo, and subsequently having, with his little force, been cannonaded by a large force of royalists at Navy Island for several days, abandoned the island with his followers and escaped. He was not captured, though

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a "true bill" was found against him. He remained in the United States for ten years, connected for a considerable time with the daily press of New York City, and at one time made himself quite notorious by the publication of a collection of private letters of some prominent political actors of the time, of which he had in some way obtained possession. In 1849 the British Government pardoned him, and he returned to Canada, where the people raised a sum sufficient to purchase him a homestead and small annuity, on which he maintained himself until his death.

McLEAN, JOHN, LL. D., an American jurist and statesman, born in Morris County, N. J., March 11, 1785, died at Cincinnati, April 4, 1861. When he was four years of age his father removed to the West and settled, first at Morganstown, Virginia, subsequently at Nicholasville, Ky., and finally, in 1799, on a farm in Warren Co., Ohio. Young McLean, at the age of 18, went to Cincinnati to study law, and entered the office of Arthur St. Clair, then an eminent lawyer. While studying his profession, he supported himself by writing in the office of the clerk of the county. In the autumn of 1807 he was admitted to the bar, and commenced practice at Lebanon, Warren Co., O. In Oct. 1812, he was elected to Congress from his district, which then included Cincinnati, by the democratic party, and advocated the war with England and supported the Administration of President Madison. In 1814 he was unanimously reelected to Congress, in 1815 declined a nomination to the United States Senate, and in 1816 was elected Judge of the Supreme Court of the State, in which position he continued till 1822, when President Monroe appointed him Commissioner of the General Land Office. In July, 1823 he was appointed postmaster-general, and by his energetic administration made that department as remarkable for order, efficiency, and economy, as it had previously been for the reverse. The salary of the office was raised from $4,000 to $6,000 by an almost unanimous vote of both Houses of Congress during his administration. In 1829 President Jackson offered him the War and the Navy Departments, but he declined both, and, resigning the post of postmaster-general, accepted the appointment of Associate Justice on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States, and entered upon his duties in January, 1830. He continued in this office till his death. Several of his charges, opinions, and decisions, have become historical. In Dec. 1838, he delivered a charge on "Aiding or favoring unlawful military combinations by our citizens against any foreign government or people with whom we are at peace," having special reference to the Canadian insurrection and its American abettors. His opinion in the Dred Scott case, in which he dissented from that of Chief-Justice Taney, is still more celebrated. It was the first distinct enunciation from a member of that bench, of the doctrine that "Slavery was contrary to right, and was in our country only the creature of local law." Judge McLean's name was prominent among the candidates for the presidency in 1856 and 1860. His health was infirm during the January term of 1861, and after his return home his disease rapidly increased till his death.

METALS. *Lake Superior Copper Mines.*—The "Annual Review," of Messrs. Dupee, Beck & Sayles of Boston, for 1861, says: "In relation to the mining interests of Lake Superior, the year just now closed, will be long remembered as having witnessed the most extraordinary fluctuations in the prices of ingot copper, producing thereby the extremes of adversity and prosperity. This metal was sold, in July, at seventeen cents per pound, cash, the lowest price in the market since 1850. To-day (Jan. 1862) holders refuse twenty-seven cents, cash. Before the present stock has passed into the hands of the manufacturers, and, consequently, before the profits of mining in 1861 can be accurately ascertained, the prices may have advanced to figures exceeding the maximum of 1857, or thirty cents per pound, payable in four months. These fluctuations in prices have not been the result of speculation, but have been caused by the disturbances of trade all over the world. The ordinary consumption of copper in the United States has usually been estimated at twelve thousand tons per annum. Lake Superior produced, in 1860, six thousand tons. The remainder was obtained principally from Tennessee, Canada, and Chili. The opening of the lake navigation, in May last, brought upon the market, already, in consequence of the civil war, overstocked with foreign copper, the accumulated product of the previous six months. The necessities of several companies required immediate sales, reducing the price, in one instance, to the low rate named above. But the disastrous prices were, after all, followed by positively beneficial results to the mining interests. A most rigid system of economical management has been inaugurated, so that every manager can give an estimate, closely approximating to the truth, of the cost, per pound, of ingot copper produced by his mine. A new impulse has been given to the study of the machinery for profitably reducing the lower grades of stamp work, railways have in many cases been substituted for hand-barrows underground, and heavy chain work been introduced. On the other hand, the low prices of copper in the American markets induced enormous shipments to the markets of Europe, especially to those of the continent, where its peculiar qualities of ductility and toughness procured for it the preference in the finer manufactures. In Rotterdam, Antwerp, Havre, and Paris, the brands of the several American smelting works are as well known as in Boston and New York. The exportation of copper continued until the price rose to twenty-one or twenty-two cents, (November.) Large purchases by the Federal Government

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caused a rapid advance to twenty-five, (December,) and American copper was actually re-shipped from Havre to New York.

Since the tariff of August last, importations from Chili, the main source of the supply of copper from abroad, have gradually declined, and such is the derangement of foreign commerce, that the supplies from that country must be comparatively small for many months hence. From all these premises there will be a short supply, unless considerable lots can be returned from abroad free of duty till the opening of navigation in May, 1862.

Looking back upon the past year as the most disastrous financially, since 1837, those interested in the mines of Lake Superior may congratulate themselves that but few of the adventures have been suspended, that but few calls have been made upon the shareholders, and that nearly all the mines now in progress are earning dividends, or, at least, are self-sustaining. A careful inspection of the published reports of the principal companies shows that the cost of production, including every item down to the charges of the commission merchants, need not exceed thirteen and a half cents per pound at the richer mines, nor more than eighteen, or, possibly, nineteen cents, at the poorer mines. Yet the business of mining at Lake Superior is but in its infancy. The same energy which has developed successfully the lead, iron, coal, silver, and gold of the United States, will yet solve, with a similar measure of success, the problem of mining for copper in the richest and most extensive deposits of that metal yet discovered in the world.

The statistics, down to the end of the year 1861, are presented in the following tables:

Years.	Tons.	Average price per ton.	Value.
Total production of ingot copper to close of 1857	18,954	$500	$9,477,000
Shipments of 1858	3,500	460	1,610,000
" 1859	4,200	460	1,932,000
" 1860	6,000	420	2,520,000
" 1861	7,400	420	3,108,000
Total	40,054		$18,647,000

The production of the several mines for the last three years in rough copper, as shipped, was as follows, the weights of the barrels being deducted, and the results given in tons of 2,000 lbs. and tenths:

PLACE.	1859.	1860.	1861.
Keweenaw District:			
Amygdaloid, late Connecticut	..	..	68.0
Central	172.8	78.6	162.0
Clark	5.6	7.2	..
Connecticut	24.0	5.3	..
Copper Falls	329.4	224.0	272.0
Eagle River	6.0	..	..
Garden City	..	..	10.3
North American	8.7	..	33.9
North-West	73.8	103.5	62.8
Phœnix	82.0	31.2	46.9
Pittsburg and Boston	1,254.5	1,857.0	1,496.5
Summit	4.0	..	..
Total	1,910.3	1,910.8	2,151.9
Portage Lake District:			
Albany and Boston	..	..	4.2
C. C. Douglass	..	24.0	..
Isle Royale	241.8	458.6	784.0
Franklin	204.7	267.0	855.0
Hancock	..	7.2	56.0
Huron	7.4	78.0	165.0
Mesnard	.6	..	..
Pewabic	734.4	1,563.8	1,129.0
Portage	8.7	..	42.0
Quincy	386.0	666.0	1,791.4
Total	1,583.1	3,064.6	4,706.6
Ontonagon District.			
Adventure	189.4	29.7	2.3
Aztec	15.8	4.9	..
Bohemian	8.0	..	7.6
Evergreen bluff	27.0	41.9	70.6
Flint Steel River	..	..	1.5
Hamilton	.7	7.9	..
Knowlton	..	..	11.4
Mass	12.8	..	..
Minnesota	1,623.6	2,188.4	1,880.4
National	328.2	727.8	948.9
Nebraska	9.8	26.4	7.3
Norwich	22.0	..	..
Ogima	85.4	..	9.7
Ridge	27.8	22.0	31.9
Rockland	347.0	552.7	470.9
Superior	1.7	14.0	39.7
Toltec	9.4	..	2.2
Total	2,597.6	3,610.7	3,474.7
Porcupine Mountains	..	20.5	..
Sundry mines	..	7.6	..
Grand Total	6,041.0	8,614.2	10,387.2

The annual shipments of rough copper, according to the official statements made to the Michigan Legislature, have been as follows:

1845, lbs.	1,300	1853, tons	1,453
1846, tons	29	1854, "	2,340
1847, "	239	1855, "	3,196
1848, "	516	1856, "	5,726
1849, "	753	1857, "	5,759
1850, "	640	1858, "	5,897
1851, "	872	1859, "	7,245
1852, "	887	1860, "	9,200

Copper in the puddling furnace.—In the "American Journal of Science," for Jan. 1861, is an abstract of a paper by Dr. C. List, on the effect of copper in the puddling furnace. It is generally believed by German iron masters that pig-iron containing copper cannot be puddled, it having even been asserted that when one puddler wishes to annoy another, he will sometimes throw a bit of copper (a small coin, for example) into the furnace, so that the iron cannot be made to "rise." Without fully crediting this opinion, Dr. List mentions two cases observed by him tending to confirm it. In one case 400 lbs. of pig-metal placed in the furnace melted in half-an-hour, at which time a sample taken out was perfectly white, but the usual evolution of carbonic oxide and swelling up, or "rising," of the mass of scales about the iron did not ensue; and by the time the balling together of the iron should have commenced, it became evident that the charge could not be worked off. It was therefore removed, after remaining about three-quarters of an hour, and in flowing out, emitted numerous beautiful blue sparks, which were also produced by stirring the metal in the furnace, and were regarded

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by the workmen as an indication of the presence of copper. Only 240 lbs. of iron remained, the rest having been lost in the scales and slag. Analysis showed the original pig-iron to contain 1·32 per cent. silicon, 0·28 sulphur, 3·56 manganese, and 0·35 copper, and that removed from the furnace 0·20 sulphur, 0·48 manganese, and 0·57 copper, showing that none of the copper was removed by the puddling.

Malleable Iron.—The same number contains an abstract of the experiments made in 1857 by H. Tissier, director of the aluminium works at Amfreville, in France, on the action of carbonate of soda on cast-iron. He found that malleable iron, heated with it alone, suffered no change, while cast-iron lost its carbon and silicium, and was converted into malleable iron; and suggests that the process of annealing or the conversion of cast into malleable iron, now accomplished by heating the articles for a long time with substances rich in oxide of iron, might be replaced by a heating with carbonate of soda, with the advantage that the metal may be withdrawn from time to time to watch the progress of the conversion into steel or malleable iron. He was in hopes of being able, in this way, to obtain large masses of malleable iron, such as heretofore have been obtained only by forging; but the length of time required, and the porosity of the iron obtained, demand some further modifications of the process. With smaller castings, however, the action, even when superficial, imparts great toughness, removing the liability to fracture.

Copper in Canada.—M. Gauldrée Boileau, French consul at Quebec, states, in a despatch dated Jan. 1861, that new discoveries of copper continued to be made between Richmond and Quebec, and that it appeared every day more evident that the beds at Acton were not isolated, but constituted part of a vast copper-bearing formation, the outcrops of which have already been exposed at many points, as at St. Flavien, in the county of Lothinière, at Melbourne, and in the immediate vicinity of Richmond. He states the ores to contain enough silver to render its extraction advantageous, and says that the establishment of works for the treatment on a large scale of the ores of Acton, Richmond, &c., has been projected at Longueil, opposite Montreal. To this would be attached sulphuric acid works, so as to make use of the gases produced.

Zinc.—A very interesting paper on the impurities of commercial zinc was contributed to the Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (vol. viii.) by Messrs. C. W. Eliot and Frank H. Storer. The specimens examined were, 1st, Silesian, 2d, Vieille Montagne, 3d, New Jersey, 4th, Pennsylvanian, (from Penn. and Lehigh Works, Bethlehem,) 5th, Vieille Montagne, (such as used at United States Mint,) 6th, a sample bought in Paris, labelled "zinc pur," 7th, of unknown origin, 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th, "English zinc," from different works in Wales. The chief impurity of all these proved to be metallic lead, of which No. 1 contained 1·46 per cent., 2d, 0·292, 3d, 0·079, 4th, none, 5th, 0·494, 6th, 0·106, 7th, 1·297, and the English ones, 1·192, 0·823, 1·661, and 1·516 respectively. Minute traces of cadmium and tin were found in several samples, but never amounting to $\frac{1}{20}$ of 1 per cent., except No. 3, which gave decided indications of tin. Copper was found only in No. 3, which contained 0·1298 per cent. The occurrence of iron generally forming less than 0·2 per cent. having before been shown, Messrs. Eliot and Storer did not investigate particularly. No. 3 contained 0·2088 per cent. Nickel, cobalt, and manganese, which have been asserted to sometimes occur in zinc, they are of opinion are never to be found, unless accidentally, and then in very minute quantity. Carbon seems either not to occur at all, or only in infinitesimal quantity. The presence of sulphur in extremely minute but appreciable quantity, was ascertained in every sample examined. But the most important though somewhat unexpected result obtained, was that much of the zinc of commerce is free from arsenic, or, at least, contains too small a quantity to be detected by the most delicate tests known, and that in many cases its supposed detection by Marsh's test has arisen from the impurity of the acids used—a result of the highest importance to persons engaged in the examination of cases of alleged arsenical poisoning. Some specimens of the Vieille Montagne and Pennsylvania zincs gave no trace after the current of gas had been maintained for more than one hour in the very delicate apparatus employed, which was proved by direct experiment to be capable of detecting arsenic when forming only one ten-millionth of either the zinc or the liquid. Inferior samples of both, as well as those from Silesia and Paris, yielded, after long trial, exceedingly minute traces. The New Jersey and English specimens yielded very considerable indications of arsenic. The authors conclude their paper with a comparative view of the origin and probable impurities of the principal varieties of zinc, of which the Silesian and Belgian alone enter extensively into foreign commerce, the French, English, and American being used at home.

The Silesian is for the most part made from the silicate and carbonate of zinc, and these ores furnish metal of great purity; but whenever ores containing blende, or the impure oxide of zinc from other metallurgic processes, are mixed with them, arsenic, &c., may be expected. In German zinc generally, previous researches, confirmed by those of Messrs. E. and S., had shown lead to be the principal impurity, with frequently a little cadmium, and they found, even in the best samples, traces of sulphur and arsenic. The Belgian is also made from silicate and carbonate, and when made with care from selected ores, contains very little lead and no arsenic, but differs a good deal, probably from imperfect picking of the ores. The Eng-

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lish is, in great part, made from blende, and is consequently among the most impure, containing more lead than any except the Silesian, and more arsenic than any, except perhaps the New Jersey. The Pennsylvanian is made from silicate of zinc, and appears to be the purest produced, in most cases containing absolutely no impurity, except a trace of cadmium. The impurities in some of this zinc appear to arise from the fact that the crust from the furnaces for making the white oxide, in which less carefully selected ores are used, has occasionally been worked into spelter. The New Jersey is made from the red oxide of zinc, and has hitherto been supposed to be especially pure, but proved to be just the reverse, containing very appreciable quantities of copper and arsenic, as well as sulphur, carbon, and tin, but less lead than any except the Pennsylvanian. The authors were unable to detect the source of the copper, and seem to suspect that, though in considerable quantity, it may prove to be accidental; but arsenic was found in both the red oxide and the associated Franklinite, as well as in white oxide manufactured from them.

Iron and Anthracite of Pennsylvania.—The "Annales des Mines" for June, 1861, contains a report from M. de la Fosse, French consul in Philadelphia, on the progress of the manufacture of iron with anthracite in Pennsylvania. He states that 1,800,000 tons of iron ore are annually smelted with it, much of which, owing to foreign competition, could not have been used if only bituminous coal or charcoal had been obtainable; that in Pennsylvania 91, and in New York, New Jersey, and Maryland 29 blast furnaces are worked with anthracite, producing 500,000 tons of cast-iron, worth in Philadelphia and New York at least $10,000,000. He institutes a comparison between the anthracite iron, costing $20 a ton, the charcoal iron of Eastern Pennsylvania, worth $26, the iron made with coke in Western Pennsylvania, which he considers, from the cost of transport and inferiority of quality, can seldom compete with either of the others, as well as with the English iron, then costing $22, including duty, but which he thinks would soon reach $26, if England, in addition to her present supply, had to furnish the 500,000 tons now made with anthracite. He considers this to be the best iron made with mineral fuel, being applicable to most purposes for which charcoal iron was formerly used, and ascribes this superiority to the small quantity of sulphur in the coal, and the more complete volatilization of foreign ingredients by the intense heat obtained by a pressure of air nearly three times as great as in coke furnaces. From 1845 to 1855 most of the furnaces had blowing machines capable of throwing in 4,000 cubic feet of air per minute at a pressure of 4 lbs. to the square inch, which gave with furnaces 40 to 50 feet high about 5,000 tons annually. Since that time more powerful ones have been introduced, giving 10,000 cub. ft. per minute, at a pressure of 8 or 9 lbs. to the square inch, and with these, a furnace 60 feet high will yield 10,000 tons per annum. The combustible necessary for this production is 12,000 to 15,000 tons, while formerly 25,000 to 30,000 tons of charcoal would have been required. The cost of labor has also been considerably reduced. He states that the arrangements for burning the gases, heating the boilers and the blast, are the same as those used in France, and that the air is generally introduced at a temperature of 600° F.

Production of Pig-Iron in Scotland.—The number of blast furnaces in operation in Scotland in 1861 is stated to have been 123, and the product of pig-iron as 1,050,000 tons. The shipments to the United States were 54,482 tons, those of 1860, 77,632 tons. Scotch pig-iron is largely employed in iron foundries throughout the country, and is highly esteemed, not so much on account of its superior quality when used alone, as for the excellent product of its mixture with our own much stronger pig-irons. No other irons can be obtained in such large quantities, of so uniform a character, and so well adapted for foundry purposes. A large portion of the product is consumed in Scotland, much of it in the construction of iron steam-ships and steam machinery. This business is carried on to a great extent on the river Clyde, where, in 1861, 86 iron steamers were built. Nearly 100,000 tons of pig-iron are exported to Germany, and about 60,000 tons to France.

Heat of melted Cast-Iron and some other Metals and Alloys.—The "Annales des Mines" also contains an account of a series of experiments undertaken by MM. Minary and Resal on the degree of heat required to fuse cast-iron, the metal employed being a gray iron made with coke at the furnace of Rans, and composed of iron 0·9450, silicium, 0·0195, carbon, 0·0309, loss, &c., 0·0046. The calorimeter employed was a vessel of sheet iron containing a weighed quantity of water. The melted iron was poured into a pan supported on legs under the surface of the water, and the temperature of the calorimeter at the beginning and end, the temperature of the air, and the weight of the water and iron, being known, the quantity of heat corresponding to one kilogramme of iron can be calculated. When the iron was at its lowest temperature of perfect fusion, a very slight crust beginning to appear on the surface, the heat developed was from 250·07 to 257·72 units of heat. Very hot iron gave 292·04 units. Iron nearly solid gave 224·93. Iron cooled sufficiently to become somewhat granular and coherent, 215·2. These results are but little less than those which should theoretically be produced by the quantity of fuel used. Similar experiments with other metals gave for a white cast-iron, also from Rans, at the lowest temperature of perfect fusion, 246 to 248 units, though this result seems to be subject to doubt; for copper, very hot 182·0, only just fluid 139; for tin, at a red heat 47·5, just fluid 26·0; for

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lead, at a red heat 38·7, just fluid 16·7; for zinc, high red heat 105·0, just fluid 63·5; bell-metal, containing 20 per cent. of tin, 159·5 and 117·0; gun metal, containing 10 per cent. of tin, at a high temperature, 173·0, pasty, 127·0; brass, with 30 per cent. of zinc, at a high temperature, 159·5, pasty, 119·5. The agreement between the results obtained by experiment in the last three cases, and those calculated from the numbers given by their respective constituents is such that the authors conclude that the total quantity of heat necessary to melt an alloy, may be considered to differ very little from the sum of the quantities of heat necessary to melt its constituent parts.

Improvement in Iron and Steel.—The year 1861 has been remarkable for the progress made in the processes of manufacture, for the number of new or improved applications, and for the light shed upon the true nature of iron and steel. Mr. Fairbairn, in his address as President of the British Association for 1861, thus sums up some of these: "A consecutive series of chemical researches into the different processes, from the calcining of the ore to the production of the bar, carried on by Dr. Percy and others, has led to a revolution in the manufacture of iron; and although it is at the present moment in a state of transition, it nevertheless requires no very great discernment to perceive that steel and iron of any required tenacity will be made in the same furnace, with a facility and certainty never before attained. This has been effected, to some extent, by improvements in puddling; but the process of Mr. Bessemer affords the highest promise of certainty and perfection in the operation of converting the melted pig direct into steel or iron, and is likely to lead to the most important developments in this manufacture. I must not, however, pass over in silence the valuable light which chemistry has recently thrown upon the composition of iron and steel. Although Despretz demonstrated many years ago that iron would combine with nitrogen, yet it was not until 1857 that Mr. C. Binks proved that nitrogen is an essential element of steel, and more recently M. Caron and M. Fiemy have further elucidated this subject; the former showing that cyanogen, or cyanide of ammonium, is the essential element which converts wrought iron into steel; the latter combining iron with nitrogen through the medium of ammonia, and then converting it into steel by bringing it, at the proper temperature, into contact with common coal gas. There is little doubt that in a few years these discoveries will enable Sheffield manufacturers to replace their present uncertain, cumbrous, and expensive process by a method at once simple and inexpensive, and so completely under control as to admit of any required degree of conversion being obtained with absolute certainty. Mr. Crace Calvert also has proved that cast-iron contains nitrogen, and has shown that it is a definite compound of carbon and iron, mixed with various proportions of metallic iron, according to its nature." Among the new or improved applications may be enumerated the use of steel for bells, cannon, railway bars, car axles, and even for covering vessels, while iron has been employed on a great scale for plating vessels of war, and for cannon of unprecedented size. Much has also been added to our knowledge of the alterations to which iron is subject, when exposed to vibrating action, as in suspension bridges, locomotive axles, &c., as well as of its other physical properties. A report made by Mr. J. A. Roebling, the engineer of the Niagara suspension bridge, is especially full of information on these subjects, and valuable reports have also been made by Fairbairn in England, Schimmelbach at Liége, and Bourville in Austria.

Gold in Nova Scotia.—A range of clay slates and quartz rocks along the southern coast, extending about 250 miles in length, and stretching inland in some places 20 to 30 miles, whose geological place appears to be the lower part of the Lower Silurian, and consequently about the same age as the auriferous and cupriferous rocks of Lower Canada, has, within the last year, been found to be in many places rich in gold. The first gold found was at Tangier, 40 miles east of Halifax, in 1860, but the quantity found was small, and it was not until the spring of 1861 that any discoveries of importance were made. In March, 1861, a man, stooping to drink at a brook near the mouth of the Tangier River, saw a lump of gold among the pebbles, and on searching found others. As this was in a locality eminently favorable to mining operations, being within half a mile of navigation, a considerable number of persons flocked to the locality, and lots of 50 feet by 20 were leased by the Government. The greatest depth reached, at the time of the Hon. Mr. Howe's report, was 45 feet, and the largest nugget $300. The metal is found in scales and jagged pieces in quartz veins, very little having yet been obtained by washing. The discoveries at Tangier were followed by others at Musquodoboit, Laurencetown in the vicinity of Halifax, near Lunenburg, and at Wine Harbor, 50 miles east of Tangier, over a total length of 130 miles, from S. W. to N. E.; and in all probability gold will be found to pervade the rocks over the whole extent of the formation. It has also been reported from the inland districts of Eastern and Middle Pictou, in quartz veins running through Upper Silurian slates, but the quantity found seems to have been small. Mr. O. C. Marsh visited the gold region in Aug. 1861, and states that, though the metal is mostly found in the quartz veins, he noticed it in one instance in the clay slate. The associated minerals are chiefly mispickel and iron pyrites, the latter being itself auriferous. A few perfect crystals of gold were found. Copper pyrites, galena, magnetic iron, and hematite were also found in small quantities. At Tangier about 700 men were working claims, but at least one-third of the gold was lost by the rude methods employed. At

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Lunenburg, though gold occurs in the quartz veins, most of the product has been obtained from the sand of the beach, and a "dredging company" has been formed to explore the bottom of the harbor. Mr. Marsh's analysis of a specimen of gold from Tangier shows it to be of amost unequalled purity, containing 98·13 per cent. of gold, 1·76 silver, 0·05 copper, and a trace of iron. It seems impossible to ascertain how much gold has been obtained up to the present time in this region, as the miners were generally unwilling to give such information. 2,400 dollars were said to have been taken from one claim at Tangier, $1,300 from another, and $480 from a third, and at Lunenburg $250 were taken from a single pocket. At Sable Island, which is more than a hundred miles from the coast, a small quantity of gold has been found in the sand, appearing to indicate that the gold-bearing strata extend for a considerable distance beneath the Atlantic.

Researches on the Platinum Metals.—In the "American Journal of Science," Jan. 1861, is a portion of a valuable paper on these metals, by Dr. Wolcott Gibbs, who has for several years devoted much time to their investigation. The material used was obtained chiefly from the New York Assay Office and the Mint, and included also a considerable quantity of Siberian osmiridium. The samples obtained from the Mint at various times, and which had been subjected to different preliminary processes, varied greatly in appearance. In some cases the ore was in distinct scales, rather whiter than the Siberian osmiridium; in a sample of this kind Dr. Genth detected distinct crystals, belonging to the rhombohedral system. Other specimens resembled a fine gray metallic sand, while others again (derived from the sweepings of the Assay Office) presented a heavy gray powder. Nearly all the ores contained more or less iron mechanically mixed, which could be extracted by the magnet, or dissolved out by acids. Nitro-muriatic acid acted powerfully upon many specimens, dissolving portions of the platinum metals as well as iron, and even so far attacking the osmiridium itself as to occasion a distinct evolution of free osmic acid. In California the ore is almost always associated with gold, from which it is of course impossible to separate it by washing. At the Assay Office the gold is melted with twice its weight of silver, and the osmiridium allowed to settle. When the gold alloy is poured off, there remains a mass containing nearly all the osmiridium mixed with gold. This mass is fused repeatedly with silver, and the last traces of silver and gold are finally removed by treatment with nitric and nitro-muriatic acid and washing. The osmiridium is sold to the manufacturers of gold pens, who extract from it the excessively hard particles which serve for the points of pens; the rest is returned to the Assay Office. The amount of osmiridium obtained in this way does not exceed a few ounces in many millions of dollars, and many samples of gold are entirely free from it. It cannot, however, be doubted that large quantities of the ore will be obtained whenever important practical applications of the metals contained in it shall create a demand. The density of different Californian samples varied very much; one specimen, in large dull white plates, but slightly acted on by nitro-muriatic acid, having a specific gravity = 19·352. It is probable that this arises from differences of composition in the separate scales. G. Rose gives the density of the Siberian ore at 19·3 to 21·1. Dr. Torrey has found among the Californian scales some which could be flattened under the hammer, and were probably platin-iridium. In general, however, the scales are not malleable; some of a lead-gray or bluish tint being with great difficulty cut by the emery dust employed by the gold pen-makers. In color the scales vary from nearly silver-white to dark gray. To this part of the paper Dr. Torrey has added the following notes on the Californian osmiridium: "For the first year or two after the establishment of the United States Assay Office, the proportion of osmiridium in the California gold did not exceed half an ounce to the million of dollars. Afterwards, the proportion rapidly increased till the average was seven or eight ounces to the million of gold. Then, for a year or more, the quantity diminished, but for the last year it has been as large as ever. These differences depend upon the variable composition of the native gold, and the constant discovery of new diggings. The grains of osmiridium, suitable for pens, are roundish and solid, not liable to exfoliate when struck or heated. They seem to have a different composition from the compressed and tabular crystals. The proportion of them is usually not more than a tenth of all the alloy, but it is sometimes as large as one-fifth. The carefully-selected grains used by the gold pen-makers are so minute that from 10,000 to 15,000 of them are contained in a single ounce. The very best are worth at least $250 an ounce, and a cubic inch, which would be equal to about eleven ounces, is worth $2,750." The purely chemical part of the paper, though of the highest interest, hardly admits of condensation, as its value mainly consists in its minute details of necessary precautions to be observed in the treatment of the ore. The process recommended is essentially that of Claus, with some modifications rendered necessary by the peculiar composition of the Californian ore, which, according to Dr. Gibbs, contains more ruthenium than the Siberian.

Dimorphism of Arsenic, Antimony, and Zinc.—In the "American Journal of Science," for March, 1861, Prof. J. P. Cooke, of Cambridge, describes a series of experiments tending to prove that, besides the rhombohedral forms of crystallization of these metals, they are also capable of crystallizing in regular octahedral and other forms belonging to the cubic system. Arsenic was stated by Elsner, in 1841, to have been obtained in octahedra, by subliming a

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mixture of arsenious acid and charcoal powder; but by repeating the experiment Prof. Cooke found these crystals to be merely arsenious acid, colored by particles of metallic arsenic in mechanical mixture, like the sand in the crystals of Fontainebleau sandstone. But when rhombohedral crystals of arsenic prepared by sublimation in the usual way, afterwards kept under water deprived of air by boiling, and just before using dried in a current of hydrogen, were sublimed in a flask filled with hydrogen, the crust produced was found to be studded with distinct octahedral crystals, having a grayish color and a bright metallic lustre, but of microscopic dimensions. These were satisfactorily ascertained to belong to the cubic system; and the absence of arsenious acid was also proved by experiment. The mirror obtained by the reduction of arseniuretted hydrogen gas in a current of hydrogen gave similar results. Microscopic octahedral crystals of antimony, frequently modified by the faces of the cube, and in one case at least by those of the rhombic dodecahedron, were obtained by reducing antimoniuretted hydrogen in the same way; and Prof. Cooke is of opinion that in the mirrors of arsenic and antimony obtained by Marsh's test these metals are always in the octahedral modification. The best crystals were obtained by resubliming the metallic mirrors in a slow current of hydrogen, in which way the crystals could be entirely isolated on the surface of the glass tube. As to zinc, the only described crystals of the pure metal belonging to the cubic system are some alleged pentagonal dodecahedra obtained by M. Favre, of which, however, no measurements were made, and which have been doubted by Gustav Rose. The occurrence, however, of brass crystallized in regular octahedra, and the accidental production of brilliant octahedral crystals containing 81·18 per cent. of zinc and 18·82 arsenic, as a furnace product, seem to show that, even if incapable of crystallizing in such forms when alone, a small proportion of an octahedral metal alloyed with it will predispose it to assume them. Prof. Cooke remarks that a certain amount of impurity seems to favor the crystallization of metals, and instances the beautiful lead crystals containing a little antimony from Clausthal, and antimony crystals with a little lead, as well as similar facts in the case of bismuth.

On the amount of Lead in some Silver Coins.—Messrs. Eliot and Storer, finding in the course of their examination of the impurities of zinc, that the zinc employed in the U. S. Mint contained half of one per cent. of lead, were induced to examine the percentage of lead in American and foreign silver coin:

Kind of Coin.	Per cent. of Lead in Coin.
1 American half dollar of 1824	0.301
20 " five-cent pieces of 1853	0.209
10 " ten-cent pieces of 1854	0.228
2 " twenty-five cent pieces of 1858	0.231
Fine silver from U. S. Assay Office, New York, 1860	0.161
1 Spanish dollar of 1793, Carolus IV	0.056
1 Mexican dollar of 1829	0.048
2 English shillings of 1816	0.485
1 French five-franc piece of 1852, Napoleon III	0.426

In order to ascertain whether the zinc used in the reduction of the silver was the probable source of the lead in the American coin, the authors calculated the amounts which would be introduced by the use of the two qualities of Vieilla Montagne zinc analyzed by them, and from that the best would have given 0.158 per cent. of lead in the coin, and the second quality 0.268 per cent., between which limits all their analysis (except that of the half dollar of 1824) would fall. They are far, however, from affirming this to be the exclusive cause of this impurity, as some may probably be derived from the lead vats in which the chloride of silver is reduced, or from the sulphuric acid used. The process of separating lead and silver is said to have been less perfectly executed in the ages of antiquity than at present.

Alloys of Aluminum.—Alloys of aluminum have been lately prepared, which seem susceptible of many applications in the arts. The bronze, composed of 10 per cent. of aluminum and 90 per cent. of copper, which appears the most valuable, has a color near that of gold, and takes a polish equal to that of steel. Drawn into No. 16 wire, the breaking strain of copper was 418 lbs., of iron 616 lbs., and of aluminum bronze 955 lbs., a tenacity almost equal to the best steel wire. As regards hardness, a groove for the guide-box of a locomotive made of it was compared with one made of steel, and after six months' wear, gave equally good results. It rolls at all temperatures, from cold up to a bright cherry red, but best at as high a temperature as possible, short of fusion. In rolling it cold, if re-heated and then cooled by plunging in water, it works better than if simply re-heated, without dipping.

New Alloy.—A new alloy has been produced by M. Aich, of Brussels. It presents the advantage of working as well cold as hot; can be forged without losing its cohesion; melts very readily, and can be afterwards hammered, rolled, or punched. It is cheaper than brass or pure copper, and may advantageously supersede them for ship-building and many other purposes, as it is more tenacious and not so oxidizable. It consists of 60 parts copper, 38·2 parts zinc, and 1·8 parts iron.

METEORIC IRON. In the year 1846 a mass of iron of over 15 pounds (542 pounds avoirdupois) was found 7 versts (4.6 miles) from the station Mariinskoji (in the government of Tula) on the Moskaw-Tula road (54° 35′ N. lat. and 37° 34′ E. of Greenwich.) It was sold for 4 roubles (3 dollars) to the Myschega Iron Works in the neighborhood, where the greater portion of it was worked up into axles, wagonsprings, grapnels, and other implements, until in 1857 Dr. Auerbach learned of its existence, and saved the remainder from destruction. He has given the first notice of it, and in a preliminary analysis of it found the mass to contain: iron, 93.5, nickel, 2.5, traces of tin, and 0.9 schreiber-

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site. It yields sulphydric acid, when dissolved in chlorhydric acid, probably owing to the presence of pyrrhotine. Articles manufactured from this iron show after etching a beautifully damasked surface.

The second one was found on the right shore of the Missouri River, in Nebraska Territory, 25 miles west of Fort Pierre, 44° 19′N. lat., and 100° 26′ W. of Greenwich, whence it was brought in 1857, and presented to the Academy of St. Louis in 1858. The original mass weighed 35 pounds, and the surface was hardly acted upon by rust. According to an analysis by Dr. H. A. Prout, it contains: iron, 94.288; nickel, 7.185; magnesium, 0.650; calcium, 0.350. Sulphur, trace. Total, 102.473; but not the least trace of cobalt, chrome, manganese, or any other constituent.

Two masses of meteoric iron, which for some years past have been known to exist at Westernport, near Melbourne, in Australia, have recently been described as follows: The largest one weighs from 5 to 6 tons, the other about 1½ tons. They are buried in the earth, so that only their tops project above the surface. They are covered with a crust, containing cavities similar to those found in other meteoric irons, and have no polarity, except that resulting from the earth's magnetism; the lower ends of each being strong south poles, and the upper north poles. The longitudinal axis of the large piece, which is about 5 feet long, lies exactly in the magnetic meridian of the locality. It is intended to bring the smaller mass to Melbourne. In the same number of Sill. Journal is an account by Prof. J. Lang Cassels of two meteoric stones which fell Feb. 28th, 1857, near Parnallee, in the extreme south of Hindostan, the smaller of which weighed 37 pounds, and the larger three or four times as much, and both penetrating into the ground about 2½ feet. The noise of the fall is reported to have been heard 40 miles off. The stone is very remarkable for the amount of nickel it contains—nearly 17 per cent. —while the iron is only about 3 per cent., and disseminated in very small particles. The surface, when filed, shows countless points of metallic reflection, the nickel being almost in a spongy state like silver reduced from its chloride by zinc.

In the "American Journal of Science" for March, 1860, Prof. J. Lawrence Smith describes two masses of meteoric iron: one discovered in 1860, in Oldham Co., Ky.; and the second found near Cooperstown, Robertson Co., Tenn. The first weighed 112 pounds, was 20 inches long, 10¾ broad, and 6¼ thick, was elongated and flattened, and had a specific gravity of 7.89. The second weighed 37 pounds, was 10 inches long, 9½ broad, and 5½ thick, wedge-shaped, with a specific gravity of 7.85. It contained a nodule of sulphuret of iron, about ¼ inch in diameter. Analysis gave

	Iron.	Nickel.	Cobalt.	Copper.	Phosphorus.	
for the first:	91.21	7.81	0.25	trace	0.06	= 99.82
" second:	89.59	9.12	0.35	trace	0.04	= 99.10

MEXICO. The Confederacy, or United States of Mexico, is situated between the parallels of north latitude 16° and 42°, and longitude 87° and 124° west. It is bounded on the north by the United States, on the east by the United States and the Gulf of Mexico; on the south by Central America, and west by the Pacific Ocean. The length is nearly 2,000 miles, and the breadth varies from 150 to 1,200 miles. The area, in English square miles, and population of each State, according to the most recent returns, are as follows:

States.	Area.	Population.
Chiapas	18,697	144,070
Chihuahua	100,250	146,699
Coahuila	56,570	79,340
Durango	48,689	162,218
Guanajuato	12,618	713,383
Guerrero	82,002	270,000
Jalisco	48,596	774,461
Mexico	19,585	978,687
Michoacan	22,998	491,679
Nueva Leon	16,687	188,861
Oajaca	31,822	525,101
Puebla	12,042	580,000
Queratarо	2,444	184,161
San Louis Potosi	29,486	355,129
Sonora	128,466	139,374
Sinaloa	35,721	160,000
Tabasco	15,009	62,580
Tamaulipas	30,234	100,044
Vera Cruz	26,505	264,725
Yucatan	52,847	680,948
Zacatecas	30,507	356,024
Federal District	89	200,000
Tlaxacala	1,948	50,671
Colima	3,019	61,243
Lower California	60,662	12,000
Total	833,028	7,653,430

The district of Mexico is by far the most densely populated, and Queratarо and Puebla are the next. The cities are none of them large, with the exception of Mexico, the capital, which has a population of 185,000; Puebla has 70,000, and Guadalajara has 68,000.

The inhabitants are composed of many distinct races—Creoles, Indians, Negroes, Mulattoes, Zambos, &c. Under the Spanish rule, the policy of keeping up the distinctions of race was adopted, and privileges were granted some, and disabilities laid upon others. Since the independence of the country, all political distinctions have been done away with, but the natural ones remain. 1. Creoles, or native whites, Spaniards born in the country; (European Spaniards were expelled.) 2. Native Indian races, which continue to occupy large portions of the country in spite of the whites. They are nominally Catholics, and are quiet and indolent. 3. Negroes, freed by a law abolishing slavery. They are not numerous. 4. Mestizoes, descendants of whites and Indians. 5. Mulattoes, mixture of white and negro. 6. Zambos, mixture of negroes and Indians. The whites are mostly found on the central table-land, where are also most of the Indians. The mixed races occupy the low countries of the coast.

The trade of the country has consisted mostly in the export of the metals in exchange for textile fabrics, and other manufactures. It is chiefly carried on by foreigners.

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The amount of the trade up to the year of the last official publication, was as follows:

	Imports.	Exports.
1856	$17,720,582	$8,942,988
1857	11,224,415	11,384,765
1858	10,033,569	2,915,576

The number of those who took out their permits for residence, or letters of security, from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, during the year 1855, was as follows:

Old Spaniards	5,141	Americans	444
French	2,048	Other nations	405
English	615		
Germans	581	Total	9,234

Since the States of Mexico, under Iturbide, threw off the control of Spain, the country has rarely enjoyed a year of repose. Its industry has therefore languished, and its resources, which are very great, have never been developed. Its principal industry is the mining of silver; but the disturbed state of the country has prevented its prosecution on a large scale, and the annual production is barely 10 per cent. of the yield under the Spanish dominion. The yield of silver, as reported at the mint in Mexico, since 1800, and at the ten tributary mints, since their establishment, has been, in value, $781,000,000. This is the amount of money coined and reported in bills of lading for exportation or for exchange from one mint to the other, or from the mints to places of traffic and trade. Those who are at all acquainted with Mexican affairs, must know that the contraband trade of late years has not been on the decrease. The proportion of silver and gold smuggled out of the country may be taken at 20 per cent., which will make $156,304,012 more. The largest year of coinage at the mint was 1805, when the amount was $27,175,888. The produce of the mines of Mexico, which has been turned into the channels of commerce, to the year 1856, on the retirement of Comonfort, will, therefore, stand as follows:

Booty of the conquerors	$880,000
Results of Spanish mining to 1799	1,974,327,283
Coinage of the mint of Mexico from 1800 to 1856	418,294,468
Coinage of tributary mints to 1856	563,226,596
Contraband since 1800 to 1856	156,304,012
Total	$2,912,531,359

These figures are the nearest possible to the correct point. They are lower, however, than the estimates of many writers who have devoted much time and labor in trying to give to the world reliable data.

The enormous amount of money which Mexico has given to the world is but a fraction of what she could give, were the country to be for a period established in peace. There can be no doubt but the richest mineral districts of Mexico are yet to be worked. Sonora, Chihuahua, and Durango are very rich in gold, silver, and copper. But, rich as they are, there is reason to believe that the real El Dorado of America is in the State of Chiapas. Guerrero is rich in gold, as also is Oajaca in gold and silver. These parts have been but imperfectly explored, and the civil turmoils of the country have entirely discouraged individual enterprise in those quarters. Even the mineral districts worked by the Spaniards are now more than half abandoned. The cause of this is to be found in the general insecurity of every thing in Mexico, owing to the inability of the people to rest in peace. Never before now has the country been so completely prostrated, with so little hope of rising by internal strength.

Since the independence of the country, the Government of Mexico has exhibited only a constant succession of military rulers, each of whom seized the government to be in his turn deposed by a more successful combination. The continued strife demoralized the people, and gradually undermined all security for life and property. None of the governments, if they had the will, seemed to possess the ability to protect their own citizens, or those foreigners by whom trade and industry were carried on. The table on the following page gives a brief view of the many laws, plans, constitutions, &c., which have formed the pivots upon which the many governments of independent Mexico have turned.

The constituent Congress of Mexico, which adjourned on the 17th of February, 1857, adopted a constitution and provided for a popular election. This took place in the following July, (1857,) and General Comonfort was chosen President almost without opposition. At the same election a new congress was chosen, whose first session commenced on the 16th of September, (1857.) By the Constitution of 1857 the presidential term was to begin on the 1st of December, (1857,) and continue for four years. On that day General Comonfort appeared before the assembled congress in the city of Mexico, took the oath to support the new Constitution, and was duly inaugurated as President. Within a month afterwards he was driven from the capital, and a military rebellion had assigned the supreme power of the republic to General Zuloaga. The Constitution provided that, in the absence of the President, his office should devolve upon the chief-justice of the Supreme Court; and General Comonfort having left the country, this functionary, General Juarez, proceeded to organize, at Guanajuato, a constitutional government. Before this was officially known, however, at the capital, the government of Zuloaga had been recognized by the entire diplomatic corps, including the Minister of the United States, as the *de facto* Government of Mexico. The constitutional President nevertheless maintained his position with firmness, and was soon established, with his cabinet, at Vera Cruz. Meanwhile, the government of Zuloaga was earnestly resisted in many parts of the republic; and even in the capital, a portion of the army having pronounced against it, its functions were declared terminated, and an assembly of citizens was invited for the choice of a new President. This assembly elected General

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Names of Laws.	When Enacted.	Where Proclaimed.	Authors of the Laws.
Plan of Iguala	Feb. 24th, 1821.	Iguala, Mexico	Augustin de Iturbide
Acta de Independencia	Sept. 28th, 1821.	Mexico	The Junta Gubernativa.
Declaration of the Empire	May 19th, 1822.	"	The Army and Congress.
Bases Organicas de la Junta Instituyente	Nov. 2d, 1822.	"	The Junta Instituyente.
Act of Santa Anna, proclaiming the Republic	Dec. 6th, 1822.	City of Mexico	Santa Anna and Gandalupe Victoria.
Plan of Casa Mata	Feb. 1st, 1823.	Near Vera Cruz	The Imp'l Army, headed by Gen. Echavarri.
Acta Constitutiva de la Federacion	Jan. 31st, 1824.	Mexico	Constitutional Congress of 1824.
Constitucion Federal of the United Mexican States	Oct. 4th, 1824.	"	Federal Congress.
Ley Constitucional	Dec. 15th, 1835.	"	The Congress.
Leyes Constitucionales del Congreso	Dec. 29th, 1826.	"	National Congress.
Bases de Tacubaya	Sept. 28th, 1814.	Tacubaya	Santa Anna.
Plan de Huexotzinco	Dec. 11th, 1842.	Huexotzinco, Puebla	Several citizens of Huexotzinco.
Bases de Organizacion Politica	June 12th, 1843.	Mexico	The Junta de Notables.
Plan de San Luis	Dec. 14th, 1845.	San Luis Potosi	D. Mariano Paredes.
Plan de Guadalajara	May 20th, 1846.	Guadalajara	The garrison of Guadalajara.
Plan de la Ciudadela	Aug. 4th, 1846.	Citadel of Mexico	Gen. Mariano Salas.
Acta de Reformas á la Constitucion Federal	May 18th, 1847.	Mexico	Congress assembled by Gen. Salas.
Plan de Jalisco	Oct. 20th, 1852.	Guadalajara	The garrison of Guadalajara.
Convenios de Arroyozarco	Feb. 4th, 1853.	Arroyozarco, Queretaro.	Gen. Uraga and Col. Robles.
Bases para la Administracion de la Republica	April 22d, 1853.	Mexico	Santa Anna.
Plan de Ayutla	March 1st, 1854.	Ayutla, Guerrero	Col. Florencio Villareal.
Plan de Ayutla Reformado in Acapulco	Mar. 11th, 1854.	Acapulco, Guerrero	Ignacio Comonfort.
Estatuto Organico	May 15th, 1856.	Mexico	"
Constitucion de la Republica Mejicana	Feb. 5th, 1857.	"	Congress created by the plan of Ayutla.
Plan de Tacubaya	Dec. 17th, 1857.	Tacubaya	Gen. Zuloaga.
Plan de Tacubaya á Reformado in la Ciudadela	Jan. 12th, 1858.	Citadel of Mexico	Gen. Parra, backed by the clergy.
Laws of Reform	1859.	Vera Cruz	Constitutional President Juarez and Cabinet.

Miramon, who represents the Church party; but that officer repudiated the plan under which he was chosen, and Zulonga was thus restored to his previous position. He assumed it, however, only to withdraw from it; and Miramon became, by his appointment, "president substitute."

In the mean time, the most atrocious excesses were continually recurring. Outrages upon persons and property were committed with impunity, under the plea on the part of the Government, that they were the crimes of individuals, and not chargeable upon the Government. Peaceful Americans, and other foreign residents, occupying their rightful possessions, were suddenly driven from the country, in defiance of treaties, and by the mere force of arbitrary power. Even the course of justice was not safe from control, and a decree of Miramon permitted the intervention of Government in all suits where either party was a foreigner. Vessels of the United States were seized without law, and a consular officer who protested against such seizure was fined and imprisoned for disrespect to the authorities. Military contributions were levied, in violation of every principle of right, and the American who resisted the lawless demand, had his property forcibly taken away, and was himself banished. The wholesale massacre of Crabbe and his associates, without trial, in Sonora, as well as the seizure and murder of four sick Americans who had taken shelter in the house of an American, upon the soil of the United States, was communicated to the Thirty-sixth Congress. Murders of a still more atrocious character were committed in the very heart of Mexico, under the authority of Miramon's government. In April, 1859, by order of General Marquez, three American physicians, who were seized in the hospital at Tacubaya, while attending upon the sick and the dying of both parties, and without trial, as without crime, were hurried away to speedy execution. Little less shocking was the fate of Ormond Chase, who was shot in Tepic on the 7th of August, 1859, by order of the same Mexican general, not only without a trial, but without any conjecture by his friends of the cause of his arrest.

While life was so little respected, property was still less so. Duties that were paid in one place were enforced a second time. Forced loans, seizures, and confiscations were ruthlessly resorted to, and the President of the United States asked Congress for power to send a force thither for the protection of citizens. The war continued to rage between the parties, and the Government of the United States sent Mr. McLane to recognize the government of Juarez, if circumstances should justify it on his arrival. He presented his credentials to President Juarez, and was cordially received at Vera Cruz. April, 1859, Mr. McLane negotiated a treaty with the constitutional government on terms very agreeable to the United States. This was laid before Congress, but was not ratified.

In the mean time, trade fell into ruin; the alternate exactions of the Church party and the Liberal party were destructive of property. The Liberal party issued paper as a resource. This was receivable for customs at par, but fell to 40 and 60 per cent. discount. When duties were thus paid, goods were again assessed with new duties. The *conductas* with silver on the way to the ports for shipment were seized by both parties when they could get them. The claims of British people on Mexico amounted

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to some $50,000,000, on which were many years' arrears of interest due. Juarez being in possession of Vera Cruz, and Miramon of the capital, a British force demanded of the former payment. He gave bills on the capital, which were paid, and the coin, about $1,000,000, lodged with the British Minister. The growing troubles compelled him to retire, and he left the money in charge of the consul, from whom it was speedily taken by force by the Government. Towards the close of 1860 the constitutional party gradually had become the strongest, and Miramon, being defeated, left the country, and Juarez was sent for to the capital. The war was supposed to be at an end. President Juarez seems to have been more disinterested than many or most of his predecessors, and in matters concerning general interest has shown laudable activity, though that activity has been paralyzed by the incessant wars in which the Clerical party has involved him. Thus, he has signed a treaty of commerce with Belgium, in which a guarantee of religious liberty is stipulated to Belgian residents; and he has effected a reduction in the budget which, from fourteen millions, has been brought to nine, owing to the suppression of numerous abuses in the Administration. He is exerting himself to open outlets to the productive activity of the interior, by signing contracts for the establishment of regular communication with the West, New York, and Panama.

Here surely is manifest evidence of good intentions; and it is quite possible that, if time were given to him, the present Mexican Government might be brought into such a condition as would satisfy the wishes of industrious nations, which, like England and France, have always regretted to see that region, from the nature of its government, so inhospitable and ill-disposed to accept the doctrine and practice of European commerce.

Miramon, on his defeat, retired to Spain, for the purpose of enlisting sympathy with the Church party, so called, mostly because it respected church property, which the Liberals did not.

The new Administration of the United States in 1861 sent Thomas Corwin, of the State of Ohio, to represent that Government at the capital of Mexico. He negotiated an extradition treaty, and has undertaken the modification of that treaty made by Mr. McLane, and which the Senate refused to ratify, and is conducting a postal treaty to its conclusion.

There are many large claims upon Mexico for various causes, and her liabilities are nearly as follows:

British bondholders' debt	$60,021,843 00
Spanish convention	7,270,600 75
English-Spanish convention	5,000,000 00
French convention	263,490 00
American claims, at least	10,000,000 00
Total foreign debt	$88,156,133 75

The existing Government has exerted itself to restore some order in the finances. A decree, fixing its disbursements, has been published, dated the 16th of August, 1861. The annual expenses of the different departments are thus fixed:

Foreign relations	$210,840 00
Interior	1,191,880 00
Justice	387,060 00
Fomento	60,179 00
Finance	1,578,624 00
War	4,745,895 41
Total expenses	$8,827,418 04

To cover this disbursement, the Minister of Finance reports the following resources:

Customs duties	$5,500,000
Contributions	400,000
Sealed paper	250,000
Custom-house of the district	1,200,000
Total receipts	$7,350,000

From this statement it will be seen that the annual disbursement will exceed the annual receipts of the Government by $977,418 04. To cover this deficit a contingent is imposed upon the revenues of States and territories, amounting to twenty per cent.

On the 23d of August a decree was issued imposing a tax of 10 per cent. upon all fortunes exceeding $2,000. This was a ruinous burden, more especially upon foreign residents, and this became a new source of complaint to the powers of Europe. At this time ex-President Miramon was at Madrid, and was present at a review in general's dress, and formed a part of the cortege of the queen. It was a public manifestation of the understanding which reigned between the Clerical party in Mexico and the Spanish Government, and the O'Donnel Cabinet was threatening to undertake an expedition against Mexico in favor of the Church party.

This project now began to take shape and consistence, but the interference of a European power on the continent of America was in direct contravention of the traditional policy of the American Government in respect to the Monroe doctrine, as contained in the Message of Mr. Monroe, December, 1823, laying down the principle that the American continents ought not hereafter to be the field for European colonization; and that all attempts on the part of European nations to extend their system to any part of this hemisphere must be considered dangerous to the peace and security of the United States. Also, that the United States would not see any European intervention with the object of oppressing or controlling the destiny of an American nation, under any other aspect than that of a manifestation of hostility towards the United States.

This doctrine has been rigidly adhered to through all succeeding administrations, but the question of the intervention of the foreign powers being submitted to the Government of Mr. Lincoln, he was not in a condition to resist it with that vigor and energy implied in the declarations of Mr. Monroe, in consequence of the war with the Confederate States, but he insisted that it did not seem to be necessary to carry intervention in Mexico further than to

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guarantee the security of the respective nationalities, and to assure the payment of arrears.

The condition of the country continued most deplorable. The defeated Church party constantly endeavored to upset the existing government at any cost, and without any regard to the means employed. A prominent method was to stir up the people against foreigners. At the same time the roads throughout the country, and even the streets of the capital, were infested by plunderers whom the leaders of the Church party did not hesitate to call their friends. The murders and torturings which took place were the work of men led by Marquez, a noted partisan and the chief hope of the priests, and the same who murdered the American physician at Tacubaya. When the Clerical party exercised power, exactions, arbitrary acts, and failures were the order of the day in Mexico. Spain, nevertheless, entered no complaint, and made no effort to provoke intervention against Miramon and his friends, who made forced levies of Spanish subjects for military service, with a view to compel them to purchase their liberty by paying a ransom. To-day it is on Miramon she relies, and it is by the aid of the Clerical party she wishes to open access to the country.

That party, out of power, encouraged the turbulence and anarchy which were the basis of those complaints that form the bond of the alliance against the existing liberal Government; and it is an extraordinary fact that the United States Administration, having recognized Juarez as the constitutional President, and made treaties with him, with the full knowledge and understanding that he is exerting himself to restore order and, in a manner more personally disinterested than any former ruler of Mexico, to extend trade and develop the national resources, should, by mere internal circumstances arising out of its own political affairs, be obliged to practically abandon the Monroe doctrine, and yield its acquiescence to a coalition to overthrow that constitutional Government, in the interest of that Church party, to the barbarism and superstition of which are owing nearly all the evils that afflict that unhappy country.

The American Government, itself struggling for constitutional existence, must witness the onslaught upon a neighboring constitutional government, and in derogation of that principle cherished in every American bosom.

The immediate causes of complaints on the part of the three nations may be summed up thus: England and France had specially to make good their money claims, and to protest against the decree of the 23d of August last, imposing a tax of 10 per cent. on all fortunes exceeding a capital of $2,000. France had besides to ask satisfaction for an attack on the person of her *Chargé d'Affaires*, M. Dubois de Saligna. The Mexican Government replied that, as regards that unfortunate affair, it set on foot an inquiry as soon as the fact of the violence was communicated to it by the foreign Ministers, and that it was ready to communicate with the parties interested concerning the results of the inquiry.

On her part, Spain claimed to have been attacked in the person of several of her subjects, who were assassinated, without the Mexican Government having taken measures to punish the murderers; but she did not state whether the blame of the killing or maltreating of her subjects lay at the door of the present Government or the one that preceded it.

England, juster in her legitimate resentment, does not saddle Juarez with the responsibility of the appropriation by Mexican generals of moneys under convoy, to the detriment of England's own agents; but, like France, she confines herself to claiming proper treatment for the foreigners resident in Mexico, the efficacious protection of the local authorities, and the payment of arrears.

The three Governments, being in accord as to their claims and determination respecting them, and having escaped all former difficulties in the way, growing out of the rights and interests of the United States, proceeded to form an alliance. A European journal, on Sept. 27, remarked: "It will be said that these three European powers have taken advantage of the dissensions of the North American Union to carry out plans which verge upon a violation of the Monroe doctrine. For years, it will be argued, the Mexicans have been cheating, and insulting, and robbing Englishmen, but as long as the United States existed in their integrity, and a quick-tempered democracy was on the watch for an excuse for a quarrel with England, we abstained from avenging ourselves. But now that the hands of the Americans are turned against each other in a fratricidal contest, the league which Lord Aberdeen and M. Guizot were foiled in making sixteen years ago is revived, and "the American balance of power" is sought to be established by a joint expedition of the monarchies of Europe.

"This is a plausible objection, but it has no solid basis. The full assent of the American President has been given to the expedition."

The negotiation of the three powers proceeded, but it was not until the 21st of October that the treaties were signed. These were as follows:

Convention between Her Majesty, the Queen of Spain, and the Emperor of the French, relative to combined operations against Mexico.

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Her Majesty the Queen of Spain, and His Majesty the Emperor of the French, feeling themselves compelled, by the arbitrary and vexatious conduct of the authorities of the Republic of Mexico, to demand from those authorities more efficacious protection for the persons and properties of their subjects, as well as a fulfillment of the obligations contracted towards their Majesties by the Republic of Mexico, have agreed to conclude a convention, with a view to combine their common action, and, for this purpose, have named as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say:

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Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Hon. John, Earl Russell, Viscount Amberley of Amberley and Arusalia, a Peer of the United Kingdom, a member of Her Britannic Majesty's Privy Council, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs;

Her Majesty the Queen of Spain, Don Xavier de Isturiz y Montero, Knight of the Illustrious Order of the Golden Fleece, Grand Cross of the Royal and Distinguished Order of Charles III., of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honor of France, of the Orders of the Conception of Villaviciosa and Christ of Portugal, Senator of the Kingdom, late President of the Council of Ministers, and First Secretary of State of Her Catholic Majesty, and her Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to her Britannic Majesty;

And His Majesty the Emperor of the French, His Excellency the Count de Flahault de la Billarderie, Senator, General of Division, Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor, His Imperial Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary to Her Britannic Majesty;

Who, after having reciprocally communicated their respective full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:

ARTICLE 1. Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Her Majesty the Queen of Spain, and His Majesty the Emperor of the French, engage to make immediately after the signature of the present Convention, the necessary arrangements for despatching to the coast of Mexico combined naval and military forces, the strength of which shall be determined by a further interchange of communications between their Governments, out of which the total shall be sufficient to seize and occupy the several fortresses and military positions on the Mexican coast.

The commanders of the allied forces shall be, moreover, authorized to execute the other operations which may be considered, on the spot, most suitable to effect the subject specified in the preamble of the present Convention, and specifically to insure the security of foreign residents.

All the measures contemplated in this article shall be taken in the name and on account of the high contracting parties, without reference to the particular nationality of the forces employed to execute them.

ART. 2. The high contracting parties engage not to seek for themselves, in the employment of the coercive measures contemplated by the present Convention, any acquisition of territory, nor any special advantage, and not to exercise in the internal affairs of Mexico any influence of a nature to prejudice the right of the Mexican nation to choose and to constitute freely the form of its Government.

ART. 3. A Commission, composed of three Commissioners, one to be named by each of the contracting Powers, shall be established, with full authority to determine all questions that may arise as to the application or distribution of the sums of money which may be recovered from Mexico, having regard to the respective rights of the three contracting parties.

ART. 4. The high contracting parties desiring, moreover, that the measures which they intend to adopt should not bear an exclusive character, and being aware that the Government of the United States, on its part, has, like them, claims to enforce upon the Mexican Republic, agree that immediately after the signature of the present Convention, a copy thereof shall be communicated to the Government of the United States; that the Government shall be invited to accede to it; and that in anticipation of that accession their respective Ministers at Washington shall be at once furnished with full powers for the purpose of concluding and signing, collectively or separately, with the plenipotentiary designated by the President of the United States, a Convention, identic, save the suppression of the present article, with that which they sign this day. But as by delaying to put into execution Articles 1 and 2 of the present Convention, the high contracting parties would incur a risk of failing in the object which they desire to attain, they have agreed not to defer, with the view of obtaining the accession of the Government of the United States, the commencement of the above-mentioned operations beyond the time at which their combined forces can be assembled in the neighborhood of Vera Cruz.

ART. 5. The present Convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged at London within fifteen days.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed it, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at London, in triplicate, the 31st day of the month of October, in the year of our Lord 1861.

(L. S.) RUSSELL.
(L. S.) XAVIER DE ISTURIZ.
(L. S.) FLAHAULT.

It is proper to add that the existence of additional secret articles, to which France and Spain are parties, to the exclusion of England, has been mentioned repeatedly in European journals, but lacks confirmation.

On the 13th of November the Spanish queen, at the opening of the Cortez, remarked in her speech:

Gentlemen Senators and Deputies: You will be happy to learn that our difference with Venezuela has ended in a satisfactory manner. A just reparation has been made to our country for offences perpetrated against it, and important guarantees will prevent the repetition of similar misdeeds.

Disorder and excess have reached their height in the unfortunate country of Mexico. Treaties having been violated and rights forgotten, my subjects having been exposed to serious attacks and continual dangers, it became indispensable at length to make an example of salutary rigor.

With this object my Government has made the necessary preparations, when two great nations found that they had to complain of acts of violence on the part of the Mexican authorities. Our wrongs were common; our action should be joint. My Government desired as much. Proper steps for this purpose were at first favorable; but the result did not correspond with the desires of the other two nations.

Subsequently France, England, and Spain arranged together to obtain that satisfaction which was due to them; and to prevent the repetition of offences which scandalized the world and outraged humanity. Thus the designs will be accomplished, the execution of which has been the constant object of my Government. At the proper time an account will be rendered to you of the Convention which, with this object, has been signed by the representatives of the three powers.

The plan of operations was announced to be as follows:

"The three allied powers have no intention whatever of wasting powder and shot by waging territorial war upon Mexico. To land a military force and advance upon the capital is altogether out of their contemplation. Their intention is to send a combined naval force into the Gulf of Mexico. This force will blockade, and will temporarily occupy, the principal ports up the Gulf, such as Vera Cruz, Tampico, and one or two others. The plan agreed upon for the satisfaction of the outstanding claims is this: The allied powers will sequestrate the custom revenue of the ports in question. They will charge their consuls jointly to collect these revenues at the different ports, and these consuls acting together will form an international commission constituted for the purpose at each port. No ship will be allowed to enter or clear at

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the ports of Vera Cruz, Tampico, &c., without the authority of the consuls, who will themselves receive the customs dues on such entrances and clearances. They will throw the proceeds into a common treasury of their own at each port. They will retain 5 per cent., and will pay over 50 per cent. to the Mexican customs revenue. The Gulf is very large. The above arrangements will continue until all claims shall have been discharged. A ship of war in the roadsteads in each of these ports will secure the maintenance of the authority of the allied consuls. If the Mexican Government should unexpectedly set the three allied powers at defiance, an effective blockade would be instantly established."

The force contributed by each power was as follows:

The only British ships-of-war sent specially for service in the expedition against Mexico were the Conqueror, (99,) Donegal, (99,) Sanspareil, (70,) and Phæton, (51.) Nevertheless, the whole British squadron on the North American and West Indian station, including the vessels named, were placed under the orders of Sir Alexander Milne. The entire naval force thus at his command consisted of 29 vessels, carrying 836 guns, and manned by 9,623 men.

The English sent out no exclusive military branch to their Mexican expedition. The only force, in addition to the usual number of sailors and marines on board war ships consisted of a detachment of royal marines, (infantry and artillery,) numbering some 800 officers and men.

The French part of the expedition was under the command of Admiral De La Graviere. All the vessels left Toulon and Brest on Nov. 20th. The military portion embarked at Algerian ports. The Massena, flagship, took 500 Zouaves at Oran. The number of vessels was 14, carrying 314 guns, and 4,058 men.

The French military branch of the Mexican expedition consisted of 1 battalion 2d Regiment Zouaves; 1 mounted company 2d Regiment Chasseurs d'Afrique; a detachment of artillery; a detachment of engineers. These troops were all taken from the army in Algeria. They were embarked in the Aube and Massena on the 19th and 20th of November.

Number in all	3,000
Add sailors and marines	4,058
Total men	7,058

The first division of the Spanish fleet sailed from Havana for Vera Cruz on the 28th of November; the second division on the 1st of December, and the third on the second. They preceded the Commander-in-Chief, Gen. Prim, who left Cadiz in the Ulloa on the 22d of November. The transports employed by the Spanish Government to convey troops to Mexico included some 20 vessels. The naval portion of the Spanish part of the expedition consisted of 18 vessels, carrying 461 guns and 5,250 men.

The military branch of the Spanish expedition consisted of 2 battalions of Chasseurs; 1st battalion of the infantry regiment Napoles; 1st battalion of the infantry regiment of Cuba; 4 companies of the 1st battalion of Napoles; 4 companies of the 2d battalion del Rey.

Total military force	6,000
Add sailors and marines	5,250
Total	11,250

The question of the future of Mexico was discussed early in September, and a rumor prevailed that Don Juan de Borbon was to be selected as the future sovereign. This rumor induced that gentleman to publish a card declining the proposed honor.

The expedition being ready, all the Spanish fleet left Havana, and at 11 o'clock, December 8th, arrived off Vera Cruz. On the 12th two officers had an interview with the Governor, who replied that, in obedience to orders received from his Government, he had published that morning a proclamation requiring that all the forces should abandon the city and the forts; that no resistance would be offered to the entry of the expeditionary army, nor to the occupation of the city. Notwithstanding this he desired to reply officially within the twenty-four hours given him.

Accordingly on Sunday, the 15th, he replied that he was abandoning the place and retiring with his troops.

On the 17th, in the morning, taking advantage of some hours of calm weather, Brigadier-General Don Carlos Vargas, second in command of the expeditionary forces, who had been appointed Civil and Military Governor of the city, disembarked with Captain Joaquin Ibanez and the second officer of the frigate Petronila, two aids and some officers of the staff, engineers and artillery. All were cordially received by the multitude, which crowded the wharf, and by a committee of the city government. Captain Don Rafael Arias was appointed Governor of San Juan d'Ulloa. The following proclamation was issued:

PROCLAMATION TO THE PEOPLE OF VERA CRUZ.

VERA CRUZANS: The Spanish troops that occupy your city do not come for conquest nor interested motives. The duty of demanding satisfaction for the non-fulfilment of treaties and violence committed against our countrymen, as well as the necessity for guarantees that such outrages shall not be repeated, alone bring them. Until these objects have been attained, here and wherever events may lead it, the Spanish army, with its rigorous discipline, will know how to preserve public tranquillity, at whatever cost; to protect peaceful inhabitants, and chastise, with severity, the disturbers of order, subjecting them to the military committee which shall be appointed to proceed against all classes of delinquents.

Vera Cruzans, you have nothing to apprehend. You know the Spanish soldier, and your very attitude has just proven it to me. Devote yourselves, therefore, to your business, and confide in what will be the greatest satisfaction for this army, after having fulfilled the mission with which the Queen has intrusted it, to return to their country in the assurance of having deserved your friendship. MANUEL GASSETT,

Commander-in-Chief of the Spanish Forces.

VERA CRUZ, *Dec.* 17, 1861.

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On the same day the city was declared under martial law.

In the mean time the Mexicans in the interior had been expecting the allied fleet at Vera Cruz and Tampico. The general feeling throughout the country seemed to be a spirit of hatred and defiance to Spain. All the usual factions and feuds in the nation appeared to be giving way to the sentiment of united resistance to their common enemy; and their frequent remark was, that if the Spaniards came alone they would be heartily welcomed. No resistance would be made at Vera Cruz. In fact, San Juan d'Ulloa was dismantled and her guns taken inland. Apparently a most determined opposition would be made to any Spanish invasion of their country.

On the 12th of December the Mexican General issued the following:

PROCLAMATION OF THE MEXICAN GENERAL URAGA.

HEAD-QUARTERS, VERA CRUZ, *Dec.* 12, 1861.

Considering that a foreign armed force has appeared in the waters of the Gulf, and that the Mexican soil may be invaded at any moment; that, in such an event, the supreme Government has ordered the evacuation of the city of Vera Cruz and Fortress of Ulloa; that it is the duty of every Mexican to rush to the defence of the independence and integrity of the territory, I have resolved to decree:

ARTICLE 1. From the moment the foreign armed force disembarks, of whatever nation it may be, all communication is forbidden the citizens of this place, whether from without, inwards, or *vice versa*, unless with a passport from these head-quarters.

2. The transgressors of this regulation shall be considered and treated as spies, and their goods confiscated.

3. Communication with the points occupied by the invaders is also forbidden. The individual who shall be apprehended between the lines of operations shall likewise be treated as a spy.

4. Those who should transgress, for the purpose of furnishing victuals or other succor to the enemy, shall be considered as traitors to the country, forfeiting whatever may be found in their possession, all other property of theirs besides being confiscated.

5. It being ordered that cattle and all other kinds of animals be withdrawn immediately from whatever point a foreign force may occupy, all objects of that nature, which may be found within a radius of eight leagues twenty-four hours after the occupation of said point, shall be considered as public property, seized by the national forces, and sent to the nearest Government storehouse, without the responsibility incurred by the owner for his disobedience being interfered with.

6. Within the period of twenty-four hours after the publication of this decree, the owners of horses in this city shall send them inward to a distance of eight leagues from the coast, or those who prefer shall present themselves to the Chief of the Treasury Department that he may purchase them for the national service. Those who allow the twenty-four hours to elapse without having done one or the other, shall be punished in conformity with the laws and their horses taken from them.

7. Within the period of twenty-four hours owners of mules shall present themselves in the Mayor's office to give a statement of the number of beasts they have in the city, and the places wherein they are kept. Those who act contrary to this regulation shall be subject to the same penalties as stated in the preceding article.

8. The Mexican citizen who, failing in his duty, shall not take arms in defence of his country, but remain in the enemy's ranks, shall be considered as a traitor.

JOSE LOPEZ URAGA.

On the 27th of December four vessels of the French portion of the expedition arrived. They were the screw ship-of-the-line Massena, with Vice-Admiral M. Julien de la Gravière and troops on board, and the frigates La Guerrière, L'Ardente, and L'Astrée. There was a rumor that the English, in anticipation of a war with the United States, would withdraw from all active participation in the affairs of Mexico. The apprehended difficulty with the United States was, however, adjusted.

The Spaniards remained in possession of Vera Cruz to the close of the year, when the French and English fleets made their appearance. Most of the insurgent chiefs, except Marquez, submitted to the Government. General Gassett confined himself to Vera Cruz, and Uraga promised that he would not attack him there, but that he must not attempt to move inland.

MICHIGAN, one of the northern interior States of the American Union, admitted in 1837, is situated between lat. 41° 40′ and 48° 20′ N., and long. 82° 25′ and 90° 34′ W. from Greenwich. Its land area is 56,243 square miles, or 35,995,520 acres. Population in 1860, 749,112. It is bounded N. by Lake Superior, which separates it from British America; E. by St. Mary's Strait or River, Lake Huron, St. Clair River, Lake St. Clair, Detroit River, and Lake Erie; S. by Ohio and Indiana, and W. by Lake Michigan, the Menomenee and Montreal rivers, and the chain of lakes lying between their head-waters. It is divided into 73 counties. The valuation of the real and personal property of its citizens in 1850 was $59,787,255; in 1860, $257,163,983.

The Legislature of the State met on the 2d of January, 1861, and the retiring Governor, Wisner, delivered his annual Message to both Houses, in which he took strong ground against the right of secession, charged the President of the United States with misrepresenting the principles of the Republican party, and attributed the present sectional excitement to misrepresentation by the northern democratic press, as to the intentions and designs of that party.

In relation to the Personal Liberty laws of this State, he said, if they were unconstitutional and in conflict with the Fugitive Slave law, they should be repealed; but said: "These laws are right, and speak the sentiments of the people, are in strict accordance with the Constitution, and ought not to be repealed. Let them stand. This is no time for timid and vacillating counsel, while the cry of treason is ringing in our ears."

On the 3d of January Gov. Blair, the newly elected governor, delivered his inaugural, and maintained substantially the same views as his predecessor.

In discussing national affairs he denied the right of secession, and in alluding to the present condition of South Carolina, said: "If it could properly be done, I presume the country generally would be willing to let that restless little nation retire from the confederacy forever; but that cannot be without admitting the

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right of secession to exist in all the States, and no government then remains to us but only a voluntary association of States, dissolvable at the pleasure of any of them.

"If South Carolina may of right secede, then may also New York and Louisiana, thus cutting off the free right of way of the entire Northwest to the ocean in both directions. The doctrine cannot be admitted. Self-preservation, if no other reason, would compel us to resist."

He claimed that the Constitution of the United States is not a compact or league between independent sovereign States; on the contrary, that it is the foundation of a government established by the people of the United States as a whole, perpetual in its character, and possessing all the elements of a sovereign power and nationality. He denied that the Personal Liberty laws have had the effect to prevent the execution of the Fugitive Slave law in a single instance, but whenever an appeal had been made to the Courts to enforce that law, it has been done in good faith.

He invited judicial scrutiny into the legislation of the State, and was willing to abide by the result, but was not willing that the State should be humiliated by compliance with the demand to repeal these laws, accompanied by threats of violence and war. He concluded by recommending that, at an early day, the Legislature should make it manifest to their representatives in Congress, and to the country, that Michigan was loyal to the Union, the Constitution and the laws, and would defend them to the uttermost, and proffer to the President of the United States the whole military force of the State for that purpose.

The Legislature acted upon this recommendation, and on the 2d of February passed the following resolutions:

Whereas certain citizens of the United States are at this time in open rebellion against the Government, and by overt acts threaten its peace and harmony, and to compass its final overthrow; therefore,

Resolved, That the Government of the United States is supreme, with full inherent powers of self-protection and defence.

Resolved, That Michigan adheres to the Government as ordained by the Constitution, and, for sustaining it intact, hereby pledges and tenders to the General Government all its military power and material resources.

Resolved, That concession and compromise are not to be entertained or offered to traitors, while the rights and interests of Union-loving citizens should be regarded and respected in every place and under all circumstances.

Resolved, That his Excellency the Governor be requested to forward a copy of these resolutions to our Senators and Representatives in Congress, and to the Governors of our sister States.

The same day a resolution which had been offered in the Senate, authorizing the Governor to appoint five commissioners to the Peace Convention at Washington, was rejected—yeas 15, nays 15.

On the 11th of March, after an animated debate, the House of Representatives indefinitely postponed the consideration of the bill for the repeal of the Personal Liberty law: yeas 48, nays 24.

The call of the President for troops on the 15th of April met with a hearty response from the people of Michigan. On the 17th inst., the venerable Gen. Cass made a vigorous and earnest speech in favor of the war, and the maintenance of the Union and the Constitution. In every part of the State men and means were promptly offered. On the 25th of April the Governor issued his proclamation for an extra session of the Legislature to meet on the 7th of May. Five regiments had then been offered to him, and nine were forming. The Legislature met at Lansing on the 7th of May. Governor Blair's Message recommended that the law of last session, providing for raising two regiments, should be amended to authorize four more, with power to raise ten if needed; that volunteers, while in service of the State preparatory to being mustered into service of the United States, should be paid the same rate as they were entitled to after being mustered into that service; also that all subsequent enlistments should be for three years, unless sooner discharged. To meet every exigency, he favored a loan of not less than one million of dollars, bonds to be issued in small amounts, in which case he believed the whole would be taken by citizens of this State; and he also recommended the Legislature to enact a law authorizing townships to levy taxes for the support of families of volunteers.

The Legislature adjourned on the 11th, having first passed the military, volunteer relief, and loan bills, by a unanimous vote. The first provided that new regiments could be enrolled as directed by the Governor, and be transferable at the President's order into the Federal service. The loan bill provided for $1,000,000 loan, by the issue of bonds running 25 years, and drawing seven per cent. interest.

The quota of Michigan, under the call for three-months men, was only a single regiment, and only one was enlisted for that time; all subsequent enlistments being for three years. On the 1st of January, 1862, the State had raised, and sent into the field, besides this regiment, according to the report of Adjutant-General Robertson, the following troops:

Infantry regiments	17
Cavalry regiments (in service)	3
Lancers' regiment (organizing)	1
Engineer regiment	1
Sharpshooters, companies	6
Artillery, companies	7
Horseguard, battalion	1

The foregoing is composed of the following number of men:

Commission officers	663
Enlisted men	20,885
Companies organized in Michigan, and gone into service in other States	1,679
Men enlisted in other States	773
Total	24,000
Quota required from Michigan	19,500
Excess	4,500

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The first regiment was ready and equipped with arms and ammunition on the 19th of April, four days after the call of the President, and left Detroit under order of the War Department on the 13th of May, being the first regiment which arrived at the seat of war from any State west of the Alleghany Mountains. The second regiment was ready on the 29th of April.

Michigan has 799 miles of completed railway in her territorial limits, and 605 more in progress. Her completed roads have cost for construction and equipment $32,296,379.

Congress had granted lands in aid of certain railroads in Michigan, and, in consequence of the difficulties of the times, they had not been able to fulfil all the conditions of the donation.

The last Legislature of Michigan, therefore, not only passed a law extending the time for completing the land-grant railroads the full time allowed by the act of Congress making the grant, but also one giving them two hundred and forty sections as soon as they shall complete twenty continuous miles of road; provided that the Lansing, Amboy, and Traverse Bay Road shall be completed to Lansing City from Owosso before being entitled to the additional one hundred and twenty sections. This last law, it is confidently asserted, will enable the companies to make such negotiations as are alone required to finish these important roads.

The upper peninsula has the finest copper mines in the world, and iron in vast abundance; and, since 1859, that portion of the lower peninsula, lying along the Saginaw River, has proved to be extremely rich in salt. In 1860 ten artesian wells were sunk near the Saginaw, at distances of two to fifteen miles from each other; and in 1861 these wells yielded brine equal to the daily production of 7,500 bushels of salt of excellent quality, for which Chicago and St. Louis furnished a ready market at high prices. The cheapness of fuel and of barrels at this point greatly reduces the cost of manufacture, which is stated not to exceed 75 to 80 cents per barrel. The discovery of the existence of an accessible brine of great strength at this point was due to the geological survey of the State, which has established the fact of an extensive stratum of salt rock within a thousand feet of the surface.

The Lake Superior metalliferous belt extends within the limits of Michigan alone, as measured on the range, 160 miles, averaging five miles in breadth, and is divided into three districts, viz.: the Ontonagon, the most northern; the Keweenaw Point, the most eastern; and the Portage Lake, lying mostly below and partly between the range of the two. In the first are situated the Minnesota, the Rockland, the National, and a multitude of other mines of lesser note, profit, or promise. In the second are the Cliff, the Copper Falls, and others. In the last are the Pewabic, Quincy, Isle Royale, Portage, Franklin, and numerous others. Each district has some peculiarities of product, the first developing more masses, while the latter are prolific in vein rock, the copper being scattered throughout the rock.

Active operations were first commenced in 1845, but it was not until 1851 that mining was properly begun. It was then difficult to approach the region, on account of the rapids of St. Mary's River. The means of subsistence, every tool for work, and all machines were required to be carried hundreds of miles frequently on the backs of men and beasts to the scene of labor. The opening of the St. Mary's ship canal and the entrance into Portage Lake, removed the difficulties and gave a great impetus to the mining interests.

There have been, since 1845, no less than 110 copper mining companies organized under the general law of the State. The amount of capital invested and now in use, or which has been paid out in explorations and improvements, and lost, is estimated by good judges at $6,000,000. The nominal amount of capital stock invested by all the companies which have charters would reach an indefinite number of millions.

The copper is smelted chiefly in Detroit, Cleveland, and Boston, the works in Detroit being the largest. There is one establishment at Pittsburg, which does most of the smelting for the Cliff mine; one at Bergen, New Jersey, and one at New Haven, Connecticut. Prior to the erection of these works the mineral was shipped to London, being taken over as ballast in packet ships at low rates.

The aggregate debt of the State of Michigan is $2,316,328 94. This is composed mostly of an old debt of "$5,000,000 loan," so called, contracted with the United States Bank, and the instalments on which due the State were not paid by the institution. The debt was subsequently adjusted, and the new bonds form the chief part of the existing debt, and are due in 1862. There are also $100,000 of canal bonds guaranteed by the State. The 7 per cent. war loan was mostly negotiated in New York, and bearing 7 per cent. interest, commanded a premium in the market. The expenses of the State are, in round number, $720,000, and are nearly met by the revenues derived from a tax of 1 mill per dollar on real and personal property, that amounts in the aggregate to $275,762,771. There are several trust funds derived from sales of land granted by the General Government, and appropriated by the Constitution of the State for educational purposes.

An amendment to the State Constitution was adopted in 1860 by the people, which provides that "the officers and stockholders of every corporation for banking purposes issuing bank notes or paper credits, to circulate as money, shall be individually liable for all debts contracted during the term of their being officers or stockholders of such corporation or association equally and ratably to the extent of their respective shares of stock in any such corporation or association." For operations of banks, *see* BANKS.

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MINNESOTA, one of the younger States of the Union, admitted in 1858, and lying in the extreme northwest of the States east of the Rocky Mountains, is bounded north by British America, east by Lake Superior and Wisconsin, south by Iowa and Missouri Territory, and west by Nebraska Territory. The territory of the State is the most elevated tract of land between the Gulf of Mexico and Hudson's Bay; from its central heights, its waters flow to every point of the compass. It abounds in lakes of every size, from those of forty miles in extent to small ponds of less than a mile in circuit. There are two outlets for the products of the country: one by way of the Mississippi Valley, and one by way of Lake Superior through the Lake and the east. The great export of the State is lumber. The population in 1850, was 6,077; in 1860 it had increased to 171,793 white and 229 free colored. The ratio of increase during the previous ten years, was 2,745.19 white. The vote of the State at the presidential election in 1860 was: Lincoln, 22,069; Douglas, 11,920; Breckinridge, 748; Bell, 62. The qualifications are: that they be free white males, twenty-one years of age, who are, or have declared their intention of becoming, citizens of the United States, and who have resided in the United States one year, and in the State four months next preceding. Indians and persons of mixed white and Indian blood, who have adopted the language, customs, and habits of civilization, are also allowed to vote in any district in which they have resided for the ten days next preceding. The Legislature consists of thirty-seven Senators, elected for two years, and eighty Representatives, elected for one year. The Governor is elected for two years. The present Governor is Alexander Ramsey. The people of the State, by a large majority, were opposed to the movements in favor of secession in the Southern States, and were determined to uphold the Government under all circumstances.

The Legislature, on the 26th of January, passed the following resolutions, expressive of their views on the impending troubles of the country:

1. *Resolved*, That one of the vital and necessary principles which form the basis of all free government is, that the constitutional majority must always rule; and therefore, the right of the people of any State to withdraw from the Union, thereby hazarding the liberties and happiness of the millions composing this Confederacy, can never be acknowledged by us under any circumstances. We regard secession upon the part of any State as amounting directly to revolution, and precipitating civil war, with all its sad train of consequences.

2. *Resolved*, That the people of the State of Minnesota reiterate their unalterable devotion to the Constitution of the United States; and that if its provisions are strictly observed, it will, in its own words, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.

3. *Resolved*, That Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin, having been constitutionally and legally elected President and Vice-President of the United States, at a general election fully and freely participated in, on the same day, by the people of every State of the Union, south as well as north, any attempt to dissolve or destroy the Union on account thereof is without excuse or justification, and should receive the condemnation of every patriot in the land.

4. *Resolved*, That we have heard with astonishment and indignation of the recent outrages perpetrated at Charleston, South Carolina, by firing upon an American steamer, sailing under the flag of our country, and that we expect of the General Government the strongest and most vigorous effort to assert its supremacy, and to check the work of rebellion and treason. Fully impressed with our duty to make every possible effort to uphold the Union, and to maintain the authority of the General Government, we hereby tender to the President of the United States for that purpose, through the Governor of this State, aid in men and money to the extent of our ability. When one or more States erect the standard of disunion, and place themselves in military array against the Government bequeathed to us by our ancestors, we can discover no other honorable or patriotic resource than to test, both on land and on ocean, the full strength of the Federal authority under our national flag.

5. *Resolved*, That we declare to each State of this Union our sincere desire to secure a renewal of that fraternal feeling which ought always to exist between citizens of a common country, and which distinguished the history of the nation for more than half a century. Especially do we express to those patriotic citizens of the Southern States, who have nobly and manfully exerted their utmost efforts to prevent the catastrophe of dissolution, our sincere gratitude and highest admiration.

6. *Resolved*, That the most sincere thanks of the nation are justly due to that distinguished patriot and veteran, Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott, for the prompt and decisive steps he has taken to stay the tide of revolution, and for the determined spirit he has evinced in maintaining the honor of our Government.

7. *Resolved*, That we never will consent or submit to the obstruction of the free navigation of the Mississippi River, from its source to its mouth, by any power hostile to the Federal Government.

The call for volunteers by the Federal Government, was responded to with ardor by the people of the State. Her troops were early in the field, and ranked among the bravest. Four full regiments of infantry, three companies of cavalry, and one of artillery, numbering 4,400 men, were raised for the war during the year, and the formation of a fifth regiment was commenced. The Governor, in his Message to the Legislature after the close of the year 1861, says: "The State now sends to the protection of the Union a greater number of men than her whole population in 1850."

MISSISSIPPI, one of the Southern States, is bounded north by Tennessee, east by Alabama, south by the Gulf of Mexico and Louisiana, and west by the Pearl and Mississippi rivers, which separate it from Louisiana and Arkansas. Cotton is the great staple of the State. The population in 1860 was 353,969 whites, 731 free colored, 436,696 slaves. Total 791,396. The ratio of increase during the previous ten years was 19·70 white, 21·40 free colored, and 40·93 slave. The Governor of the State is elected by the people once in two years. The Governor in 1861 was John J. Pettus. The Senate consists of thirty-two members, elected for four years, and the House of ninety-two members, elected for two years.

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It had been an object with the people of the State, since the commencement of the anti-slavery agitation, to attach the border States to the extreme South as strongly as possible; or, rather, to make it as much as possible their interest to resist abolition. For this purpose, as early as 1833, the Legislature endeavored to cut off the market of the border States for their slaves by prohibiting the introduction of them as merchandise, or for sale, within the limits of the State. They further designed by these prohibitions to prevent the condensation of slavery in the extreme South. Similar restrictions were recommended to the Legislature by Governor Pettus at the session in November, 1860. Judge Harris, of the Supreme Court of the State, in the case of William Mitchell vs. Nancy Wells, gives the following as one of the reasons for adopting those restrictions at an early day:

"It was feared that if these border States were permitted to sell us their slaves, and thus localize the institution, they too would unite in the wild fanaticism of the day, and render the institution of slavery, thus reduced to a few Southern States, an easy prey to its wicked spirit."

The recommendations of Gov. Pettus, however, met with little favor. They were rejected by a unanimous vote of the Legislature.

A session of the Legislature was held at Jackson early in November, 1860, for the purpose of making the preliminary arrangements for a State Convention. It passed an act calling such Convention on the 7th of January, and fixed the 20th of December as the day upon which an election should be held for members. The measures were passed unanimously. The following resolutions were also adopted unanimously:

Resolved, That the Governor be requested to appoint as many Commissioners as in his judgment may be necessary to visit each of the slaveholding States, and designate the State or States to which each Commissioner shall be commissioned, whose duty it shall be to inform them that this Legislature has passed an act calling a Convention of the people of this State to consider the present threatening relations of the Northern and Southern sections of the Confederacy, aggravated by the recent election of a President upon principles of hostility to the States of the South, and to express the earnest hope of Mississippi that those States will cooperate with her in the adoption of efficient measures for their common defence and safety.

Resolved, That, should any Southern State not have convened its Legislature, the Commissioner to such State shall appeal to the Governor thereof to call the Legislature together, in order that its coöperation be immediately secured.

One of the members, Mr. Lamar, advocated separate secession of the State, and recommended that the Senators and Representatives in the Federal Congress from the Southern States should withdraw and form a Congress of a new republic, and appoint electors for President of a Southern Confederacy. The Legislature adjourned on the 30th of November, 1860.

The people of the State were divided on the question of secession. At Canton, on the 3d of December, 1860, a meeting of citizens was held, at which the following resolutions were adopted with much unanimity:

Resolved, That we, the people here assembled, are opposed to the election to the State Convention of any man to represent Madison County, who will not pledge himself to oppose the secession of the State of Mississippi, unless such proposition shall first receive the direct sanction of the people at the ballot-box.

Resolved, That we have no word of advice to give to any Southern State, but if any such State should regard it as necessary to the safety of its people to withdraw from the Union, and any attempt should be made by the General Government to coerce her back—that in such case it would, in the opinion of this meeting, be the duty, as doubtless it would be the pleasure, of all the Southern people to coöperate in sustaining the withdrawing State, until the North should do full justice, repeal its obnoxious State laws, and give undoubted guarantees that the slavery question shall be forever settled on principles consistent with the Constitution and the rights and safety of the South.

At the largest public meeting ever held in Adams County, two delegates were nominated to the State Convention, who were opposed to separate State secession, and in favor of waiting for coöperation. At the same time a large meeting was held at Jackson which was addressed by some of the most distinguished men in the State. All the speakers were in favor of resistance, but of firm, decided, and temperate action. Some were in favor of staying in the Union if sufficient guarantees should be given for the protection of the rights of the South. A consultation and conference with the slaveholding States were desired. At Columbus a public meeting was also held, at which two of the resolutions unanimously adopted were as follows:

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting that the State Convention about to assemble, ought to declare that Mississippi resumes the powers and functions delegated by her to the Federal Government, and absolves herself from every obligation thereto, to take effect on the 4th day of March, A. D. 1861, unless prior to that time the non-slaveholding States shall repeal all their odious, offensive, and unconstitutional legislation to defeat the rendition of fugitives from labor, restore the Federal Constitution to its original purity and design, and afford positive security for our domestic peace and property rights in the Union; provided that such a number of the slaveholding States shall coöperate with Mississippi as in the judgment of said Convention will justify her action.

Resolved, That the Legislature of this State be requested to procure in the mean time, as far as possible, the coöperation of the slaveholding States.

Arguments like the following were also urged with much eloquence: "There is no wrong if we are united that we cannot remedy under the Constitution, and no right that it cannot protect. Our safety, our existence, now depends upon the integrity of that instrument. The moment we throw off the restraints of the Constitution, surrendering to the North our rights in the territories, our interests in the public domain—in our courts, our navy and our army, and our Federal Treasury—that moment we are doomed to destruction. Secession can afford no palliation for our wrongs; it can only precip-

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itate us into greater evils, as we must forfeit all our rights under the Constitution when we leave the Union and give to our Northern foes all they need to render their aggressive policy more effective."

The election of members of the State Convention took place on the 20th of December. The number of members to be elected was ninety-nine. Of these more than one-third were coöperationists. This distinction into coöperationists and secessionists only referred to the manner of proceeding which the State should adopt. The latter advocated immediate and separate secession, the former preferred consultation and coöperation with the other slaveholding States. The ultimate object of each was the same, as expressed in the following language by one of the citizens: "These are household quarrels. As against Northern combination and aggression we are united. We are all for resistance. We differ as to the mode; but the fell spirit of abolitionism has no deadlier and we believe no more practical foes than the coöperationists of the South. We are willing to give the North a chance to say whether it will accept or reject the terms that a united South will agree upon. If accepted, well and good; if rejected, a united South can win all its rights in or out of the Union."

The State Convention organized on the 7th of January, and immediately appointed a committee to prepare and report an ordinance of secession with a view of establishing a new confederacy to be comprised of the seceded States.

The committee duly reported the following ordinance, and it was adopted on the 9th—ayes 84, noes, 15:

The people of Mississippi, in Convention assembled, do ordain and declare, and it is hereby ordained and declared, as follows, to wit:

SEC. 1. That all the laws and ordinances by which the said State of Mississippi became a member of the Federal Union of the United States of America be, and the same are hereby repealed, and that all obligations on the part of the said State, or the people thereof, be withdrawn, and that the said State does hereby resume all the rights, functions, and powers which by any of the said laws and ordinances were conveyed to the Government of the said United States, and is absolved from all the obligations, restraints, and duties incurred to the said Federal Union, and shall henceforth be a free, sovereign, and independent State.

SEC. 2. That so much of the first section of the seventh article of the Constitution of this State, as requires members of the Legislature and all officers, both legislative and judicial, to take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States be, and the same is hereby abrogated and annulled.

SEC. 3. That all rights acquired and vested under the Constitution of the United States, or under any act of Congress passed in pursuance thereof, or any law of this State, and not incompatible with this ordinance, shall remain in force, and have the same effect as if the ordinance had not been passed.

SEC. 4. That the people of the State of Mississippi hereby consent to form a Federal Union with such of the States as have seceded or may secede from the Union of the United States of America, upon the basis of the present Constitution of the United States, except such parts thereof as embrace other portions than such seceding States.

Delegations from South Carolina and Alabama were invited to seats in the Convention, and were greeted with much applause. Efforts were made to postpone action, but these were voted down, and only fifteen voted nay on the final passage of the measure. The vote was subsequently made unanimous. The first aggressive movement was made by Governor Pettus on the 12th of January, when he ordered a piece of artillery to Vicksburg to hail and examine boats passing on the Mississippi. Movements were at the same time commenced to complete the organization of the military of the State. Judge Gholson, of the United States Court, resigned. South Carolina was recognized by the Convention as sovereign and independent, and steps were taken to cut asunder every tie to the United States, excepting the postal arrangements. The subsequent movements were reported to the Legislature by the Governor in a Message on the 15th of January. He says:

"As soon as I was informed that the Governor of Louisiana had taken the arsenal at Baton Rouge, I sent Col. C. G. Armstead with a letter to Gov. Moore, requesting him to furnish Mississippi with ten thousand stand of arms on such terms as he might deem just. Col. Armstead informs me that his Excellency has responded to my request by ordering eight thousand muskets, one thousand rifles, and six twenty-four pound guns, with carriages, and a considerable amount of ammunition, to be delivered to him, which will be shipped to Mississippi as soon as possible.

"I have drawn from the Treasury, on account of the appropriation, for the purchase of arms, ammunition, &c., $38,311 21. Contracts for a considerable amount of arms and munitions of war have been made, which have not as yet been complied with, the arms not having been received or paid for. After paying all contracts now made or authorized to be made, there will be a considerable balance of the appropriation of $150,000 made at the last regular session of the Legislature.

"Patriotic citizens in various portions of the State have extended to me pecuniary aid in arming the State. Hon. A. G. Brown sent me a bill on New York for $500. Col. Jeff. Davis and Hon. Jacob Thompson have guaranteed the payment, in May or June, of twenty-four thousand dollars for the purchase of arms.

"We have embarked upon a stormy sea, and much of the peril which attends our voyage is to be apprehended from the thoughtlessness and passions of her new crew. Law and order must prevail, or there is no safety for the ship."

In the Convention, a resolution was offered on the 9th of February condemning the re-formation of the Union, as follows:

Resolved, by the people of the State of Mississippi in Convention assembled, That the reconstruction of the Union of the United States of America is impracticable and unadvisable, and that hereafter Mississippi ought

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to confederate only with States having similar domestic institutions to her own.

It was laid on the table by a vote of ayes 45, noes 20.

To prepare for any emergency, the Legislature, which had re-assembled to provide for the execution of the secession ordinance, levied an additional tax of fifty per cent. upon the amount of the then existing State tax, and also authorized the Governor to borrow two millions of dollars at ten per cent., payable in one, two, and three years, out of the State revenues.

At this time there existed much dissatisfaction among the wealthy and substantial citizens of the State. There was before them a prospect of heavy taxation, and of no benefits under the new order of affairs which they could not expect under the Union.

The State Convention, after an adjournment, now re-assembled on the 25th of March. On the same day the Permanent Constitution of the Confederate States was taken up and referred to a special committee. A resolution was also offered, as a test question, to instruct that committee to report an ordinance referring the Constitution directly to the people at the ballot-box for ratification or rejection. On the next day a motion to lay this resolution on the table was rejected by—ayes 37, noes 40. An ordinance was then offered, as a substitute, providing for the election of delegates by the people to ratify in Convention the Permanent Constitution; a motion to lay this substitute on the table was adopted—ayes 45, noes 30.

The committee then submitted an ordinance that the Constitution be ratified by the Convention.

Mr. Yerger submitted an ordinance which, after stating that any imperfections ought to be amended in the mode prescribed in the Constitution rather than bring the Confederacy into danger by delay, provided that the Convention adopts, assents to, and ratifies the Constitution, upon condition that the people of Mississippi reserve to themselves the right of peaceful secession, and that the Constitution shall not be held to bind the people of the State until it and the ordinance be submitted to them for ratification or rejection.

Mr. Wood next submitted an ordinance to submit the Constitution to the people of the State for ratification or rejection.

Mr. Fontaine introduced a substitute to provide for the assembling of another convention to ratify the Constitution.

The debate on the ratification of the Constitution was very spirited and able on the part of the advocates of the power of the Convention to ratify, as well as of those who contended for the right of the people to pass judgment on the Constitution under which they were to live. The vote on these various propositions was as follows:

Mr. Fontaine's ordinance, calling another convention to consider the Constitution, was rejected—yeas 28, nays 57.

Mr. Gholson offered a substitute for Mr. Wood's ordinance submitting the Constitution to a vote of the people; lost—yeas 32, nays 53.

Mr. Yerger's minority report, reserving to the State the right of secession, was lost; yeas 13, nays 68.

Mr. Rogers offered a substitute for the majority report, which was laid on the table; yeas 53, nays 28.

The majority of the committee had reported this ordinance:

Be it ordained by the people of Mississippi, in Convention assembled, and it is hereby ordained by the authority of the same, That the Constitution adopted by the Congress at Montgomery, in the State of Alabama, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, for the Permanent Federal Government of the Confederate States of America be, and the same is hereby adopted and ratified by the State of Mississippi, acting in its sovereign and its independent character; and the State of Mississippi hereby accedes to and becomes a member of the Confederacy provided for by said Constitution.

The vote on this ordinance was—ayes 78, noes 7. The large minority of thirty-two voted persistently in favor of referring the Constitution to the people for ratification until it was evident that their policy could not prevail; and, with the exception of the seven members referred to above, they then voted with the majority to give to the action of the State, as it appears, all the moral influence of a united vote.

On the next day an ordinance was adopted so amending the State Constitution as to make it consistent with the connection between the State and the Confederacy.

A resolution was also adopted, transferring the marine hospital at Vicksburg to the Confederate States.

The chairman of the Committee on the Coat of Arms and Flag of the State, who had previously made a report on the subject, having stated that the seal had been the subject of much criticism, pro and con, suggested that the "eagle's nest and serpent" be omitted therefrom. An ordinance was adopted, changing the seal in accordance with this suggestion.

The Convention soon after adjourned *sine die.*

The entire State seemed to take up arms upon the call for troops by the Confederate Government. That ardent and fiery people entered into the first movements of the struggle against the North with their whole soul. Women, even, urged their husbands, sons, and brothers, to volunteer, and they were almost unanimous for resistance. As early as the 14th of May notice was given that a sufficient number of companies to fill any probable requisition for troops by the Government of the Confederate States on the State of Mississippi had been tendered, and no more companies would be received until a further call should be made. One requisition for five regiments was filled in six days.

On the 25th of June the Legislature assem-

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bled in extra session. The Governor, in his Message, congratulated the members that "the revolution inaugurated last fall had so far been prosperous and successful. The call to arms was responded to in a manner unknown to modern times. The call for means to support the volunteers was answered with such liberal devotion to the cause as to gratify the heart of the patriot." The object of the extra session he states in these words: "To enable a people thus willing and anxious to aid in the successful prosecution of this just and necessary war with the least injury to themselves, and to make some effort to prevent the ruinous sacrifice of the property, at forced sales, of those against whom constables and sheriffs now have executions in their hands, and of a much more numerous class against whom suits have been and will be instituted, I have again called you into extra session."

He suggested to them, as a means of retaliation on the Northern people, and, at the same time, of relieving the people of Mississippi from a part of the expenses imposed by the war, whether it would not be expedient and just to confiscate all the property of alien enemies within the limits of the State. In referring to the public arms and military stores, and the equipment of volunteers, he reported as follows: "About sixteen thousand stand of arms for infantry and cavalry have been brought to the State during my administration. This number has not, by thousands, supplied the demands of volunteers willing and anxious to receive them, and all the efforts heretofore made by the military board and myself have failed to procure a sufficient number; and to supply the deficiency we are now collecting the rifles and double-barrelled shot-guns throughout the State, to be used until better can be procured. Ten companies of cavalry and ten of artillery have been organized, and will soon be armed and equipped, ready for the field."

He also recommended a tax of one-fourth of one per cent. on land and slaves, which would add $279,544 to the produce of the taxes. He suggested also a tax of three-tenths of one per cent. on all moneys "owned by any inhabitant of the State, or controlled by such inhabitant, loaned or employed in the purchase of notes, bills, stocks, or securities, for the payment of money without the limits of the State, or kept from use or circulation within the same, at any time during the year.

He also recommended that a law should be passed postponing for twelve months the sales of property under all judgments obtained in any court, and prohibiting the issuing of executions on all judgments which might be rendered, until the expiration of twelve months after the adjournment of the next regular session of the Legislature. Among the inducements to this measure he urged that the people, thus relieved from the necessity of keeping a large portion of their cotton crop, would be at liberty to loan it to the Government until the war closed.

He said that the State had made large advances to the Confederate Government. The quartermaster-general had been sent to Richmond with instructions to receive these advances and invest them in heavy winter supplies for the Mississippi troops in the field.

In regard to the defences of the Mississippi Sound, Gov. Pettus reported that an agreement had been entered into with the Governors of Louisiana and Alabama by which they shared among them the expense of manning and arming small steamers for that service. There were also ordered to the coast a company of field-artillery and four companies of Mississippi Volunteers.

The Legislature, at this and a subsequent session, adopted measures to provide sufficient funds for all State purposes. An act was passed authorizing an advance of treasury notes, not to exceed the sum of $5,000,000, to the planters of the State upon the hypothecation of cotton valued at twenty-five dollars a bale. The Senate proposed to pledge the faith of the State for their redemption—a feature which was stricken out by amendments to the bill going to the Lower House. These notes were to be received in payment of all State taxes and dues, and it was contemplated to obtain the consent of Congress for the Confederate collector to take them in payment of the national war tax, which the State determined to assume.

Another act was passed, the object of which was to relieve the indigent families of volunteers, of levying thirty per cent. in addition to the regular tax, which was to be distributed to the various counties, in proportion to the number of soldiers furnished.

The Legislature, on the 19th Dec., passed a bill requiring the banks to receive the State Treasury notes in payment of debts, and that the notes of the banks shall be receivable for all public dues except the Confederate war tax.

At the annual election, Jacob Thompson, Secretary of the Interior during the administration of President Buchanan, was chosen Governor of the State by a majority of about 1,400 over Governor Pettus.

Reuben Davis, Israel Welch, H. C. Chambers, O. R. Singleton, E. Barksdale, John J. McRae, and J. W. Clapp were chosen Representatives to the Confederate Congress at Richmond. Albert G. Brown and James Phelan, Senators.

The following plan was adopted to secure a sufficient number of volunteers under an act of the Legislature:

"After providing for a thorough organization into companies of all able-bodied men between the ages of eighteen and fifty years, it is made the duty of each company commander, immediately after the organization of his command, to prepare a number of tickets, equal to the number of his company, one-third of which shall be numbered 'one,' one-third numbered 'two,' and one-third numbered 'three.' They are then to be placed in a box or hat, and be

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drawn by the members of the company. Those drawing number 'one' shall constitute the first class, and shall be transferred into active service first, and the second class next, and the third next. Any person who furnishes a substitute must take the place of the substitute in the class from which he was taken. A like classification is to be made annually, and no man shall be required to serve in the regular service for more than twelve months."

The position of Mississippi in the southwestern part of the country protected her from any important hostile attack by the Federal troops. On the north were the States of Tennessee and Kentucky, and on the east Alabama, Georgia, &c. The State is accessible by water only at its southern point on the Gulf of Mexico. Here an attack was made, and the town of Biloxi captured on the 31st of December. This pleasant watering-place, visited by citizens of Mobile and New Orleans during the summer, is about ninety miles from the latter city. It is located on a part of the shore which projects into Biloxi Bay or Mississippi Sound. Its population is about 400, which is largely increased in the summer. In front of the town is a light-house, near which a sand-battery had been erected, which mounted two 6-pounders. The expedition consisted of the gunboats Water Witch, Lieut. A. K. Hughes, New London, Lieut. A. Reed, and the Lewis, Lieut. McKean Buchanan, with forty-five marines from the Niagara and Massachusetts, and two boats' crews from the Massachusetts, the whole under the command of Capt. Melancthon Smith. The expedition got under way from Ship Island at 7 o'clock in the morning, and arriving before the place, the vessels came to anchor. Commander Smith landed with a few men without opposition, the authorities surrendered the town, the guns were taken on board one of the vessels, and the expedition returned on the same evening.

The number of troops furnished to the Confederate service, including those recruited, but not sent out of the State, was about twenty thousand men. A portion of them were classed among the flower of the Confederate army.

In foreign commerce nothing was done during the year. The internal trade of the State on the Mississippi with the Confederate States was without restraint, but reduced to the smallest extent in consequence of the stagnation elsewhere, and the excitement in military affairs.

The vote for President in 1860 was: Douglas 3,283, Breckinridge 40,797, Bell 25,040.

MISSOURI, one of the largest States of the Union, and the first State formed wholly west of the Mississippi River, is bounded on the north by Iowa, on the east by the Mississippi River, on the south by Arkansas, and on the west by Kansas, Nebraska, and the Indian Territory. It is about 285 miles in its greatest length and 280 miles in width from north to south, and contains an area of 67,380 square miles. The population of the State in 1860 was 1,064,369 whites, 2,983 free colored, and 114,965 slaves; total, 1,182,317. The vote of the State for President in 1860 was: Lincoln 17,028, Douglas 58,801, Breckinridge 31,317, Bell 58,372. The Governor is elected for four years. The Senators are elected for four years, and the Representatives for two years.

Missouri is the only slaveholding Border State west of the Mississippi River. It had been so deeply and closely involved in the troubles in Kansas that the entire subject of conflict between the North and the South had, in fact, been developed within her limits. The public sentiment of the citizens was doubtless accurately expressed by Gov. Stewart in his valedictory Message to the Legislature on the 3d of January: "Our people would feel more sympathy with the movement, had it not originated amongst those who, like ourselves, have suffered severe losses and constant annoyances from the interference and depredations of outsiders. Missouri will hold to the Union so long as it is worth the effort to preserve it. She cannot be frightened by the past unfriendly legislation of the North, or dragooned into secession by the restrictive legislation of the extreme South."

On the next day his successor, Governor Jackson, was inaugurated. In his Message, he insisted that Missouri must stand by the other slaveholding States, whatever course they may pursue. Missouri, however, was in favor of remaining in the Union so long as there was a hope of maintaining the guarantees of the Constitution. He was opposed to coercion in any event, but recommended the calling of a State Convention to ascertain the will of the people.

The question of holding a State Convention was brought before the Legislature, and the Senate passed the bill on the 16th of January, in favor of holding it, by a vote of yeas 31, nays 2. The clause, submitting the acts of the proposed Convention to the vote of the people, was in these words:

"No act, ordinance, or resolution shall be valid to change or dissolve the political relations of this State to the Government of the United States, or any other State, until a majority of the qualified voters of the State shall ratify the same."

The Convention was required to assemble at the capital on the 28th day of February.

The proclamation stated that the object of the Convention was "to consider the relations between the Government of the United States, the people and Governments of the different States, and the Government and people of the State of Missouri, and to adopt such measures for vindicating the sovereignty of the State and the protection of its institutions as shall appear to them to be demanded."

At the time when this election for delegates was held, the public sentiment of the State had unquestionably settled in favor of a continuance of Missouri within the Union, and in hostility

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to secession, except to resist coercion. Mr. Seward and Mr. Cameron had made their conciliatory speeches in the Senate; a loud voice was heard all over the central States calling for the immediate adoption of measures for the salvation of the Union and the adjustment of all questions of difference between the contending sections; assurances of Crittenden and Douglas were made that an adjustment would take place; and the general belief out of Congress was that in less than ninety days all the difficulties would be honorably settled, unless the extreme Republicans should defeat all concessions, or unless South Carolina should determine to bring about a war by making an attack upon the forts or forces of the United States.

The result of the election of delegates to the State Convention was the choice of a large majority of Union men by a large majority in the popular vote.

The Convention met at Jefferson City on the 28th of February and organized by the choice of a temporary chairman and committees on credentials, and a permanent organization, and adjourned to the next day. The report of the Committee on Rules was unanimously adopted. It included a rule requiring the officers of, and the delegates to, the Convention to take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States and of the State of Missouri. A motion was made to go into secret session, which was almost unanimously defeated.

A long and warm discussion ensued on a motion to reconsider the vote on the adoption of the rule to take the oaths, after which the Convention adjourned to meet in St. Louis.

On the 4th of March the Convention assembled at St. Louis, and, by a vote of 63 ayes to 53 noes, consented to hear Mr. Glenn, the Commissioner from the State of Georgia.

Mr. Glenn was then introduced to the Convention. He read the articles of secession adopted by Georgia, after which he made a speech, stating the causes which induced her to dissever her connection with the Federal Government, and strongly urged Missouri to join his State in the formation of a Southern Confederacy.

His remarks were greeted with hissing and hooting from the lobby, which the Chairman failed to suppress.

On the next day resolutions were adopted providing that a committee be appointed to wait on the Commissioner from Georgia, and inform him that Missouri dissented from the position taken by that State, and very kindly, but emphatically, declined to share the honors of secession with her.

On the 6th various resolutions were referred, declining coöperation with Georgia in the secession movement, &c. One, offered by ex-Governor Stewart, declared that no overt act by the Government justifying secession or revolution had been committed. One, by Judge Orr, said that "Ours is the best government in the world, and we intend to preserve it."

A great number of resolutions were offered and referred on the next day. Among the most important of them was one providing for a committee to confer with the Border States as to the best means of keeping the Western States in the Northern Confederacy; another, declaring that secession was a dangerous political heresy; that the Constitution had never failed to confer the blessings intended by its founders; that the Southern States had no excuse for seceding, and asking the Northern States to repeal all acts making the rendition of fugitive slaves difficult or impossible; another, that, believing there was no excuse for coercion, Missouri will furnish neither men nor money for that purpose, and that a National Convention be called, making the Crittenden compromise resolutions the basis of action; another, that the General Government be requested to yield up the custom-houses and other offices in the seceded States to the people, and withdraw the Federal officers and forces occupying them.

The report of the Committee on Federal Relations was made on the 9th of March by the Chairman, Gov. Gamble. It made an explanation of all the circumstances surrounding the position and affecting the interests of Missouri; recounted the evils of which the South might rightfully complain; admonished the North that the hostile feelings towards Southern institutions manifested by a large number of the people of that section were productive of evil, and expressed the hope that a better knowledge of the subject would remove their prejudices. It did not assume a threatening attitude towards either extreme section of the country, but pointed out the errors of both, and concluded with a series of resolutions declaring that there was no cause to compel Missouri to dissolve her connection with the Federal Union. That the people of the State earnestly desired a fair and amicable adjustment of difficulties and the Union perpetuated; that the Crittenden resolutions afforded a basis of adjustment that would forever remove the cause of the difficulties from the arena of politics; that a National Convention to amend the Constitution would promote the peace and quiet of the country; that the employment of military force by the Federal Government to coerce the seceding States, or the employment of force by the seceding States to assail the Government of the United States would inevitably plunge the country into civil war, and thereby extinguish all hope of an amicable settlement of the issues impending. They therefore earnestly entreat the Federal Government, as well as the seceding States, to stay the arm of military power, and on no pretence whatever bring upon the nation the horrors of civil war.

The minority report from two of the committee was presented the next day. This report opposed the National Convention recommended by the majority report, and proposed a convention of the Border Slave States in-

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stead, to be held at Nashville, to decide upon such amendments to the Constitution as might be satisfactory to them. It also recommended the Crittenden propositions to the Nashville Convention, without, however, making an ultimatum, and advised the appointment of Commissioners to Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Arkansas, to secure the coöperation of those States to the movement.

Afterwards, Mr. Birch called attention to a communication in the "Republican" print of that day, hinting at a secret conspiracy to force Missouri out of the Union, and offered a resolution to appoint a committee to investigate the subject, and, if possible, ascertain the names of the conspirators; which passed, 52 to 30.

In the Convention, on the 17th of March, the following was proposed as an amendment to one of the resolutions reported by the committee:

"And, further, believing that the fate of Missouri depends upon the peaceable adjustment of our present difficulties, she will never countenance or aid a seceding State in making war upon the General Government; nor will she provide men and money for the purposes of aiding the General Government in any attempt to coerce a seceding State."

It was rejected—ayes 30, noes 61. Several amendments to the report of the committee, favoring secession, were laid on the table by decided votes.

On the 19th the Convention proceeded to vote on the report of the committee. The first resolution, declaring that there was no cause for Missouri to dissolve her connection with the Federal Union, passed unanimously; the second, that the people of the State earnestly desired a fair and amicable adjustment of difficulties and the Union perpetuated, it was proposed to amend by adding thereto the following: "That, wishing to restore peace to our country, we desire the Federal Government to withdraw the troops from the forts now occupied by them in the seceded States."

This amendment was laid on the table, and the resolution was then adopted with but one dissenting vote.

The third, that the Crittenden resolutions offered a basis for adjustment, was then adopted; and also the fourth, urging a National Convention to amend the Constitution. The fifth resolution was amended, so as to read as follows:

"That the Convention cherish an earnest desire to prevent civil war, and that this would be promoted by the withdrawal of the Federal troops from those forts where there is danger of collision, and that the Convention recommend the adoption of this policy."

In this form the resolution was passed; yeas 89, nays 6.

The last act of the Convention, previous to adjournment, was to elect seven delegates to the proposed Border States Convention.

On the 27th, in the State Legislature, the Committee on Federal Relations in the House reported the following joint resolution, which was passed by a vote of 62 to 42:

Resolved, That it is inexpedient for the General Assembly to take any steps for a National Convention, to propose any amendments to the Constitution, as recommended by the State Convention.

The excitement occasioned by the events of the latter part of April soon passed over. A more rational and hopeful view of affairs was entertained. The ill temper, and the disposition to hurry the State into rash and indefensible measures, were less apparent in Missouri than many other States. She was not, indeed, in a condition to commit herself to any distinct line of policy.

On the 20th of April the arsenal at Liberty was seized and garrisoned by a hundred men. The arms and cannon were distributed in the county. The Governor, at this time, declared his policy to be in favor of peace, saying that he convened the Legislature only for the purpose of more perfectly organizing the militia, and putting the State in a proper attitude of defence. He urged the President of the State Convention not to call that body together for the passage of a secession ordinance; he was in favor of retaining the present status of the State, leaving it to time and circumstances as they might arise to determine the best course for Missouri to pursue.

He thought the President, in calling out troops to subdue the seceded States, threatened civil war, and he pronounced the act unconstitutional, and as tending towards the establishment of a consolidated despotism. He recommended ample preparations against aggressions by all assailants. He appealed to the Legislature to do nothing imprudently or precipitately, but endeavor to unite all for the preservation of the honor of the State, the security of property, and the performance of the high duties inposed by their obligations to their country and to their God.

The news of the surrender of Camp Jackson was received at Jefferson City on the evening of the 10th, between five and six o'clock, and produced a great panic in the Legislature, then in session. The despatch was read, and the military bill, which was pending, passed within fifteen minutes afterwards, and was sent into the Senate, and likewise passed that body. This act took effect on its passage:

A military fund was created, for the purpose of arming and equipping the militia. To this was to be appropriated all the money then in the Treasury, or afterwards to be received on the assessments for 1860–'61, as well as the proceeds of the special tax of one mill on the hundred dollars levied to secure the completion of certain railroads, or from other sources, except a sufficiency to carry on the State Government, and support its penal and benevolent institutions.

The Governor was authorized to receive a

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loan of $500,000 from the banks, at any rate of interest not exceeding ten per cent.

Fifteen cents on the hundred dollars of the assessed value of taxable property in all the counties were ordered to be collected during the years 1861, 1862, 1863, in addition to the tax levied by law.

The Governor was authorized to purchase arms and munitions of war, and to issue $1,000,000 in bonds, payable respectively in February, 1862, 1863, and 1864, in sums of not less than ten or more than five hundred dollars, to be received in payment of taxes.

That portion of the general revenue laws appropriating one-fourth of the two mill tax for the purpose of education was suspended until the year 1863; and any funds in the State Treasury, or which might come into the hands of the Treasurer, from the two mill tax, was placed to the credit of the military fund.

The military were put under the command of the Governor, and required to take an oath to obey him alone. Every able-bodied man in the State was made subject to do military duty.

During this time another despatch was received, stating that it was the battery of the southwest expedition which had been demanded and surrendered. This put a different phase on the matter, and was quite generally received as the true version of the affair.

The telegraph was then taken possession of by the Governor, and every thing remained in uncertainty, but the excitement began to decrease. The two Houses met at half-past seven, and continued in session until half-past nine. Peaceably-disposed citizens retired to rest, but shortly after twelve o'clock the whole town was roused by the ringing of bells and the shouts of men calling the members of the Legislature. A tremendous thunder-storm prevailed at the time, and continued for two or three hours, and the hurrying of citizens through the streets on foot and horse, the vivid lightning and heavy thunder, produced a scene not soon to be forgotten. The members hurried to the Capitol, (having first to pass sentinels who had been stationed about the building,) and immediately went into secret session, which continued until half-past three o'clock.

The cause of this unusual commotion was a despatch, which was received late at night, stating that two thousand troops would leave St. Louis at eleven o'clock for Jefferson City. Before the two Houses adjourned, however, news was received that the Osage bridge had been burned, and it was pretty well settled that if the troops were on their way they could hardly get through before ample preparations could be made to receive them. In consequence of this despatch, 12,000 kegs of powder were at once loaded into wagons and sent off into the country, and the State treasure was also removed to some place for safe keeping.

The next day matters became more quiet, and the true state of affairs was made known. The surrender of Camp Jackson and the killing of citizens in St. Louis, as before reported, were confirmed. (*See* ST. LOUIS.)

Under the influence of the despatches bills were introduced and passed both Houses after one o'clock on Sunday morning, giving the Governor more perfect control over St. Louis; also, the most ample power for suppressing riots and insurrectionary movements throughout the State. On the 15th the Legislature adjourned until September. On the same day Gen. Harney, who had arrived at St. Louis and resumed the charge of his military department, issued a proclamation to the people of the State. He described the military bill of the Legislature as a secession ordinance, and stated the purposes of the Federal Government in regard to Missouri. He said:

> It is with regret that I feel it my duty to call your attention to the recent act of the General Assembly of Missouri, known as the military bill, which is the result, no doubt, of the temporary excitement that now pervades the public mind. This bill cannot be regarded in any other light than an indirect secession ordinance, ignoring even the forms resorted to by other States. Manifestly its most material provisions are in conflict with the Constitution and laws of the United States. To this extent it is a nullity, and cannot and ought not to be upheld or regarded by the good citizens of Missouri. There are obligations and duties resting upon the people of Missouri under the Constitution and laws of the United States which are paramount, and which, I trust, you will carefully consider and weigh well before you will allow yourselves to be carried out of the Union, under the form of yielding obedience to this military bill, which is clearly in violation of your duties as citizens of the United States.
>
> It must be apparent to every one who has taken a proper and unbiased view of the subject, that, whatever may be the termination of the unfortunate condition of things in respect to the so-called "Cotton States," Missouri must share the destiny of the Union. Her geographical position, her soil, productions, and, in short, all her material interests point to this result. We cannot shut our eyes against this controlling fact. It is seen, and its force is felt throughout the nation. So important is this regarded to the great interests of the country, that I venture to express the opinion that the whole power of the Government of the United States, if necessary, will be exerted to maintain Missouri in her present position in the Union. I express to you, in all frankness and sincerity, my own deliberate convictions, without assuming to speak for the Government of the United States, whose authority, here and elsewhere, I shall at all times, and under all circumstances, endeavor faithfully to uphold.

On the 20th a plan was agreed upon between Gens. Harney and Price for the maintenance of peace and the avoidance of conflicts between the Federal and State Governments. Gen. Price pledged the whole power of the State to maintain order among the people, and Gen. Harney declared that, this being answered, he had no wish to make any further military movement in the State. They mutually enjoined upon the people to attend to their civil business, and expressed the hope that the elements which had so seriously threatened the public peace would soon subside.

This plan, however, proved unsuccessful, and on the 11th of June Gen. N. Lyon, Col. Frank P. Blair, and Major H. A. Conant, on

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the part of the Government, and Gov. Jackson, Gen. Price, and Thomas L. Snead, on the part of the State, had a four hours' interview at St. Louis, which resulted in no pacific measures being adopted. Gov. Jackson demanded that no United States forces should be quartered or marched through the State.

General Lyon laid down his views, as a servant of the Government, somewhat to this effect: That if the Government withdrew its forces entirely, resort would be made to secret and subtle measures to provide arms and effect organizations which, upon any pretext, could put forth a formidable opposition to the General Government, and even while arming, combinations would doubtless form in certain localities to oppress and drive out loyal citizens, to whom the Government was bound to give protection, but which it would be helpless to do, as also to repress such combinations, if its forces could not be sent into the State. A large aggressive force might be formed and advanced from the exterior into the State, to assist it in carrying out the secession programme, and the Government could not, under the limitation proposed, take posts on these borders to meet and repel such force. The Government could not shrink from its duties nor abdicate its corresponding rights; and, in addition to the above, it was the duty of its civil officers to execute civil process, and in case of resistance to receive the support of military force. The proposition of the Governor would at once overturn the Government's privileges and prerogatives which he (Gen. Lyon) had neither the wish nor authority to do. In his opinion, if the Governor and the State authorities would earnestly set about to maintain the peace of the State, and declare their purposes to resist outrages upon loyal citizens of the Government, and repress insurrections against it, and, in case of violent combinations, needing coöperation of the United States troops, they should call upon or accept such assistance, and in case of threatened invasion, the Government troops took suitable posts to meet it, the purposes of the Government would be subserved, and no infringements of the State's right or dignity committed. He would take good care, in such faithful coöperation of the State authorities to this end, that no individual should be injured in person or property, and that the utmost delicacy should be observed towards all peaceable persons concerned in these relations. Upon this basis, in Gen. Lyon's opinion, could the rights of both the General and State Governments be secured and peace maintained.

After the interview the Governor returned to Jefferson City, and on the 12th issued his proclamation calling into active service fifty thousand of the State militia, "for the purpose of repelling invasion, and for the protection of the lives, liberty, and property of the citizens." He thus describes the events which had thus far occurred:

A series of unprovoked and unparalleled outrages have been inflicted upon the peace and dignity of this Commonwealth, and upon the rights and liberties of its people, by wicked and unprincipled men, professing to act under the authority of the United States Government; the solemn enactments of your Legislature have been nullified; your volunteer soldiers have been taken prisoners; your commerce with your sister States has been suspended; your trade with your own fellow-citizens has been and is subjected to the harassing control of an armed soldiery; peaceful citizens have been imprisoned without warrant of law; unoffending and defenceless men, women, and children have been ruthlessly shot down and murdered; and other unbearable indignities have been heaped upon your State and yourselves.

To all these outrages and indignities you have submitted with a patriotic forbearance, which has only encouraged the perpetrators of these grievous wrongs to attempt still bolder and more daring usurpations.

It has been my earnest endeavor, under all these embarrassing circumstances, to maintain the peace of the State, and to avert, if possible, from our borders the desolating effects of a civil war. With that object in view, I authorized Major-General Price, several weeks ago, to arrange with General Harney, commanding the Federal forces in this State, the terms of an agreement by which the peace of the State might be preserved. They came, on the 21st of May, to an understanding, which was made public. The State authorities have faithfully labored to carry out the terms of that agreement.

The Federal Government, on the other hand, only manifested its strong disapprobation of it, by the instant dismissal of the distinguished officer who, on his part, entered into it; but it at once began, and has unintermittingly carried out a system of hostile operations, in utter contempt of that agreement, and the reckless disregard of its own plighted faith. These acts have latterly portended revolution and civil war so unmistakably, that I resolved to make one further effort to avert these dangers from you. I therefore solicited an interview with Brigadier-General Lyon, commanding the Federal army in Missouri. It was granted, and, on the 10th instant, waiving all questions of personal and official dignity, I went to St. Louis, accompanied by Major-General Price.

We had an interview on the 11th instant, with General Lyon and Col. F. P. Blair, jr., at which I submitted to them this proposition: That I would disband the State Guard and break up its organization; that I would disarm all the companies which had been armed by the State; that I would pledge myself not to attempt to organize the militia under the military bill; that no arms or munitions of war should be brought into the State; that I would protect all citizens equally in all their rights, regardless of their political opinions; that I would repress all insurrectionary movements within the State; that I would repel all attempts to invade it, from whatever quarter and by whomsoever made; and that I would thus maintain a strict neutrality in the present unhappy contest, and preserve the peace of the State. And I further proposed that I would, if necessary, invoke the assistance of the United States troops to carry out these pledges. All this I proposed to do upon condition that the Federal Government would undertake to disarm the Home Guard, which it has illegally organized and armed throughout the State, and pledge itself not to occupy with its troops any localities in the State not occupied by them at this time.

Nothing but the most earnest desire to avert the horrors of civil war from our beloved State, could have tempted me to propose these humiliating terms. They were rejected by the Federal officers.

They demanded not only the disorganization and disarming of the State militia, and the nullification of the military bill, but they refused to disarm their own Home Guards, and insisted that the Federal Government should enjoy an unrestricted right to move and station its troops throughout the State whenever and wherever that might, in the opinion of its officers, be

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necessary either for the protection of the "loyal subjects" of the Federal Government, or for the repelling of invasion, and they plainly announced that it was the intention of the Administration to take military occupation, under these pretexts, of the whole State, and to reduce it, as avowed by General Lyon himself, to the "exact condition of Maryland." The acceptance by me of these degrading terms would not only have sullied the honor of Missouri, but would have aroused the indignation of every brave citizen, and precipitated the very conflict which it has been my aim to prevent. We refused to accede to them, and the conference was broken up.

He thus closes:

While it is your duty to obey all the constitutional requirement of the Federal Government, it is equally my duty to advise you that your first allegiance is due to your own State, and that you are under no obligation whatever to obey the unconstitutional edicts of the military despotism which has enthroned itself at Washington, nor to submit to the infamous and degrading sway of its wicked minions in this State. No brave and true-hearted Missourian will obey the one or submit to the other. Rise, then, and drive out ignominiously the invaders who have dared to desecrate the soil which your labors have made fruitful, and which is consecrated by your homes.

It is asserted in this proclamation that Gen. Harney's removal showed the disapprobation of the Federal Government with the arrangement concluded between that officer and Gen. Price. The arrangement was made on the 21st of May, but the order of removal was dated May 16th. This order was not served on Gen. Harney until May 29th or 30th, the same day that the General served a final answer in the case of Emmett McDonald, (*see* HABEAS CORPUS.) In the proclamation of Gen. Lyon, dated June 17th, five days after that of Gen. Jackson, there is a copy of an order from the War Department, directed to Gen. Harney, "commanding Department of the West, St. Louis," and dated May 27th. This is eleven days after the date of the order for Gen. Harney's removal, and two or three days before the order was served upon him. That order was as follows:

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, *May* 27, 1861.

Brigadier-General W. S. Harney, Commanding Department West, St. Louis:

SIR: The President observes with concern that, notwithstanding the pledge of the State authorities to coöperate in preserving the peace of Missouri, loyal citizens in great numbers continue to be driven from their homes. It is immaterial whether these outrages continue from inactivity or indisposition on the part of the State authorities to prevent them. It is enough that they continue, and it will devolve on you the duty of putting a stop to them summarily by the force under your command, to be aided by such troops as you may require from Kansas, Iowa, and Illinois. The professions of loyalty to the Union by the State authorities of Missouri are not to be relied upon. They have already falsified their professions too often, and are too far committed to secession to be admitted to your confidence, and you can only be sure of their desisting from their wicked purposes when it is not in their power to prosecute them. You will, therefore, be unceasingly watchful of their movements, and not permit the clamors of the partisans and opponents of the measures already taken to prevent you from checking every movement against the Government, however disguised, under the pretended State authority. The authority of the United States is paramount, and whenever it is apparent that a movement, whether by order of State authority or not, is hostile, you will not hesitate to put it down.

L. THOMAS,
Adjutant-General.

The proclamation issued by Gen. Lyon on June 17th, five days after that of Gov. Jackson, was designed not only to counteract the impressions produced by the latter, but also to state the reasons for the measures about to be commenced. Gen. Lyon states that the Governor and Legislature sympathized with the secession movements, and adopted every means to effect a separation of the State from the Federal Government. The establishment of encampments at an unusual period of the year, and for an indefinite time, could have no other object than the concentration of a large military force, to be subjected to the provisions of the military law. This bill provided for an obligation to the State on the part of all persons enrolled under its provisions irrespective of any obligation to the United States. This, of itself, Gen. Lyon declares, was a repudiation of the authority of the Federal Government, and, coupled with the surrounding circumstances, would lead to direct hostilities. The agreement between Gen. Harney and Gen. Price was based on a repudiation of this military bill, and all efforts of the militia of the State under its provisions. But it failed to define specifically the terms of peace, and how far a suspension of the terms of the bill should form a part of it. Hence constant complaints had been made to him, and next to Washington, accompanied with appeals for relief by peaceful citizens from the exasperating hardships imposed under the bill. This relief Gen. Lyon conceived it to be the duty of a just Government to give. Its policy is found, he says, in the order to Gen. Harney of May 27th above mentioned. He then proceeds in these words:

It is my design to carry out these instructions in their letter and spirit. Their justice and propriety will be appreciated by whoever takes an enlightened view of the relations of the citizens of Missouri to the General Government. Nor can such policy be construed as at all disparaging to the rights or dignity of the State of Missouri, or as infringing in any sense upon the individual liberty of its citizens. The recent proclamation of Governor Jackson, by which he has set at defiance the authorities of the United States, and urged you to make war upon them, is but a consummation of his treasonable purposes, long indicated by his acts and expressed opinions, and now made manifest. If, in suppressing these treasonable projects, carrying out the policy of the Government, and maintaining its dignity as above indicated, hostilities should unfortunately occur, and unhappy consequences should follow, I would hope that all aggravation of those events may be avoided, and that they may be diverted from the innocent, and may fall only on the heads of those by whom they have been provoked.

In the discharge of these plain but onerous duties, I shall look for the countenance and active coöperation of all good citizens, and I shall expect them to discountenance all illegal combinations or organizations, and support and uphold, by every lawful means, the Federal Government, upon the maintenance of which depend their liberties and the perfect enjoyment of all their rights.

N. LYON,
Brig.-General U. S. Volunteers, Commanding.

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The movement of troops now immediately commenced. On the 13th the steamer Iatan left St. Louis with the second battalion of the First Regiment Missouri Volunteers, one section of Totten's Light Artillery, and two companies of regulars, and the steamer J. C. Swan, with the first battalion of the First Regiment, under Col. Blair, and another section of Totten's battery, and a detachment of pioneers, and General Lyon and staff, numbering fifteen hundred men, for Jefferson City. Horses, wagons, and all necessary camp equipage, ammunition, and provisions for a long march, accompanied the expedition.

On the 15th they arrived at Jefferson City. Five companies of Missouri Volunteers, under Lieut.-Col. Andrews, and a company of regular artillery under Captain Totten, all under Gen. Lyon, disembarked and occupied the city. Gov. Jackson and the officers of the State Government, and many citizens, had left on the 13th.

A company of regulars, under Major Conant, thoroughly searched the country for contraband articles, and found some wheels and other parts of artillery carriages. No violence was offered, but, on the contrary, the boats containing the Federal troops were received with cheers by a large concourse of the citizens.

On the next day Gen. Lyon left for Booneville. Previously, however, he placed Colonel Henry Boernstein, of the Second Missouri Volunteers, in command, and, on the next day, the 17th of June, he issued a proclamation declaring that he acted in the absence of the regular State authorities, who had fled, to prevent anarchy and lawlessness. The proclamation was as follows:

HEAD-QUARTERS CAPITAL,
JEFFERSON CITY, *June* 17.

To the Citizens of Cole County and the adjoining counties of Missouri:

CITIZENS: I have been appointed by the commanding General commander of this place, with the view to extend my authority over Cole and the adjacent counties, in order to preserve the peace and tranquillity of all citizens, and assist the authorities in the maintenance of the Government and of the Union, the enforcement of the constitutional laws of the country.

By the precipitate flight of Gov. C. F. Jackson and others, you have been left without State authority and without a government. This state of things would have produced lawlessness and anarchy and all their consequent evils. It has therefore been deemed necessary to supply this lack by appointing a commander of this place, having surveillance over the city and its vicinity. I therefore call upon the city authorities, as well as the authorities of this county, to continue the legal exercise of their official duties, and I will be always ready to lend them my assistance for the enforcement of the constitutional laws of the country. I do not wish to interfere with their official business, neither do I intend to meddle with the private business of the citizens. Your personal safety will be protected and your property will be respected. Slave property will not be interfered with by any part of my command, nor will slaves be allowed to enter my lines without written authority from their masters; and notwithstanding we are in times of war, I shall endeavor to execute my instructions with moderation and forbearance, and at the same time shall not suffer the least attempt to destroy the Union and its Government by the performance of any unlawful act. I shall prosecute and deliver up to the proper authorities all traitors and their accomplices, aiders, and abettors.

I call upon all friends of the Union, and upon all good citizens, to form themselves into companies of Home Guards for the protection of the Union; to arm themselves and to drill. I will be very glad to have them, as far as possible, instructed by my officers, and to contribute with all my power to their military education. Every citizen who has business with the commander of the place, or intends to bring some complaint before him, will have free access to my head-quarters from 10 to 12 o'clock.

All my soldiers will observe the strictest discipline, and I hope that the support of all good citizens will enable me to keep this city and vicinity in perfect peace and order, and to keep far from them the terror and devastation of the war.

HENRY BOERNSTEIN,
Col. Commanding 2d Regiment Mo. Volunteers.

Meantime Governor Jackson, on leaving Jefferson City, summoned the State troops to his support at Booneville, which is situated on the south bank of the Missouri River, and forty-eight miles northwest of Jefferson City. Several companies from the adjacent counties joined him, under Col. Marmaduke.

Leaving Jefferson City on the 16th, Gen. Lyon proceeded on the steamers A. McDowell, Iatan, and City of Louisiana, up the river, and stopped for the night about one mile below Providence. Early in the morning he started with his force, and reached Rochefort before six o'clock, when he learned that a small force of the State troops was a few miles below Booneville, and preparing to make a vigorous defence. Proceeding on, they discovered, about six miles from Booneville, on the bluffs, a battery, and also scouts moving. A landing was made about 7 o'clock two miles lower down, on the south bank of the river; the troops began to move on the river road to Booneville. Following it about a mile and a half to the spot where it begins to ascend the bluffs, several shots announced the driving in of the enemy's pickets. On the summit of the bluffs the enemy were posted. The Federal force advanced and opened the engagement by throwing a few nine-pounder shells, while the infantry filed to the right and left, and commenced a fire of musketry. The enemy stood their ground manfully for a time, then began to retire, and withdrew in order. The Federal force was two thousand, only a small portion of which was engaged, and its loss was two killed and nine wounded. The number of the State troops was small. They admitted ten as killed, and several as having been taken prisoners. Some shoes, guns, blankets, &c., were taken by the Federal troops. This was the first hostile collision in the State like a skirmish or battle between those representing the authority of the United States and any of the officers of the State Government or forces under them. Gen. Lyon, therefore, deemed it necessary to issue the following proclamation:

BOONEVILLE, *June* 18, 1861.

To the People of Missouri:

Upon leaving St. Louis, in consequence of war made by the Governor of this State against the Government

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of the United States, because I would not assume on its behalf to relinquish its duties, and abdicate its rights of protecting loyal citizens from the oppression and cruelty of the secessionists in this State, I published an address to the people, in which I declared my intention to use the force under my command for no other purpose than the maintenance of the authority of the General Government, and the protection of the rights and property of all law-abiding citizens.

The State authorities, in violation of an agreement with Gen. Harney on the 2d of May last, had drawn together and organized upon a large scale the means of warfare, and, having made a declaration of war, they abandoned the capital, issued orders for the destruction of the railroad and telegraph lines, and proceeded to this point to put into execution their hostile purposes towards the General Government. This devolved upon me the necessity of meeting this issue to the best of my ability, and accordingly I moved to this point with a portion of the force under my command, attacked and dispersed the hostile forces gathered here by the Governor, and took possession of the camp-equipage left, and a considerable number of prisoners, most of them young and of immature age, and who represent that they have been misled by frauds, ingeniously devised and industriously inculcated by designing leaders, who seek to devolve upon unreflecting and deluded followers the task of securing the object of their own false ambition.

Out of compassion for these misguided youths, and to correct the impressions created by unscrupulous calumniators, I liberated them upon the condition that they will not serve in the impending hostilities against the United States Government.

I have done this in spite of the well-known facts that the leaders in the present rebellion, having long experienced the mildness of the General Government, still feel confident that this mildness cannot be overtaxed even by factious hostilities, having in view its overthrow; but lest, as in the case of the late Camp Jackson affair, this clemency shall still be misconstrued, it is proper to give warning that the Government cannot always be expected to indulge in it to the compromise of its evident welfare.

Hearing that those plotting against the Government have falsely represented that the Government troops intended a forcible and violent invasion of Missouri for purposes of military despotism and tyranny, I hereby give notice to the people of this State that I shall scrupulously avoid all interference with the business, right, and property of every description recognized by the laws of the State, and belonging to law-abiding citizens. But it is equally my duty to maintain the paramount authority of the United States with such force as I have at my command, which will be retained only so long as opposition makes it necessary, and that it is my wish, and shall be my purpose, to visit any unavoidable rigor arising in this issue upon those only who provoke it.

All persons, who, under the misapprehensions above mentioned have taken up arms, or who are preparing to do so, are invited to return to their homes and relinquish their hostilities towards the Federal Government, and are assured that they may do so without being molested for past occurrences.

N. LYON,
Brigadier U. S. Army, Commanding.

On the 18th Governor Jackson was at Syracuse, about twenty-five miles south of Booneville, with about five hundred men. Property was taken from Union citizens, also the rolling stock of the railroad by the force, when they further retired to Warsaw, destroying the Lamoine bridge, a costly structure, six miles west of Syracuse. On the same day a skirmish took place near the town of Cole, between a force of Union Home Guards and State troops from Warsaw and that region, in which the former were put to flight.

Military affairs now progressed so rapidly that the force concentrated in the State reached 10,000 men, 2,500 of whom were stationed at Herman and Jefferson City, 3,200 at Rolla, the terminus of the southwest branch of the Pacific Railroad, 1,000 on the North Missouri Railroad, and 1,000 at Bird's Point, opposite Cairo. In addition to this there was a force of 2,500 remaining at St. Louis, which could be increased to 10,000 in a few hours by accessions from the neighboring camps in Illinois. These troops held the entire portion of the State north of the river, the southeast quarter lying between the Mississippi and a line drawn southward from Jefferson City to the Arkansas border, thus giving to the Federal Government the important points of St. Louis, Hannibal, St. Joseph, and Bird's Point as a base of operations, with the rivers and railroads as a means of transportation.

On the 24th the State Treasurer, the Auditor, and Land Register, who had retired with the Governor, returned to Jefferson City and took the oath of allegiance, and entered upon their duties.

The Home Guard of the capital were furnished with arms, and drilled under the direction of Col. Boernstein, and intrenchments for the defence of the place against attacks were erected. Several expeditions were sent by Gen. Lyon to various parts of the State where collections of secessionists were reported, but the latter succeeded in getting away before the arrival of the Federal troops.

In the latter part of June Gen. Fremont was ordered to take command of the Department of the West. Since Gen. Harney had been ordered to another post, Capt. Lyon, who had been promoted to a brigadier-generalship, had been in command. (*See* LYON.)

On the 5th of July a sharp engagement took place between some of Gen. Lyon's troops, under Col. Siegel, assisted by Col. Salomon, and a body of State troops under Gen. Rains and Col. Parsons, at a place called Carthage, in Jasper County, in Southwestern Missouri. (*See* CARTHAGE.) This movement of Gen. Lyon up the Missouri River, and through the central part of the State, had the effect to restrain the secessionists, and prevent them from organizing a formidable force.

On the 3d of July Gen. Lyon with his forces left Booneville for the southwestern counties of the State, intending to proceed as far as Springfield. Gen. Sweeny was in the meanwhile at Springfield with a small Union force, and on the 4th of July he issued the following proclamation, which explains in a few words the state of affairs in that quarter of the State:

HEAD-QUARTERS SOUTHWEST EXPEDITION.
SPRINGFIELD, MO., *July* 4, 1861.

To the Citizens of Southwest Missouri:

Your Governor has striven to cause the State to withdraw from the Union. Failing to accomplish this

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purpose by legislative enactment, he has already committed treason by levying war against the United States. He has endeavored to have you commit the same crime. Hence he has called for troops to enter the military service of the State, not to aid, but to oppose the Government of the United States.

The troops under my command are stationed in your midst by the proper authority of our Government. They are amongst you not as enemies, but as friends and protectors of all loyal citizens. Should an insurrection of your slaves take place, it would be my duty to suppress it, and I should use the force at my command for that purpose. It is my duty to protect all loyal citizens in the enjoyment and possession of all their property, slaves included. That duty shall be performed.

I require all troops and armed men in this part of the State now assembled, and which are arrayed against the Government of the United States, to immediately disperse and return to their homes. If this shall not be done without delay, those hordes of armed men will be taken prisoners or dispersed. I request every citizen who acknowledges he owes allegiance to the United States to aid me to prevent the shedding of blood and to restore peace and quiet to this portion of the State.

Those who have manifested a want of loyalty, either by word or act, towards the Government of the United States, are requested to appear before me, or any officer in command of any post or any detachment of troops under my command, and take an oath of allegiance to our Government. Gross misrepresentations of the oath which has already been administered to many of your most respectable citizens have been made. No loyal citizen will decline to take such an oath. It is the duty of every good citizen to bear allegiance to the Government and to support the Constitution of the United States, not to encourage secession by word or act, and to obey all legal orders emanating from the constitated authorities of the land. No loyal citizen will bear arms against his Government or give aid and support to the enemies of the country. Such, in brief, are the obligations required.

I assure you the Government of the United States will deal leniently yet firmly with all its citizens who have been misled, and who desire to maintain and preserve the best Government ever devised by human wisdom.

T. W. SWEENY, U. S. A.,
Brigadier-General Commanding.

On the 16th Gen. Lyon reached Springfield, his command being then ten miles north of the town, and having been increased by the addition of the force under Gen. Sturgis. On the 20th orders were given to Gen. Sweeny with twelve hundred men, to break up a secession camp located at Forsyth, about fifty miles south of Springfield. The troops consisted of two companies of dragoons, a section of a battery, a part of the First Iowa and the Second Kansas regiments, and some mounted Kansas Volunteers. They reached their destination at two P. M. on Monday, just in time to see the enemy rapidly retiring. Blankets, rifles, provisions, and a large quantity of lead were captured.

On the 1st of August Gen. Lyon ordered his entire command, with the exception of a small guard, to rendezvous at Crane's Creek, ten miles south of Springfield. The command was composed as follows: five companies First and Second regiments Regulars, Major Sturgis. Five companies First Regiment Missouri Volunteers, Lieut.-Col. Andrews. Two companies Second Regiment Missouri Volunteers, Major Osterhous. Three companies Third Regiment Missouri Volunteers, Col. ——. Fifth Regiment Missouri Volunteers, Col. Salomon. First Regiment Iowa Volunteers, Col. J. F. Bates. First Regiment Kansas Volunteers, Col. Deitzler. Second Regiment Kansas Volunteers, Col. Mitchell. Two companies First Regular Cavalry, Captains Stanley and Carr. Three companies First Regular Cavalry, (recruits,) Lieut. Lathrop. Captain I. Totten's battery Regular Artillery, six guns, six and twelve-pounders. Lieut. Dubois' battery Regular Artillery, four guns, six and twelve-pounders. Captain Shaeffer's battery Missouri Volunteer Artillery, six guns, six and twelve pounders.

Brigadier-Generals Sweeny, Siegel, and Major Sturgis were intrusted with the most important subsidiary commands.

The march commenced that afternoon, and the camp reached about ten o'clock that night. The next morning the march was resumed, and about five o'clock that afternoon a body of the enemy were overtaken, when a brisk interchange of shots between the skirmishers took place. Upon this, a body of the enemy's infantry, about five hundred in number, approached, apparently with the design of cutting off an advanced body of the Federal infantry. Several volleys were interchanged, when a charge was made by a body of regulars. The enemy's ranks were thus broken, and they retreated. The place of this skirmish was Dug Springs. The march was continued as far as Curran, twenty-six miles from Springfield, but the heat of the weather, shortness of provisions, and the fact that a strong Confederate force was posted in front, and a large division had also moved in the direction of Sarcoxie, while it was necessary that communication should be kept open to Springfield, led Gen. Lyon to determine to return to that town.

State troops under Gen. Price were collected in the southwestern counties, and encountered Gen. Lyon at Wilson's Creek, where a battle was fought, in which he lost his life, on the 10th of August. Gens. McCulloch and Price commanded the State troops and some Confederate forces from Arkansas. The locality of this battle is near Springfield, and it is called both Wilson's Creek and Oak Hill. (*See* WILSON'S CREEK.)

In the northern counties of Missouri there was the same division of sentiment, which was rapidly arousing a hostile spirit. Squads of troops from Illinois were soon stationed at important places, while State troops gathered to oppose them. The destruction of property and bloody skirmishes soon followed. At Monroe station, thirty miles west of Hannibal, an attack was made by secession troops, on July 11th, on the railroad station-house, which was burned with six passenger and eighteen freight cars. A portion of the railroad track was torn up on each side of the town. On the same night the bridge of the Hannibal and St. Josephs Railroad was burned. On the 15th Brig.-Gen. Hurlburt, in command of the volunteer

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force, issued a lengthy proclamation to the people of the northeastern counties, warning them that the men or body of men who venture to stand in defiance of the supreme authority of the Union, endangered their lives.

On the 16th a skirmish took place at Millville, about thirty miles above St. Charles, on the North Missouri Railroad. About eight hundred Union troops had reached this point, when the track was torn up, and they were fired upon by a secession force, and an engagement followed, in which a small number were killed and wounded on each side.

A little further south, near Fulton, in Calloway County, about twenty-three miles northeast of Jefferson City, a skirmish took place on the 17th, between Col. McNeil, with about 600 men, and Gen. Harris, with a considerable force, in which the latter were routed with a loss of several as prisoners. On the 19th Gen. Pope, who had been assigned to the command in Northern Missouri, issued the following proclamation:

ST. CHARLES, MO., *July* 19.

To the People of North Missouri:

By virtue of power and authority I have assumed command of North Missouri. I appear among you with a force strong enough to maintain the authority of the Government, and too strong to be resisted by any means in your possession usual in warfare. Upon your own assurances that you would respect the laws of the United States, and preserve the peace, no troops have hitherto been sent in your section of the country. The assurances for the last ten days, however, have plainly exhibited your lack of either the power or inclination to fully carry out the pledges, and the Government has therefore found it necessary to occupy North Missouri with a force powerful enough to impel obedience to the laws. As soon as it is made manifest that you will respect its authority and put down unlawful combinations against it, you will be relieved of the presence of the forces under my command, but not until then. I therefore warn all persons taking up arms against the National authority, who attempt to commit depredations upon public or private property, or who molest unoffending and peaceful citizens, that they will be dealt with in a most summary manner, without waiting civil process. JOHN POPE,
Brigadier-General U. S. A., Commanding.

He had previously proceeded from St. Louis to St. Charles, where his head-quarters were established, in order to take charge of that department. His command in North Missouri was seven thousand strong, and so posted that Jefferson City, Booneville, Lexington, and all the principal points in the northern parts of the State were within easy striking distance.

About the same time that Gen. Lyon left St. Louis for Jefferson City, June 15, other troops, consisting of ten companies, left for Rolla, which is the termination of the southwest branch of the Pacific Railroad, and 113 miles from St. Louis. This force was increased subsequently, and active operations took place in that section of the State.

Such is a brief notice of the actual skirmishes and battles which took place in the State during the month of July, and including the events at Dug Springs and Wilson's Creek, in the month of August. They afford a very faint indication of the excitement, the uncertainty, and the division of sentiment which existed at that time. The majority of the people, however, were evidently warm Union men, and the decided action of the State Convention secured their adhesion to the support of the Federal Government.

Meanwhile, on the 6th of July, the following call was issued for the assembling of the State Convention:

ST. LOUIS, *July* 6, 1861.

We, the undersigned, being a majority of the Committee of the Convention of the State of Missouri, charged with the duty of convening said Convention, at such time prior to the third Monday of December, 1861, and at such place as they may think the public exigencies require, do hereby notify the said Convention to assemble and meet at Jefferson City in the State of Missouri, on the 22d day of July, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and sixty-one.

R. WILSON,
J. W. McCLURE,
THOMAS T. GUNTT,
J. T. TINDALL,
JAMES R. McCORMAC.

On the 22d of July the State Convention reassembled. New questions were presented for its consideration, of which there were no precedents. The Governor, legally chosen, had gone from the capital after initiating against the National Government a military demonstration that had resulted in disaster to himself and his adherents. The Lieutenant-Governor, who, of right, should have succeeded the Governor, was a self-condemned exile from the State, and was believed to be engaged in schemes which incapacitated him for a proper discharge of the executive functions in a loyal commonwealth. Nor was the President pro tem. of the Senate present to take the place of the Lieutenant-Governor, nor the Speaker of the House to take the place of the President pro tem. Thus the Executive Department was without a head, and the important functions of Governor remained undischarged.

In the State Convention the first business was to declare the seat of Gen. Price, as President of the Convention, vacant. A committee of seven was appointed, to whom were referred several resolutions relative to the state of affairs. On the 25th the committee presented their report. It alluded at length to the unparalleled condition of affairs, the reckless course of the recent Government, and flight of the Governor and other State officers from the capital. It declared the offices of Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and Secretary of State vacant, and provided that their vacancies should be filled by the Convention, the officers so appointed to hold their positions till August, 1862, at which time it recommended a special election by the people. It proposed to repeal the ninth section of the sixth article of the Constitution, and that the Supreme Court of the State should consist of seven members; and that four members, in addition to the three comprising the court, should be appointed by the Governor chosen by the Convention, to hold

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office till 1862, when the people would decide whether the change shall be permanent. It proposed to abolish the State Legislature, and ordain that in case before the 1st of August, 1862, the Governor chosen by the Convention should consider that the public exigencies demanded, he should order a special election for members of the State Legislature. It recommended the passage of an ordinance repealing the following bills, passed by the Legislature in secret session in the month of May previous: the military fund bill, the bill to suspend the distribution of the school fund, and the bill for cultivating friendly relations with the Indian tribes. It proposed to repeal the bill authorizing the appointment of one major of the Missouri militia, and revive the militia law of 1859. The report was adopted.

The act relative to the school fund directed the Superintendent of Schools to postpone its apportionment for the year, and to let it remain in the Treasury, subject to the order of the General Assembly. This fund consisted of twenty-five per cent. (about $200,000) of the general revenue; the dividends on the State's stock in the Bank of the State of Missouri, and other amounts, the proceeds of fines and forfeitures, the whole amounting to about $250,000 per annum. This sum had for years been apportioned to the common schools of the State, and had been the chief support of those schools, rendering efficient service in the cause of education. The report of this committee was adopted. At the same time a resolution was passed that a committee of seven be appointed by the President of the Convention to prepare an address to the people of the State.

The report of the State Treasurer, in accordance with the instructions of the Convention, was made. The amount of money in the Treasury on the 24th of July was a little over $57,000. The disbursements since the adjournment of the last session of the Legislature, had been over $600,000.

A resolution was offered that there was no excuse, either in the present or future condition of the State, for default of payment of the interest on the State debt, and that it was preeminently her duty to pay it. After a lively discussion, several substitutes were offered, when the matter was referred.

On the 30th of July the Convention declared vacant the offices of Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and Secretary of State by a vote of 56 to 25. The seats of the members of the General Assembly were also declared vacant by a vote of 52 to 28. On the next day the following officers were elected: Hamilton R. Gamble, Provisional Governor; Willard P. Hall, Lieutenant-Governor; Mordecai Oliver, Secretary of State. These officers were at once inaugurated, amid general rejoicing.

The first Monday in November was fixed as the day for the election by the people of State officers.

After the transaction of some unimportant business, and the presentation of an address to the people of the State by the Convention, it adjourned until the third Monday in December, unless sooner called together by the new Government, if the public safety demanded it.

The address to the people of the State by the Convention, which was adopted on the 31st of July, states the action of the Convention and the necessity that existed for it, and closes with a vindication of its lawful power to perform what it had done. The necessity for its action arose out of the condition of affairs, which is thus described:

We have assembled in Jefferson under circumstances widely different from those that existed when the Convention adjourned its session at St. Louis.

We find high officers of the State Government engaged in actual hostilities with the forces of the United States, and blood has been spilt upon the soil of Missouri. Many of our citizens have yielded obedience to an ill-judged call of the Governor, and have assembled in arms for the purpose of repelling the invasion of the State by armed bands of lawless invaders, as the troops of the United States are designated by the Governor in his proclamation of the 17th day of June last.

We find that troops from the State of Arkansas have come into Missouri for the purpose of sustaining the action of our Governor in his contest with the United States, and this at the request of our Executive.

We find no person present, or likely soon to be present, at the seat of Government, to exercise the ordinary functions of the Executive Department, or to maintain the internal peace of the State.

We find that throughout the State there is imminent danger of civil war in its worst form, in which neighbor shall seek the life of neighbor, and bonds of society will be dissolved, and universal anarchy shall reign. If it be possible to find a remedy for existing evils, and to avert the threatened horrors of anarchy, it is manifestly the duty of your delegates, assembled in Convention, to provide such a remedy; and, in order to determine upon the remedy, it is necessary to trace very briefly the origin and progress of the evils that now afflict the State.

It is not necessary that any lengthy reference should be made to the action of those States which have seceded from the Union. We cannot remedy or recall that secession. They have acted for themselves, and must abide the consequences of their own action. So far as you have expressed your wishes, you have declared your determination not to leave the Union, and your wishes have been expressed by this Convention.

Any action of any officer of the State in conflict with your will, thus expressed, is an action in plain opposition to the principle of our Government, which recognizes the people as the source of political power, and their will as the rule of conduct for all their officers. It would have been but a reasonable compliance with your will, that after you had, through this Convention, expressed your determination to remain in the Union, your Executive and Legislative officers should not only have refrained from any opposition to your will, but should have exerted all their powers to carry your will into effect.

We have been enabled to ascertain by some correspondence of different public officers, accidentally made public, that several of these officers not only entertained and expressed opinions and wishes against the continuance of Missouri in the Union, but actually engaged in schemes to withdraw her from the Union, contrary to your known wishes.

After the adjournment of your Convention, which had expressed your purpose to remain in the Union, Governor Claiborne F. Jackson, in a letter addressed

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to David Walker, President of the Arkansas Convention, dated April 19, 1861, says: "From the beginning, my own conviction has been that the interest, duty, and honor of every slaveholding State demand their separation from the non-slaveholding States." Again, he says: "I have been, from the beginning, in favor of decided and prompt action on the part of the Southern States, but the majority of the people of Missouri, up to the present time, have differed with me." Here we have the declaration of his opinion and wishes, and the open confession that a majority of the people did not agree with him.

But he proceeds: "What their future action (meaning the future action of the people) may be, no man with certainty can predict or foretell; but my impression is, judging from the indications hourly occurring, that Missouri will be ready for secession in less than thirty days, and will secede if Arkansas will only get out of the way and give her a free passage."

It will presently be seen, by an extract from another letter, what the Governor means by being ready for secession; but it is very remarkable that he should undertake not only to say that she would be ready to secede in thirty days, but further, that she will secede, when in fact your Convention, at that time, stood adjourned to the 2d Monday of December next. His declaration that the State would secede is made, doubtless, upon some plan of his own, independent of the Convention.

Nine days after this letter to the President of the Arkansas Convention, he wrote another, addressed to J. W. Tucker, Esq., the editor of a secession newspaper in St. Louis. This letter is dated April 28, 1861. The writer says: "I do not think Missouri should secede to-day or to-morrow, but I do not think it good policy that I should so openly declare. I want a little time to arm the State, and I am assuming every responsibility to do it with all possible despatch."

Again he says: "We should keep our own counsels. Everybody in the State is in favor of arming the State; then let it be done. All are opposed to furnishing Mr. Lincoln with soldiers. Time will settle the balance. Nothing should be said about the time or the manner in which Missouri should go out. That she ought to go, and will go, at the proper time, I have no doubt. She ought to have gone last winter, when she could have seized the public arms and public property and defended herself."

Here we have the fixed mind and purpose of the Governor, that Missouri shall leave the Union. He wants time—a little time to arm the State. He thinks secrecy should be preserved by the parties with whom he acts, in keeping their counsels. He suggests that nothing should be said about the time or the manner in which Missouri should go out; manifestly implying that the time and manner of going out, which he and those with whom he acted, proposed to adopt, were some other time and manner than such as were to be fixed by the people through their Convention. It was no doubt to be a time and manner to be fixed by the Governor and the General Assembly, or by the Governor and a military body to be provided with arms during the little time needed by the Governor for that purpose.

There have been no specific disclosures made to the public of the details of this plan, but the Governor expresses his strong conviction that at the proper time the State will go out.

This correspondence of the Governor occurred at a time when there was no interference by soldiers of the United States with any of the citizens, or with the peace of the State. The event which produced exasperation through the State, the capture of Camp Jackson, did not take place until the 10th of May. Yet, the evidence is conclusive, that there was at the time of this correspondence a secret plan for taking Missouri out of the Union without any assent of the people through their Convention.

An address to the people of Missouri was issued by Thomas C. Reynolds, the Lieutenant-Governor, in which he declares that in Arkansas, Tennessee, and Virginia, his efforts have been directed unceasingly, to the best of his limited ability, to the promotion of our interests, indissolubly connected with the vindication of our speedy union with the Confederate States. Here is the second executive officer of Missouri avowedly engaged in travelling through States, which he must regard, while Missouri remains in the Union, as foreign States, and those States endeavoring, as he says, to promote the interests of our State.

The mode of promoting our interests is disclosed in another passage of the address, in which he gives the people assurance that the people of the Confederate States, though engaged in a war with a powerful foe, would not hesitate still further to tax their energies and resources at the proper time, and on a proper occasion in aid of Missouri. The mode of promoting our interests, then, was by obtaining military aid, and this while Missouri continued in the Union. The result of the joint action of the first and second executive officers of the State, has been that a body of military forces of Arkansas has actually invaded Missouri, to carry out the schemes of your own officer, who ought to have conformed to your will, as you had made it known at elections, and had expressed it by your delegates in Convention.

Still further to execute the purpose of severing the connection of Missouri with the United States, the General Assembly was called, and when assembled, sat in secret session, and enacted laws which had for their object the placing in the hands of the Governor large sums of money, to be expended in his discretion for military purposes, and a law for the organization of a military force, which was to be sustained by extraordinary taxation, and to be absolutely subject to the orders of the Governor, to act against all opposers, including the United States. By these acts, schools are closed, and the demands of humanity for the support of lunatics are denied, and the money raised for the purposes of education and benevolence may swell the fund to be expended in war.

Without referring more particularly to the provisions of these several acts, which are most extraordinary and extremely dangerous as precedents, it is sufficient to say that they display the same purpose to engage in a conflict with the General Government, and to break the connection of Missouri with the United States, which had before been manifested by Gov. Jackson. The conduct of these officers of the Legislative and Executive Departments has produced evils and dangers of vast magnitude, and your delegates in Convention have addressed themselves to the important and delicate duty of attempting to free the State from these evils.

On the same day, Lieut.-Gov. Reynolds issued a proclamation at New Madrid, addressed to the people of Missouri. He said: "I return to the State to accompany in my official capacity, one of the armies which the warrior statesman whose genius now presides over the affairs of our half of the Union, has prepared to advance against the common foe." His view of the posture of affairs, and the measures which should be adopted, is thus stated:

To provide for this very condition of things, our General Assembly, in May last, passed an act, by which, in view of the rebellion in St. Louis and the invasion of our State, the Governor was "authorized to take such measures as in his judgment he may deem necessary or proper to repel such invasion or put down such rebellion."

As that rebellion and invasion have been sanctioned by the Government and people of the North, one of the most proper measures to protect our interests is a dissolution of all connection with them. In the present condition of Missouri, the Executive is the only constitutional authority left in the free exercise of legitimate power within her limits. Her motto, "*Salus populi*

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suprema lex esto," should be his guide; to him "let the people's welfare be the highest law." Under existing circumstances it is his clear duty to accept the actual situation of affairs, and simplify the real issues, by making, under the statute above mentioned, and subject to the future control of the General Assembly and the people, a provisional declaration, in the name and on behalf of the people of Missouri, that her union with the Northern States has been dissolved by their acts of war upon her, and that she is, and of right ought to be, a sovereign, free, and independent State.

The conviction that the decision of this question can be safely left to the patriotism of Governor Jackson, and would more properly emanate from the regular executive of the State, is the only ground for my not exercising the powers of Governor temporarily in me invested, and at once issuing a formal declaration to that effect. But in order that my position, both as a citizen and officer of Missouri's Government, may be distinctly understood, I deem it proper to declare that, disregarding forms and looking to realities, I view any ordinance for her separation from the North and union with the Confederate States, as a mere outward ceremony to give notice to others of an act already consummated in the hearts of her people; and that, consequently, all persons coöperating with the expedition I accompany will expect that, in the country under its influence, no authority of the United States of America will be permitted, and that of Missouri, as a sovereign and independent State, will be exercised with a view to her speedy regular union with her Southern sisters.

He further states that the forces of the Confederate States, under the command of Gen. Pillow, had entered Missouri on the invitation of Gov. Jackson, "to aid in expelling the enemy from the State," and thus adds:

By virtue of the powers vested in the Governor by the act before mentioned, approved May, 1861, entitled "An act to authorize the Governor of the State of Missouri to suppress rebellion and repel invasion," I do hereby, as acting Governor of Missouri, in the temporary absence of Governor Jackson, authorize, empower, and request General Pillow to make and enforce such civil police regulations as he may deem necessary for the security of his forces, the preservation of order, and discipline in his camp, and the protection of the lives and property of the citizens. By virtue of the same act I also extend like authority to Brigadier-General Thompson, from whose military experience and spirit brilliant services are confidently expected, in his command of the Missouri State Guard in this district. THOMAS C. REYNOLDS,
Lieutenant-Governor of Missouri.

On the next day, August 1st, Brig.-Gen. Thompson followed with his proclamation to the people of Missouri, of which the following is an extract:

Come now, strike while the iron is hot! Our enemies are whipped in Virginia. They have been whipped in Missouri. General Hardee advances in the centre, Gen. Pillow on the right, and Gen. McCulloch on the left, with 20,000 brave Southern hearts to our aid. So leave your ploughs in the furrow, and your oxen in the yoke, and rush like a tornado upon our invaders and foes, to sweep them from the face of the earth, or force them from the soil of our State! Brave sons of the Ninth District, come and join us! We have plenty of ammunition, and the cattle on ten thousand hills are ours. We have forty thousand Belgian muskets coming; but bring your guns and muskets with you, if you have them; if not, come without them. We will strike your foes like a Southern thunderbolt, and soon our camp fires will illuminate the Merrimac and Missouri. Come, turn out!
JEFF. THOMPSON,
Brigadier-General Commanding.

After the State Convention had closed its labors, and previous to the separation of its members, Gov. Gamble and Lieut.-Gov. Hall were inaugurated, and made addresses. This was on the first day of August. On the 3d, Governor Gamble issued a proclamation to the people, in which, after stating that a most unfortunate and unnatural condition of feeling among citizens, amounting to actual hostility, and leading often to scenes of violence and bloodshed, existed in many parts of the State; also, that it was believed many citizens in arms had responded to the call of the Governor in June from a sense of obligation to obey the State authority, &c., he thus expresses the special object of his proclamation:

Now, therefore, I, Hamilton R. Gamble, Governor of the State of Missouri, in view of the foregoing facts, do hereby strictly charge and enjoin upon all sheriffs and other magistrates who are conservators of the peace, to use all the powers conferred upon them by law in arresting and bringing to punishment all persons who disturb the public peace, by using violence against any of their fellow-citizens, and especially are you charged to bring to justice all who combine to practise violence against other persons on account of their political opinions; and if force should be employed to resist you in the discharge of your duties to an extent that you cannot overcome by the means provided by law, you are charged to make known that fact to this Department, that proper measures may be taken in such case.

It is enjoined upon all citizens that they perform the duty of giving information of deposits of munitions of war belonging to the State, that they may come to the possession of the State without being captured by the troops of the United States.

It is further enjoined upon all citizens of suitable age to enroll themselves in military organizations, that they may take part in the defence of the State.

All citizens who are embodied under the act of the last session of the General Assembly, popularly called the "Military Law," are notified that the law has been abrogated, the troops disbanded, the commissions issued under it, as well as the commission under the act of the same session for the appointment of a Major-General, have been annulled, and all soldiers and officers are enjoined to cease action in a military capacity.

The officers and their troops belonging to the Confederate States, who have invaded Missouri, are notified that it is against the will of the people of Missouri that they should continue upon the soil of this State, and that their continuance in Missouri will be considered an act of war, designed to bring upon our State the horrors of war, which Missouri desires to avoid. They are therefore notified to depart at once from the State.

Given under my hand as Governor, and under the great seal of the State of Missouri, at Jefferson City, this 3d day of August, 1861.
HAMILTON R. GAMBLE.

Since the Governor's proclamation was written the following despatch has been received:
M. OLIVER, Secretary of State.

WASHINGTON, *Aug.* 3, 1861.

To His Excellency, H. R. Gamble, Governor of Missouri:

In reply to your message addressed to the President, I am directed to say that if, by a proclamation, you promise security to citizens in arms who voluntarily return to their allegiance and become peaceable and loyal, this Government will cause the promise to be respected. I have the honor to be, &c.,
SIMON CAMERON, Secretary of War.

Two days after, on the 5th, Gov. Jackson,

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who had hastily returned from Richmond, issued a provisional declaration of the independence of the State, and her separation from the Union. The reasons given to justify a separation of the State from the Federal Union, which had emphatically bought her territory and nurtured her institutions, were as follows:

In repeated instances, the Government and people of the States now remaining in that Union have grossly violated, in their conduct towards the people and State of Missouri, both the Constitution of the United States and that of Missouri, as well as the general, great, and essential principles of liberty and free government. Their President, Abraham Lincoln, in avowed defiance of law and the Constitution of the United States, and under the tyrant's plea of necessity, has assumed to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States, stopping by violence our trade with our Southern neighbors, and depriving our citizens of the right secured to them by a special, solemn compact with the United States, to the free navigation of the Mississippi River. He has usurped powers granted exclusively to Congress, in declaring war against the Confederate States; to carry on this unholy attempt to reduce a free people into slavish subjection to him, he has, in violation of the Constitution, raised and supported armies, and provided and maintained a navy.

Regardless of the right reserved to the States respectively, of training the militia and appointing its officers, he has enlisted and armed, contrary to law, under the name of Home Guards, whole regiments of men, foreigners and others, in our State, to defy the constitutional authorities and plunder and murder our citizens. By armed force and actual bloodshed he has even attempted to deprive the people of their right to keep and bear arms, in conformity to the State laws, and to form a well-regulated militia necessary to the security of a free State. With his sanction, his soldiers have been quartered in houses without the consent of the owners thereof, and without any authority of law. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, has been habitually and grossly violated by his officers, acting under his orders. He has utterly ignored the binding force of our constitutional State laws, and carried his insolence to such an extent as to introduce, from other States, free negroes into our midst and place them in positions of authority over our white citizens.

He has encouraged the stealing of our slave property. In these and other proceedings the Government and people of the Northern States have unmistakably shown their intention to overturn the social institutions of Missouri, and reduce her white citizens to an equality with the blacks. In the execution of his despotic wishes, his agents, without even rebuke from him, have exhibited a brutality scarcely credible of a nation pretending to civilization. Even women and children of tender age have fallen victims to the unbridled license of his unfeeling soldiery. He has avowedly undertaken to make the civil power subordinate to the military; and with the despicable and cowardly design of thus protecting himself and his accomplices, by binding the consciences of the unhappy victims of his tyranny, he has exacted from peaceful citizens, guilty of no crime, an oath to support his detestable Government. To crush out even peaceful and lawful opposition to it, he has forcibly and unconstitutionally suspended the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*, and abridged the freedom of speech and of the press by subjecting innocent citizens to punishment for mere opinion's sake, and by preventing the publication of newspapers independent enough to expose his treason to liberty.

The Governor further states that the acts of President Lincoln had been endorsed by the Congress and people of the Northern States, and the war thus commenced by him had been made the act of the Government and nation over which he ruled, &c. He thus concludes:

Now, therefore, by virtue of the authority in me vested by said act, I, Claiborne F. Jackson, Governor of the State of Missouri, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of my intentions, and firmly believing that I am herein carrying into effect the will of the people of Missouri, do hereby, in their name, by their authority, and on their behalf, and subject at all times to their free and unbiased control, make and publish this provisional declaration, that by the acts of the people and Government of the United States of America, the political connection heretofore existing between said States and the people and government of Missouri is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that the State of Missouri, as a sovereign, free, and independent republic, has full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do.

Published and declared at New Madrid, Missouri, this fifth day of August, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and sixty-one.

CLAIBORNE F. JACKSON,
Governor of Missouri.

On the 26th of July Gen. Fremont arrived at St. Louis to take command of the Western Department. Military preparations were immediately commenced with great vigor. Troops from the adjoining States poured into St. Louis and were encamped there, or were sent into the interior or to Cairo. At the same time Confederate forces were concentrating in Southwestern Missouri in large numbers. Early in August they advanced towards Springfield, where Gen. Lyon was encamped.

St. Louis was the prize before them, and its ultimate possession would transfer the entire State to the Confederate Government. The force of Gen. Lyon was the first obstacle to be removed.

The battle at Wilson's Creek had in its effects proved quite disastrous to Gens. McCulloch and Price. It not only served to check their progress, but discouraged many lukewarm sympathizers. Although a proclamation was issued by the former on the 12th, and by the latter on the 20th, boasting of a great victory, Gen. Pillow remained quiet at New Madrid, and Gen. Hardee at Greenville. Meanwhile, the accumulation and organization of Union troops at St. Louis and other points, added to the strength of Gen. Fremont. Stringent regulations were adopted by Gen. Pope on August 13th, under which the navigation of the Missouri River was kept open for traffic.

Near the close of August, however, the Confederates had acquired such strength as to become very bold. Recruiting for them had been successful in the western part of the State. In the border counties bodies of men were organizing to coöperate with McCulloch in his still contemplated advance. A lack of provision was the chief embarrassment to the Confederate force at this time. Gen. Pillow was also at this time contemplating a movement, and also Thompson, who was near Benton in Scott

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County, while the former was at New Madrid. Amid these exciting circumstances Gen. Fremont issued the following proclamation, with its accompanying special military order:

HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE WESTERN DEPARTMENT,
ST. LOUIS, *August* 31, 1861.

Circumstances, in my judgment, of sufficient urgency, render it necessary that the Commanding General of this Department should assume the administrative powers of the State. Its disorganized condition, the helplessness of the civil authority, the total insecurity of life, and the devastation of property by bands of murderers and maranders, who infest nearly every county of the State, and avail themselves of the public misfortunes and the vicinity of a hostile force to gratify private and neighborhood vengeance, and who find an enemy wherever they find plunder, finally demand the severest measures to repress the daily increasing crimes and outrages which are driving off the inhabitants and ruining the State.

In this condition the public safety and the success of our arms require unity of purpose, without let or hindrance, to the prompt administration of affairs.

In order, therefore, to suppress disorder, to maintain, as far as now practicable, the public peace, and to give security and protection to the persons and property of loyal citizens, I do hereby extend and declare established martial law throughout the State of Missouri.

The lines of the army of occupation in this State are for the present declared to extend from Leavenworth by way of the posts of Jefferson City, Rolla, and Ironton, to Cape Girardeau, on the Mississippi River.

All persons who shall be taken with arms in their hands within these lines, shall be tried by court-martial, and if found guilty, will be shot.

The property, real and personal, of all persons, in the State of Missouri, who shall take up arms against the United States, or who shall be directly proven to have taken an active part with their enemies in the field, is declared to be confiscated to the public use, and their slaves, if any they have, are hereby declared free men.

All persons who shall be proven to have destroyed, after the publication of this order, railroad tracks, bridges, or telegraphs, shall suffer the extreme penalty of the law.

All persons engaged in treasonable correspondence, in giving or procuring aid to the enemies of the United States, in fomenting tumults, in disturbing the public tranquillity by creating and circulating false reports or incendiary documents, are in their own interests warned that they are exposing themselves to sudden and severe punishment.

All persons who have been led away from their allegiance are required to return to their homes forthwith; any such absence, without sufficient cause, will be held to be presumptive evidence against them.

The object of this declaration is to place in the hands of the military authorities the power to give instantaneous effect to existing laws, and to supply such deficiencies as the conditions of war demand. But it is not intended to suspend the ordinary tribunals of the country, where the law will be administered by the civil officers in the usual manner, and with their customary authority, while the same can be peaceably exercised.

The Commanding General will labor vigilantly for the public welfare, and in his efforts for their safety hopes to obtain not only the acquiescence, but the active support of the loyal people of the country.

J. C. FREMONT, Major-General Commanding.

SPECIAL MILITARY ORDER.

HEAD-QUARTERS, WESTERN DEPARTMENT,
ST. LOUIS, *August* 30, 1861.

The Commanding General sincerely regrets that he finds it necessary to make any reproach to the patriotic army under his command. He had hoped that the rigid enforcement of discipline and the good example of the mass of the enlightened soldiery which he has the honor to lead, would have been sufficient to correct in good time the irregularities and license of the few who have reflected discredit upon our cause and ourselves.

But the extension of martial law to all the State of Missouri, rendered suddenly necessary by its unhappy condition, renders it equally imperative to call the army to good order and rigorous discipline. They are reminded that the power to inflict the extraordinary severities of the now governing law is rigidly confined to few, who are to be held strictly accountable for its exercise. They are also reminded that the same necessity which requires the establishment of martial law, demands also the enforcement of the military law, which governs themselves with the same sudden severity.

The Commanding General therefore strictly prohibits all vexatious proceedings calculated unnecessarily to harass the citizens, and also unauthorized searches, seizures, and destruction of property, except in cases of military necessity, and for which the officer authorizing or permitting it will be held strictly and personally responsible.

All officers commanding districts, posts, or detachments, are enjoined to use the utmost prudence and circumspection in the discharge of their duties. Under the circumstances, a strict obedience to orders, close attention to duties, and an earnest effort to protect and to avoid harassing innocent persons, is requested and expected everywhere from officers and men.

The Commanding General trusts that he will find few occasions to reproach the troops. He hopes and believes that he will find many to admire and commend them.

J. C. FREMONT,
Major-General Commanding.

This proclamation, so far as it related to the manumission of slaves, was subsequently modified by President Lincoln. (*See* SLAVES.)

On the 12th of September another proclamation was issued by Gen. Fremont, carrying into effect that provision of the former proclamation relating to slaves. It was as follows:

HEAD-QUARTERS, WESTERN DEPARTMENT,
ST. LOUIS, *Sept.* 12, 1861.

The Major-General commanding the Western Department, having satisfactory evidence that Thomas L. Snead, of the city and county of St. Louis and State of Missouri, has been taking active part with the enemies of the United States, in the present insurrectionary movements against its Government; and the Military Commission, now in session at the arsenal in this city, having reported the fact to these head-quarters as the result of its deliberations, the Major-General commanding has executed and ordered to be published the following deeds of manumission:

HEAD-QUARTERS, WESTERN DEPARTMENT.

Whereas Thomas L. Snead, of the city and county of St. Louis, State of Missouri, has been taking active part with the enemies of the United States, in the present insurrectionary movement against the Government of the United States; now, therefore, I, John Charles Fremont, Major-General commanding the Western Department of the Army of the United States, by authority of law and the power vested in me as such commanding General, declare Frank Lewis, heretofore held to "service or labor" by said Thomas L. Snead, to be free, and forever discharged from the bonds of servitude, giving him full right and authority to have, use, and control his own labor or service, as to him may seem proper, without any accountability whatever to said Thomas L. Snead, or any one to claim by, through, or under him. And this deed of manumission shall be respected and treated by all persons and in all courts of justice, as the full and complete evidence of the freedom of said Frank Lewis.

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In testimony whereof this act is done, at Head-quarters of the Western Department of the Army of the United States, in the city of St. Louis, State of Missouri, on the twelfth day of September, A. D. eighteen hundred and sixty-one, and is evidenced by the departmental seal, hereto affixed by his order.

J. C. FREMONT,
Major-General Commanding.

HEAD-QUARTERS, WESTERN DEPARTMENT.

Done at the office of the Provost-Marshal, in the city of St. Louis, this twelfth day of September, A. D. one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, at nine o'clock in the evening of said day. Witness my hand and seal of office hereto affixed. J. McKINSTRY,
Brigadier-General Provost-Marshal.

A similar deed was given at the same time to Hiram Reed, another slave belonging to Thos. L. Snead.

Under the operation of martial law, Provost-Marshal McKinstry, on the 31st of August, issued orders peremptorily forbidding any person to pass beyond the limits of the county without a special permit from his office, and railroad, steamboat, ferry, and other agents were prohibited from selling tickets to any one not holding a pass from the provost-marshal. The order was aimed specially to reach parties leaving the city for the purpose of communicating information to the enemy. (*See* MARTIAL LAW.)

The month of September was passed by the Federal commander chiefly in making preparations for future movements. His plan appears to have been to advance on the southwestern part of the State with such an overwhelming military force as would compel the Confederate commanders to evacuate Missouri and to retire to the adjoining States for defence. A large army from the northwest was therefore gathered at St. Louis, and at the same time a line of fortifications was commenced around it. The object of this work was not to protect the city in consequence of any danger, at the time, of capture by the enemy, but because, with such a line of redoubts, redans, and lunettes, garrisoned by a few hundred or a thousand troops, and mounted with heavy artillery, the larger part of the army could be spared for the southwest expedition. Thus Gen. Fremont could assume an aggressive position.

The capture of Lexington and Col. Mulligan's troops by Gen. Price, on the 21st of Sept., was the most important affair to the Confederates which occurred in the State. (*See* LEXINGTON.) It doubtless caused Gen. Fremont, on Sept. 27th, to hasten from St. Louis to Jefferson City. On the 3d of October the Confederates abandoned Lexington, and as the Union force concentrated at Jefferson City, Gen. Price retired to Springfield and still further south. His force was variously estimated at this time at twenty thousand men and upwards. The original purpose of Gen. Price had been to move from Lexington northward and destroy the railroad, and then attack the Federal forces in Northwestern Missouri, but the approach of Fremont prevented its accomplishment. No one of the Confederate generals sustained his position so well as Gen. Price, with the slender resources at his command. It was necessarily, therefore, a part of his system of operations to avoid a doubtful conflict. Retiring produced no discouragement upon his men. At the same time, by retiring, he came nearer to Arkansas, from whence he could expect supplies and reënforcements, whilst the Federal force, on advancing, would be removed further and further from its chief source of supplies. The advance of Gen. Fremont, in the southwest, was made in five divisions, under Gens. Hunter, Pope, Siegel, Asboth, and McKinstry. Each division was subdivided, and was composed of cavalry, artillery, and infantry, ambulances, &c., and whatever was necessary to enable it to act independently. Gen. Fremont accompanied the advance with Gens. Siegel and Asboth.

On the 14th of October he arrived at Warsaw on the Osage River, sixty-five miles southwest of Jefferson City, where he prepared to cross by means of bridges. On the opposite bank was a considerable Confederate cavalry force at the time of his arrival, which was dispersed by canister-shot. The bridge was finished about the 21st, and on the 26th the troops reached Bolivar. Gen. Fremont left on Sunday with Gen. Siegel by forced marches, for Springfield. Gen. McKinstry still continued at Warsaw with the reserve, and Gen. Pope was on the other side of the Osage. Gen. Hunter was with the right wing advancing, and Gen. Sturgis with the left. On the 27th Gen. Fremont arrived at Springfield, where the national flag was displayed by the people with every demonstration of joy. On the 25th the brilliant charge was made by Major Zagonyi with a hundred and fifty of Gen. Fremont's Body Guard upon a force of the enemy about half a mile west of the town, by which the enemy were dispersed. (*See* SPRINGFIELD.)

The retreat of Gen. Price had been steadily in advance of the Union troops. On the 13th he was at Clintonville, Cedar County, twenty-five miles south of Papinsville, on the Carthage road. His entire army had passed the Osage. On the 17th he was expected by the Union general to make a stand, and again on the 19th. On the 24th he was at Neosho, in Newton County, and had united with Gen. McCulloch. The Legislature of the State had convened here at this time. Only a small number of members were present. In Northwestern Missouri, Col. Morgan, on the 19th, with 220 of the Eighteenth Missouri had a skirmish with a larger Confederate force at Big Harrison Creek in Carrol County. Fourteen of the enemy were reported to have been killed, and eight were taken prisoners. The Federal loss was two killed and fourteen wounded. On the 21st the Confederate garrison at Fredericktown was surprised by a portion of the First Missouri Regiment, and the town recaptured.

In Southwestern Missouri, a skirmish took place near Lebanon on the 13th of October between two companies of mounted men under Major Wright and a small body of secession

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cavalry, in which the latter were surprised and routed with a small loss. On the 17th a skirmish took place near Pilot Knob, and on the 22d another at Fredericktown. (*See* FREDERICKTOWN.) Several other skirmishes of small importance, otherwise than as showing the activity of both Federal and secession troops, occurred during the month of October.

On the 1st of November an agreement was entered into between Gens. Fremont and Price that a joint proclamation should be signed by both, and issued, which should provide for certain objects therein specified, as follows:

To all peaceably disposed Citizens of the State of Missouri, greeting: Whereas, a solemn agreement has been entered into by and between Major-Generals Fremont and Price, respectively commanding antagonistic forces in the State of Missouri, to the effect that in future, arrests or forcible interference by armed or unarmed parties of citizens within the limits of said State, for the mere entertainment or expression of political opinions shall hereafter cease; that families, now broken up for such causes, may be reunited, and that the war now progressing shall be exclusively confined to armies in the field. Therefore be it known to all whom it may concern:

1. No arrests whatever on account of political opinions, or for the merely private expression of the same shall hereafter be made within the limits of the State of Missouri; and all persons who may have been arrested and are held to answer on such charges only, shall be forthwith released. But it is expressly declared, that nothing in this proclamation shall be construed to bar, or interfere with any of the usual and regular proceedings of the established courts under statutes and orders made and provided for such offences.

2. All peaceably disposed citizens who may have been driven from their homes because of their political opinions, or who may have left them for fear of force or violence, are hereby advised and permitted to return, upon the faith of our positive assurances that, while so returning, they shall receive protection from both armies in the field whenever it can be given.

3. All bodies of armed men acting without the authority or recognition of the Major-Generals before named, and not legitimately connected with the armies in the field, are hereby ordered at once to disband.

4. Any violation of either of the foregoing articles shall subject the offender to the penalty of military law, according to the nature of the offence. In testimony whereof, the aforesaid Major-General John C. Fremont, at Springfield, Mo., on the 1st day of November, A. D. 1861, and Major-General Sterling Price, at Cassville, on this 5th day of November, A. D. 1861, have hereunto set their hands, and hereby mutually pledge their earnest efforts to the enforcement of the above articles of agreement, according to their full tenor and effect, to the best of their ability.

JOHN C. FREMONT,
Major-General Commanding U. S. A.
STERLING PRICE,
Maj.-General Commanding Missouri State Guards.

After the removal of Gen. Fremont, the command devolved on Gen. Hunter, who, on the 7th of November, addressed a letter to Gen. Price, in which he recapitulated the agreement, and said: "As General commanding the forces of the United States in this Department, I can in no manner recognize the agreement aforesaid, or any of its provisions, whether implied or direct, and I can neither issue, nor allow to be issued, the 'joint proclamation' purporting to have been signed by yourself and Major-General Fremont, on the 1st day of November, A. D. 1861."

Some of the objections of Gen. Hunter to this agreement, were that it would render the enforcement of martial law impossible, that it would practically annul the confiscation act of Congress, &c.

On the 2d day of November, Gen. Fremont, at Springfield, received the order for his removal from the command of the Department of the West. He had arrived there only a few days previous at the head of an army, and was then in the act of marching on after a retiring enemy. Although not altogether unexpected, it occasioned much excitement in the army, and many officers were disposed to resign, declaring that they would serve under no other commander. Gen. Fremont, however, issued a patriotic farewell address, urging the army to cordially support his successor, and expressing regret to leave on the eve of a battle they were sure to win. The following is his address:

HEAD-QUARTERS, WESTERN DEPARTMENT.
SPRINGFIELD, *Nov.* 2, 1861.

Soldiers of the Mississippi Army: Agreeably to orders received this day, I take leave of you. Although our army has been of sudden growth, we have grown up together, and I have become familiar with the brave and generous spirits which you bring to the defence of your country, and which makes me anticipate for you a brilliant career. Continue as you have begun, and give to my successor the same cordial and enthusiastic support with which you have encouraged me. Emulate the splendid example which you have already before you, and let me remain as I am, proud of the noble army which I have thus far labored to bring together.

Soldiers, I regret to leave you. Most sincerely I thank you for the regard and confidence you have invariably shown me. I deeply regret that I shall not have the honor to lead you to the victory which you are just about to win; but I shall claim the right to share with you in the joy of every triumph, and trust always to be personally remembered by my companions in arms.

JOHN C. FREMONT,
Major-General.

So much complaint had been made relative to the management of the Western Department by General Fremont, that the Secretary of War proceeded to St. Louis for the purpose of investigation. An interview with Gen. Fremont took place at Tipton, and when about to return from St. Louis to Washington, the Secretary issued the following order:

ST. LOUIS, *Oct.* 14, 1861.

GENERAL: The Secretary of War directs me to communicate the following as his instructions for your government:

In view of the heavy sums due, especially in the Quartermaster's Department in this city, amounting to some $4,500,000, it is important that the money which may now be in the hands of the disbursing officers, or be received by them, be applied to the current expenses of your army in Missouri, and these debts to remain unpaid until they can be properly examined and sent to Washington for settlement; the disbursing officers of the army to disburse the funds, and not transfer them to irresponsible agents—in other words, those who do not hold commissions from the President, and are not under bonds. All contracts necessary to be made by the disbursing officers. The senior Quartermaster here has been verbally instructed by the Secretary as above.

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It is deemed unnecessary to erect field-works around this city, and you will direct their discontinuance; also those, if any, in course of construction at Jefferson City. In this connection, it is seen that a number of commissions have been given by you. No payments will be made to such officers, except to those whose appointments have been approved by the President. This, of course, does not apply to the officers with volunteer troops. Col. Andrews has been verbally so instructed by the Secretary; also, not to make transfers of funds, except for the purpose of paying the troops.

The erection of barracks near your quarters in this city to be at once discontinued.

The Secretary has been informed that the troops of Gen. Lane's command are committing depredations on our friends in Western Missouri. Your attention is directed to this, in the expectation that you will apply the corrective.

Major Allen desires the services of Capt. Turnley for a short time, and the Secretary hopes you may find it proper to accede thereto.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant, L. THOMAS, Adjutant-General.

Major-General J. C. FREMONT,
Commanding Department of the West, Tipton.

Gen. Fremont immediately surrendered his command to Gen. Hunter, and returned to St. Louis, where he arrived on the 8th of November, and found a large assemblage gathered to greet him. He immediately proceeded to his head-quarters, and soon after a procession bearing torches, preceded by music, and surrounded by a vast concourse of citizens, arrived there. A committee previously appointed entered and delivered the following address and resolutions:

Major-General John C. Fremont:

SIR: We are instructed by the citizens of St. Louis to welcome you to our city, and perform the duty imposed upon us, with mingled feelings of sorrow and pleasure. While we deeply regret the occasion of your presence among us, we rejoice in the unmistakable manifestation of the unflagging sympathy of the people. They have witnessed with astonishment and indignation the event, unprecedented in history, of your removal from the command, while in active pursuit of the enemy, and on the very eve of reaping the fruits of your incessant and successful labors. The true causes which led to your recall are well understood and appreciated. You have risen too fast in popular favor. The policy announced in your proclamation, although hailed as a political and military necessity, furnished your ambitious rivals and enemies with a welcome weapon for your intended destruction.

The harbingers of truth will ever be crucified by the Pharisees.

We cannot be deceived by shallow and flimsy pretexts, by unfounded and slanderous reports.

We entertain no doubt of your ability to speedily confound and silence your traducers. The day of reckoning is not far distant, and the people will take care that the schemes of your opponents shall in the end be signally defeated.

As loyal citizens, we follow your example in yielding due obedience to the edicts of the powers that be.

With you we join in the hope that the enthusiasm with which you have imbued the army created by, and devoted to you, may lead them to victory, even in the absence of their legitimate leader. Should we meet with reverses, no fault will be charged upon you; should victory perch on our banners, the wreath of triumph will be placed on your brow by the verdict of the country.

Permit us to assure you that when the smoke of battle shall have passed away, and peace shall be restored to us, an appeal to the people from the action of its servants will be triumphantly sustained.

In pursuance of our instructions, we take pleasure in presenting to you a copy of resolutions unanimously adopted by the citizens of St. Louis, in mass meeting assembled.

Resolutions.—We, the citizens of St. Louis, of German extraction, in mass meeting assembled to give expression of our sentiments towards Major-General John C. Fremont, have solemnly and unanimously resolved:

1. That we recognize in John C. Fremont the embodiment of our patriotic feeling and political faith.

2. That, notwithstanding many paralyzing circumstances, he has performed his arduous and responsible task with all possible energy and honesty.

3. That we admire his impartiality and sagacity in selecting his military counsellors, without national prejudices, from among such men as he considered true and worthy of his confidence.

4. That we will stand by him as long as he shall prove true to himself.

5. That while we submit to the action of the Government, as behooves loyal citizens, we regret to be deprived at the present moment of his services in conquering the rebel enemy, and believe we recognize in this event a wise Providence, which may have reserved him for a still wider sphere of action in future times.

Gen. Fremont with much emotion replied:

GENTLEMEN: I wish to say to you that your kind and affectionate—I may say affectionate—reception of me moves my heart. It cheers me and strengthens my confidence—my confidence, already somewhat wavering—in our republican institutions. I felt all day as we passed through the country—I feel emphatically, to-night—that the faithful servant of the people, honestly laboring in the public cause, will not be allowed to suffer undeserved, and I feel stronger.

Since I left you a few weeks ago, many accusations have been rained on my defenceless head—defenceless because my face was turned to the public enemy. What I see and hear to-night, the address you have just read to me, and the approving multitude below, show me that I was not wrong in leaving my defence with you. In regard to the baser charges made against me, I will say nothing now. You do not require it; to speak of them would jar upon the generous feelings with which you come here to-night. Others have been already answered by my brave soldiers at Springfield; and others, of gross incompetency and a weak and aimless administration, to all of these I will adopt your address and the shouts of the grand multitude below as my answer. And, for all this, gentlemen, to you and to them, I renew my thanks with all my heart, which, to-night, is roused to full sensibility by the hearty and unqualified expression of your confidence and approbation, so valuable and grateful to me in my actual position.

I shall soon have occasion, for I shall make occasion, to answer all these charges more definitely. Until then, I will rely upon this evening for my defence.

The crowd outside becoming impatient, he presented himself, but the high wind prevailing rendered it impossible for him to address them. Subsequently, a committee appointed by the U. S. House of Representatives to investigate the management of affairs at St. Louis, as well as other matters, made a report containing statements which seriously detract from the fitness of the Commanding General for the position which he held, but do not affect his personal honor.

On the 11th of October the State Convention re-assembled at St. Louis. The Governor, in his Message to that body, asked for a simple and more efficient military law, and recommended measures to provide means to carry on

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the State Government, and to meet the present emergencies.

An ordinance was adopted to postpone the State election until the first Monday in November, 1862, and providing for the continuance of the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and Secretary of State in office until their successors should be duly appointed. Another ordinance was passed providing for the abolition of certain offices, reducing salaries, &c., which contained a section providing that all persons taking the oath prescribed by the ordinance, within thirty days after its passage, should be exempt from arrest or punishment for taking up arms against the Provisional Government of the State, or giving aid and comfort to its enemies in this civil war; and the Governor was directed to request the President, in the name of the people of Missouri, by proclamation, to exempt all persons taking the said oath from all penalties incurred by taking up arms against the United States, or giving aid and comfort to the enemy in the present civil war.

The objects before the Convention having been accomplished by providing sufficient funds, and authorizing the State officers to continue until their successors were appointed, the Convention adjourned to the first Monday in November, 1862.

The Federal force in Missouri at this time was estimated at 27,000 men, of whom 5,000 were under the command of Gen. Hunter, 4,000 under Gen. Siegel, 4,500 under Gen. Asboth, 5,500 under Gen. McKinstry, 4,000 under Gen. Pope, under Gen. Lane 2,500, and under Gen. Sturgis 1,000.

On the 6th of November the army was in good spirits at Springfield. Gen. Fremont had left, and no battle was then soon expected. The chief command was held by Gen. Hunter, the oldest officer in the field, who expected soon to be superseded by Gen. Halleck. Gen. Price fell back near the State line, and remained until the Federal army began to recede, about the 15th. They were accompanied by long trains of emigrant wagons containing Union refugees. As they retired, Gen. Price followed up after them. The advance of Gen. Price was made in three divisions, and with the intention of moving upon Kansas, and making that the field of future operations. The opinion in the Confederate States was that Gen. Price never had any difficulty to procure men. His only obstacle had been the want of arms.

On the 30th of November his right wing, 6,000 strong, was at Stockton. The left wing held position near Nevada under Gen. Rains, 4,000 strong. The centre, under Gen. Price, 5,000 strong, was near Monticello.

In Boone County, on the 3d, Gen. Prentiss broke up a secession camp, with some loss on both sides.

On the 18th of November Gen. H. W. Halleck arrived at St. Louis, and took command of the Western Department. Gens. Sturgis and Wyman arrived on the same day. The divisions of Gen. Hunter and Pope had reached different points on the Pacific Railroad, there to await the orders of Gen. Halleck. About the 20th the divisions of Gens. Siegel and Asboth arrived at St. Louis.

The plan of Gen. Price now, was to approach the borders of Kansas, and supply his forces with arms, destroy the track of the Northern Railroad, and thus cut off the communication with St. Louis. This, however, was defeated by the strategical combinations of Gen. Halleck, and on the 25th of December almost a clean sweep had been made of the country between the Missouri and Osage rivers, and Gen. Price was cut off from all supplies and recruits from Northern Missouri, and in full retreat for Arkansas.

In the last two weeks of December, the Federal army captured 2,500 prisoners, including seventy commissioned officers, 1,200 horses and mules, 1,100 stand of arms, two tons of powder, 100 wagons, and an immense amount of commissary stores and camp equipage. Several skirmishes took place during these operations. On the 22d of November the town of Warsaw was burned by incendiaries, to prevent its further occupation by Union troops. At Salem a skirmish took place on the 3d of December, between a small Federal force and a body of State Guards. Several were killed and wounded on both sides. At Shawnee Mound, on the 18th of December, Gen. Pope captured 150 Confederate prisoners, with wagons, tents, and baggage. At Milford, on the 18th, a body of the enemy were surrounded, and surrendered. Thirteen hundred prisoners were taken, including three colonels and seventeen captains, and one thousand stand of arms, one thousand horses, sixty-five wagons, and a large quantity of tents, baggage, and supplies.

A list of all the battles and skirmishes is given on the following page.

This close of military operations in the State at the approach of winter left Gen. Halleck free to use a large part of his army in Western Kentucky. The struggle in the State during the year was vigorous and active, especially on the part of Gen. Price, under the contracted resources at his command.

It was stated at Richmond, Va., that after the capture of Mulligan, Gen. Price intended to attack Gen. Fremont before he could concentrate his army, but was prevented by a lack of ammunition from executing his design. When Lexington surrendered he had but 2,000 percussion caps in his whole command. He sent to Gen. Hardee and to Gen. McCulloch for a supply, but for some reason it was not sent. It was thought at that time in Richmond that if Gen. Price had been zealously and efficiently seconded, he would soon have driven the Federal force from Missouri, and thus have secured to the Confederacy one of the most important Western States. A consequence of such an acquisition would involve the destinies of Kansas, the Indian Nation, Arizona, and New Mexico. The

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Battles and Skirmishes in Missouri in 1861.

Place.	Date.	Federal Loss.			Confed. Loss.		
		Killed.	Wounded.	Prisoners.	Killed.	Wounded.	Prisoners.
Athens	Aug. 5	..	..	..	43	..	..
Belmont	Nov. 6	84	288	235	261	427	278
" Naval	" 6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bird's Point	July 8	..	..	..	3	8	..
Bennett's Mills	Sept. 1	2	8	..	..	..	..
Big Harrison Creek	Oct. 19	2	14	..	14	..	8
Big River Bridge	Oct. 15	1	7	52	20	4	..
Bolivar Heights	Oct. 16	7	..	..	150	..	..
Blue Mills Landing	Sept. 17	16	80	..	10	60	..
Booneville	June 17	2	..	..	50	..	..
"	Sept. 13	1	4	..	12	30	..
Camp Talbot	Sept. 16	..	..	..	30	..	5
Carthage	July 5	13	81	..	300	..	..
Cass County	Nov. 16	1	6	..	40	..	17
Charlestown	Aug. 18	..	..	..	..	..	49
"	Oct. 1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cole	June 18	..	..	..	15	20	30
Dent County	Sept. 1	2	7	..	..	..	..
Dyer's Mills*	Oct. 28	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dug Spring	Aug. 2	8	30	..	40	44	..
Dunksburg	Dec. 2	..	..	..	7	10	..
Farmington	July 1	..	..	..	5	..	..
Florida†	July 8	..	..	..	..	..	..
Forsyth	July 28	..	..	..	5	7	..
Fredericktown	Aug. 16	..	..	..	..	..	12
Fredericktown	Oct. 22	30	..	..	200	..	..
Fulton	July 17	..	..	..	..	..	..
Georgetown	Aug. 11	..	..	..	..	..	22
Glasgow	Dec. 7	..	..	..	..	..	35
Greytown	Aug. 29	..	..	..	..	..	23
Hoiston	Nov. 4	..	..	..	..	..	32
Jefferson City‡	June 15	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lancaster	Nov. 24	1	2	..	13	..	..
Liberty	June 19	..	..	..	..	..	35
Lebanon	Oct. 13	1	..	..	27	12	36
Linn Creek	Oct. 14	..	..	..	..	..	37
"	Sept. 10	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lexington	Oct. 16	..	..	..	..	..	60
"	Aug. 29	1	6	..	8	20	..
"	Sept. 20	42	68	2500	25	75	..
Mil's Landing	Sept. 17	12	85	..	..	..	..
Millville	July 16	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mariatown	Sept. 17	..	..	..	7	..	..
Neosho	July 3	..	..	..	..	..	94
Norfolk, Naval	Sept. 19	..	1	..	..	***7	..
Osceola	Dec. 17	..	..	..	..	..	300
Papinsville	Sept. 21	17	..	..	40	..	100
Platte City	Nov. 2	..	..	..	13	..	30
Potosi	Aug. 9	..	..	..	30	..	..
Pilot Knob	Oct. 17	1	10	..	26	..	..
Platte River	Sept. 3	17	..	..	..	..	..
Salem	Dec. 3	3	8	2	16	20	10
Springfield	Oct. 25	22	..	..	60	..	..
"	Nov. 26	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tuscumbia	Sept. 29	..	..	..	..	..	..
Warsaw	Oct. 16	..	..	..	3	..	3
Warsaw§	Nov. 19	..	..	..	..	..	..
Weston	Nov. 29	..	..	3	..	..	..
West Liberty	Oct. 22	..	2	..	15	50	..
Wilson's Creek	Aug. 10	223	721	298	421	1000	..

* Compromise by Gen. J. B. Henderson.
† Skirmish.
‡ Evacuated by Gen. Jackson.
§ Town burned by the Confederates.

possession of the vast countries which lie to the west and southwest was the occasion of the contest made by the Confederate States in Missouri.

So popular had Gen. Price become in the Western States of the Confederacy, that when there was a report in Memphis, Tennessee, on the 9th of December, that he had been superseded in his command in the Department of Missouri and Arkansas by Gen. Heath, it occasioned so much discussion as to lead to a communication with Richmond, which caused the following telegraphic despatch:

RICHMOND, *Dec.* 9, 1861.

To Major W. A. Broadwell:

The rumor that Gen. Price will be superseded is false, if not malignant. I have not received a tender of Missouri troops, and consequently have no power to make appointments for them, or control their organization. JEFF. DAVIS.

On the 21st of November, after Gen. Halleck had taken command, he issued, at St. Louis, an order, setting forth that, as important information respecting the numbers and condition of his forces had been conveyed to the enemy by fugitive slaves, no such persons should thereafter be permitted to enter the lines of any camp, nor of any forces on the march. On the 9th of December he issued an order directing the Mayor of St. Louis to require all municipal officers immediately to take the oath of allegiance prescribed by the State Convention, and also directing the provost-marshal to arrest all State officers who had failed to subscribe the oath within the time fixed, and subsequently attempted to exercise authority.

On the night of December 20, some men who had returned from Gen. Price's army destroyed about 100 miles of the Missouri Railroad, or rendered it useless. Commencing eight miles south of Hudson, they burned the bridge, wood piles, water tanks, ties, and tore up the rails for miles, bent them, and destroyed the telegraph. It was a preconcerted and simultaneous movement of citizens along the road.

On the 23d, Gen. Halleck issued an order fixing the penalty of death on all persons engaged in destroying railroads and telegraphs, and requiring the towns and counties where it is done to repair the damages and pay expenses.

On the 25th he issued the following order, declaring qualified martial law:

In virtue of authority conferred on me by the President of the United States, martial law is hereby declared, and will be enforced in and about all the railroads in this State.

It is not intended by this declaration to interfere with the jurisdiction in any court which is loyal to the Government of the United States, and which will aid the military authorities in enforcing order and punishing crimes.

About the same time an order was issued levying a tax of $10,000 on certain citizens of St. Louis who were sympathizing with the Southern Confederacy. This money was designed to support and assist Union refugees in the city. (*See* ST. LOUIS.)

On the 28th of December the negroes in confinement at St. Louis as runaways were discharged by order of the provost-marshal. The effect of the order was only to deliver them from confinement and subsequently from sale, on the presumption that they were slaves. Gen. Halleck stated that this order would not debar any one from enforcing his legal rights to the services of the negroes. Such rights, if any existed, would be enforced through the loyal civil tribunals of the State, whose mandates would always be duly respected by the military authorities of the Department. Military officers cannot decide upon the rights of property

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or claims to service, except so far as may be authorized by the laws of war or acts of Congress. When not so authorized, they would avoid all interference with such questions.

The Legislature, which assembled at Neosho, finally obtained a quorum by the appointment of proxies.

There were 23 members in the upper, and 77 in the lower House. An act passed unanimously on Nov. 2d, to ratify an arrangement between certain Commissioners of the State and the Confederate Government, by which Missouri was to become a member of the Confederacy. That agreement was as follows:

Whereas, it is the common desire of the State of Missouri and the Confederate States of America, that said State should become a member of the Confederacy; and whereas, the accomplishment of their purpose is now prevented by an armed invasion of the territory of said States by the United States; and whereas, the interests of both demand that they should make common cause in the war waged by the United States against the liberties of both; now, therefore, for these most desirable objects, the Executive power of the State of Missouri has conferred full powers on Edward Carrington Cabell and Thomas L. Snead, and the President of the Confederate States of America, on R. M. T. Hunter, their Secretary of State, who, after having exchanged their said full powers in due and proper form, have agreed to the following articles:

ARTICLE 1. The State of Missouri shall be admitted into said Confederacy, on an equal footing with the other States composing the same, on the fulfilment of the conditions set forth in the second section of the act of the Congress of the Confederate States, entitled "An act to aid the State of Missouri in repelling invasion by the United States, and to authorize the admission of said State as a member of the Confederate States of America, and for other purposes," approved August 20, 1861.

ART. 2. Until said State of Missouri shall become a member of said Confederacy, the whole military force, material of war, and military operations, offensive and defensive, of said State shall be under the chief control and direction of the President of the Confederate States, upon the same basis, principles, and footing, as if said State were now and during the interval, a member of said Confederacy, the said force, together with that of the Confederate States, to be employed for their common defence.

ART. 3. The State of Missouri will, whenever she becomes a member of said Confederacy, turn over to said Confederate States all the public property, naval stores, and munitions of war, of which she may then be in possession, acquired from the United States, (excepting the public lands,) on the same terms and in the same manner as the other States of said Confederacy have done in like cases.

ART. 4. All expenditures for the prosecution of the existing war incurred by the State of Missouri, from and after the date of the signing of this convention, shall be met and provided for by the Confederate States.

ART. 5. The alliance hereby made between the said State of Missouri and the Confederate States, shall be offensive and defensive, and shall be and remain in force during the continuance of the existing war with the United States, or until superseded by the admission of said State to the Confederacy, and shall take effect from the date thereof, according to the provisions of the third section of the aforesaid act, approved August 20, 1861.

In faith whereof, we, the Commissioners of the State of Missouri and of the Confederate States of America, have signed and sealed these presents.

Done, in duplicate, at the city of Richmond, on the 31st day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one.

E. C. CABELL.
THOS. L. SNEAD.
R. M. T. HUNTER.

The same body elected as Senators to the Confederate Congress John B. Clark and R. L. Y. Peyton, and Thomas A. Harris, Casper W. Bell, A. H. Conad, Thomas Freeman, George Vest, Dr. Hyer, of Dent, and William M. Cooke, of St. Louis, Representatives in the Congress at Richmond.

MONROE, FORTRESS. This is the only fortress in the United States. It was constructed for the defence of the important navy yard at Gosport, and the city of Norfolk. The United States have expended upon it, thus far, the sum of $2,500,000. The area embraced by its outer works is about 65 acres. Within is a fine parade ground of 25 acres in extent, regularly laid out and finely shaded by live oak trees. It is a bastioned work, an irregular heptagon in plan. The walls are chiefly of granite and 35 feet in height. The embankment backing the walls is of sand and clay, and of such great thickness that it can hardly be breached. The casemates are bomb-proof and shot-proof. The embrasures are of a size to admit the largest columbiads. A moat faced with dressed granite surrounds the whole work, through which, when the gates are open, the tide ebbs and flows. The water is, according to the state of the tide, from 8 to 15 feet deep, and from 75 to 150 feet across.

The water battery which faces the sea is built of stone, and of sufficient thickness and solidity to defy the heaviest shot. Its embrasures are of the most substantial character. They are forty-two in number, and have the same number of 42-pounders. The slope of the battery is covered with a green turf, and is a favorite promenade. A redoubt leads from the northern extremity of this battery, round to the points of the bastion near the principal magazine. In the centre of this redoubt is a sally-port or postern, leading to an outer work for the protection of the land side of the fort. The only continuous land approach to the fort is a strip of sandy beach not exceeding 40 rods in width, which might be readily cut through. A full armament of the fortress is 371 guns, consisting of mortars, columbiads, and smaller guns. Its possession has been of immense importance to the United States during the year, and it has been made the final head-quarters from which all the military and naval expeditions on the coasts took their departure. Its possession has also given the Federal Government the entire control of the waters of Virginia, and relieved it in a great degree from the necessity of maintaining a blockade. It can control the commerce of Richmond, Norfolk, Alexandria, Washington, and Baltimore. Situated on the extremity of Old Point Comfort, the peninsula of land which is between the York and James rivers, it protects for

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the Federal Government the route by sea to Annapolis.

On the 20th of August, Gen. Wool took command of the post. It had been for a short time previous under the command of Gen. B. F. Butler, who was then placed in command of the volunteer forces of the department. The usual communication between the North and South during the year was by a flag of truce from Fortress Monroe, which met one from the other side in James River.

The necessity of a seizure of the fortress was often proclaimed at Richmond by ex-Governor Wise. A garrison, however, sufficient to defend it against any attack which might at the time be made, has always been kept there by the Federal Government, and after the secession of Virginia it was fully reënforced, and there has been no time since when it could be captured by the Confederate States.

In his Message to the Legislature of Virginia, on the 2d of December, Gov. Letcher thus alludes to the situation of Fortress Monroe: "It is to be regretted that Fortress Monroe is not in our possession; that it was not as easily captured as the navy yard and Harper's Ferry. As far back as the 8th of January last, I consulted with a gentleman whose position enabled him to know the strength of that fortress, and whose experience in military matters enabled him to form an opinion as to the number of men that would be required to capture it. He represented it to be one of the strongest fortifications in the world, and expressed his doubts whether it could be taken, unless assailed by water as well as by land, and simultaneously. He stated emphatically and distinctly, that with the force then in the fortress it would be useless to attempt its capture without a large force, thoroughly equipped and well appointed. At no time previous to the secession of Virginia had we a military organization sufficient to justify an attempt to take it, and events since that occurrence demonstrate very clearly that with our military organization since, and now existing, it has not been deemed prudent to make the attempt."

MUNFORDSVILLE is the capital of Hart County, Kentucky, and situated on the south bank of Green River, one hundred miles southwest of Frankfort. The river is navigable for small steamboats during part of the year. It was near here that a sharp action took place on the 17th of December. The precise position was on the south bank of the river, near the iron bridge of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad. This bridge had been partially destroyed by the Confederate troops, to prevent the passage of the Federal force, but a temporary structure had been thrown over the river. Four companies of the Thirty-second Indiana Regiment, under command of the Lieut.-colonel, had crossed, and were thrown out as pickets in squads of eight or ten upon an open meadow at the distance of about one hundred yards from the river bank. At the Munfordsville depot there was a battery of three guns, and another of an equal number about a mile distant, in a southerly direction. A belt of timber skirted the position of the Indiana companies.

Some Confederate soldiers being espied in the wood, two companies were ordered to advance and effect their dislodgement. They retreated half a mile to their main body without firing a shot, and the two companies advanced stealthily as skirmishers. A body of cavalry, consisting of Texan rangers, then made a dash upon the companies, who returned the fire from their shot-guns with a galling effect. When the batteries opened, the rangers made a charge for the timber, and about the same time an order was given for the Federal infantry to rally upon the same point. The Indianians executed the order under a galling fire from the batteries. They thus reached the wood, and, under cover of the trees, did fearful execution in the ranks of the Confederate cavalry.

The loss sustained by the Indianians was incurred under the effect of the first fire. The rangers dashed in among their ranks before the troops had found time to form. Once formed, however, they gallantly advanced to the wood.

The fight, for a few minutes, is described by an eye-witness as a desperate encounter. The Indianians resorted to their sabre-bayonets, forcing a hand-to-hand combat upon their enemies so long as the Confederates could be induced to stand up. When the Indianians finally gained the wood and opened a fire upon the rangers, they fled, leaving their dead upon the field, including the body of Col. Terry, who was killed by a musket-ball. His body was sent back afterwards under a flag of truce.

The Confederate loss was considerable. There were found upon the field sixty-three dead bodies, and the bodies of twelve or fourteen horses. In addition, a large number are known to have been wounded. The Federal loss was thirteen killed and an equal number wounded.

Two regiments of Federal troops, the Thirty-sixth Indiana and the Sixteenth Ohio, came promptly up to the relief of the four companies from the Thirty-second Indiana, but the fight was not renewed.

MURRAY, Nicholas, D. D., an American clergyman born in Ireland, Dec., 1803, died at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, Feb. 4, 1861. He came to America in 1818, and entered the printing establishment of Messrs. Harper & Brothers as an apprentice. Having after a time become a Protestant he united with the Brick Presbyterian church, then under the pastoral care of Dr. Gardiner Spring, and commenced a course of study in preparation for the ministry. He graduated at Williams College in 1826, studied theology at Princeton, and in 1829 was settled as pastor of a Presbyterian church in Wilkesbarre, Penn. He was called in 1834 to the pastorate of the First Presbyterian church in Elizabethtown, N. J., where he remained till his death. In 1849 he was elected Moderator of the Presbyterian

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General Assembly, O. S. He acquired considerable reputation by his "Letters to Right Rev. John Hughes, Roman Catholic Bishop of New York," published under the signature of "Kirwan," in 1848, in which he controverted with shrewdness and tact some of the doctrines and practices of the Roman Catholic Church. He published afterwards several other controversial works with the same signature. In 1853 he visited Europe, and again, in 1860, the last time for his health, as he was suffering from a disease of the heart. Besides the "Kirwan Letters," Dr. Murray published: "Notes, Historical and Biographical, concerning Elizabethtown, N. J.," Elizabethtown, 1844; "Romanism at Home," N. Y., 1852; "Men and Things as I saw them in Europe," N. Y., 1853; "Parish, and other Pencillings," N. Y., 1854; "The Happy Home," 1859; "Preachers and Preaching," N. Y., 1860, and a series of letters to the New York "Observer" during his last visit to Europe.

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NAPOLEON, the capital of Desha County, Arkansas, is situated on the Mississippi River, at the mouth of the Arkansas River, about 125 miles, by land, southeast of Little Rock. It has been a place of active business, and is the point where a fine marine hospital was built by the United States. This was at once seized by the military upon the secession of Arkansas, with supplies amounting in value to nearly nine thousand dollars. They consisted of one hundred and thirty boxes containing small-arms and ordnance stores destined for the troops stationed on the frontiers of Texas and Arkansas, solely for protecting the whites from incursions of the Indians. A line of a thousand miles there was usually guarded by two thousand regular troops.

NAVY OF THE UNITED STATES. The committee appointed by act of Congress on the 9th of January, 1861, to report, among other subjects, upon the ships of the U. S., where stationed, in what command, and under what orders, presented the following list of vessels comprising the whole naval force of the country in commission on the 16th of January, 1861, those in actual service, and those lying unavailable in port:

List of the vessels of the United States Navy, in commission on the 16th of January, 1861.

East India Squadron.—Hartford, steam sloop, Captain Chas. Lowndes; John Adams, sloop, Commander J. M. Berrien; Dacotah, steam sloop, Commander William Radford; Saginaw, steamer, Commander J. F. Schenck—cruising on the East India station. Vandalia, sloop-of-war, Commander P. Lee—on the way to the station.

Brazil Squadron.—Congress, frigate, Captain L. M. Goldsborough; Seminole, steam sloop, Commander E. R. Thomson; Pulaski, steamer, Lieutenant Commanding W. H. Macomb—cruising on the station.

Pacific Squadron.—Lancaster, steam sloop, Captain John Rudd; Saranac, steamer, Captain Robert Ritchie; Wyoming, steam sloop, Commander J. K. Mitchell; Cyane, sloop-of-war, Commander S. B. Bissell; St. Mary's, sloop-of-war, Commander W. D. Porter—at Panama, 3d January. Narragansett, steam sloop, Commander T. A. Hunt—on the South American coast. Levant, sloop-of-war, Commander William E. Hunt—at Hilo, 3d September.

Mediterranean Squadron.—Richmond, steam sloop, Captain D. W. Ingraham; Susquehanna, steam sloop, Captain George W. Hollins; Iroquois, steam sloop, Commander J. S. Palmer—cruising on the station.

African Squadron.—Constellation, sloop-of-war, Captain J. S. Nicholas; Portsmouth, sloop-of-war, Commander John Calhoun; San Jacinto, steam sloop, Captain T. A. Dornin; Mystic, steamer, Lieutenant Commanding William E. Le Roy; Sumter, steamer, Lieutenant Commanding J. F. Armstrong; Mohican, steam sloop, Commander S. W. Godon; Saratoga, sloop-of-war, Commander Alfred Taylor—cruising on the coast of Africa.

Home Squadron.—Cumberland, sloop-of-war, Captain J. Marston; Powhatan, steam sloop, Captain S. Mercer; Pocahontas, steam sloop, Commander S. F. Hazard—at Vera Cruz. Pawnee, steam sloop, Commander S. C. Rowan—at Philadelphia. Brooklyn, steam sloop, Captain W. S. Walker—at Hampton Roads. Sabine, frigate, Captain H. A. Adams; St. Louis, sloop-of-war, Commander Charles H. Poor—under orders to Pensacola. Macedonia, sloop-of-war, Captain James Glynn—on way to Pensacola. Mohawk, steamer, Lieutenant Commanding T. A. M. Craven; Crusader, steamer, Lieutenant Commanding J. N. Maffit; Wyandotte, steamer, Lieutenant Commanding O. H. Berryman—supposed to be on their station, the coast of Cuba.

Storeships.—Falmouth, sloop-of-war, Lieutenant Commanding Charles Thomas—stationed at Aspinwall. Warren, sloop-of-war, Lieutenant Commanding J. J. Boyle—stationed at Panama. Fredonia, Lieutenant Commanding J. M. Watson—stationed at Valparaiso. Supply, Commander H. Walker—sailed from Pensacola, 12th January, for Vera Cruz. Release, Lieutenant Commanding J. M. Frailey—returning from Mediterranean. Relief, Commander John De Camp—at New York.

Special Service.—Niagara, screw frigate, Captain William W. McKean—special service to Japan.

Receiving Ships.—Ohio, ship-of-the-line, Commander William Smith—Boston. North Carolina, ship-of-the-line, Commander J. H. Ward—New York. Princeton, steamer, Commander H. K. Hoff—Philadelphia. Alleghany, steamer, Commander W. W. Hunter—Baltimore. Pennsylvania, ship-of-the-line, Commander A. Sinclair—Norfolk. Independence, razee—Mare Island, California.

There were also in the ports of the United States, dismantled and unfit for immediate service, the following vessels belonging to the navy:

At Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Santee, frigate, 50 guns; Dale, sloop, 16 guns; Marion, sloop, 16 guns.

At Boston: Colorado, steam frigate, 40 guns; Minnesota, steam frigate, 40 guns; Mississippi, steamer, 11 guns; Vermont, ship-of-the-line, 84 guns; Vincennes, sloop, 20 guns; Preble, sloop, 16 guns; Bainbridge, brig, 6 guns.

At New York: Wabash, steam frigate, 40 guns; Roanoke, steam frigate, 40 guns; Potomac, frigate, 50 guns; Brandywine, frigate, 50 guns; Savannah, sloop, 24 guns; Perry, brig, 6 guns.

At Philadelphia: Pawnee, sloop-of-war, 6 guns; Water Witch, steamer, 8 guns; St. Lawrence, frigate, 50 guns; Jamestown, sloop, 22 guns.

At Washington: Pensacola, steam sloop.

At Norfolk: Merrimac, steam frigate, 40 guns; Plymouth, sloop, 22 guns; Germantown, sloop, 22 guns; Raritan, frigate, 50 guns; Columbia, frigate, 50 guns; United States, frigate, 50 guns.

At Annapolis: Constitution, frigate, 50 guns.

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From the evidence furnished the committee by the naval department, of which the above is a summary, it appears that the entire naval force available for the defence of the whole Atlantic coast consisted of the steamer Brooklyn of 25 guns, and the store ship Relief of 2 guns. The former was of too great draught to enter Charleston harbor with safety, except at spring tides, and the latter was under orders to the coast of Africa with stores for the African squadron. The committee called attention to the extraordinarily defenceless state in which the coast was thus left, stating that the number of ships lying in port dismantled and unfit for service was 28, mounting in the aggregate 874 guns; that none of these could be repaired and put under sail short of several weeks' time, and many of them would require for this purpose at least 6 months; and also that no orders had been issued to put any of them in readiness.

Between the 11th of November, 1860, and the 24th of January, 1861, 56 officers of the navy had resigned, including 11 from the Naval Academy. Notwithstanding the urgent appeal made by the committee, and the very alarming state of national affairs, Congress adjourned without making any unusual appropriations for naval purposes, and without ordering the recall of the vessels at distant stations. Such was the condition of affairs when the new Administration came into power on the 4th of March. At that time, according to the report made by the Secretary of the Navy on the 4th of July, the total number of vessels of all classes belonging to the navy was 90, carrying, or designed to carry, about 2,415 guns. Excluding vessels on the stocks, those unfinished, those used as stationary storeships and receiving ships, and those considered inexpedient to repair, the available force was:

1	ship-of-the-line	84 guns.
8	frigates	400 "
20	sloops	406 "
3	brigs	16 "
3	storeships	7 "
6	steam frigates	212 "
5	first-class steam sloops	50 "
4	first-class side-wheel steamers	46 "
8	second-class steam sloops	45 "
5	third-class screw steamers	28 "
4	second-class side-wheel steamers	8 "
2	steam tenders	4 "
69		1,546

Of this force, the following were in commission, the remainder being in ordinary, dismantled, &c.

2	frigates	100 guns.
11	sloops	232 "
3	storeships	7 "
1	screw frigate	12 "
5	first-class steam sloops	90 "
3	side-wheel steamers	35 "
8	second-class steam sloops	45 "
5	third-class screw steamers	28 "
3	side-wheel steamers	5 "
1	steam tender	1 "
42		555

These vessels had a complement, exclusive of officers and marines, of about 7,600 men, and nearly all of them were on foreign stations. The home squadron consisted of twelve vessels, carrying 187 guns and about 2,000 men. Of this squadron, only four small vessels, carrying twenty-five guns and about 280 men, were in northern ports.

On the 23d of March, the sloop-of-war Cumberland, flag-ship of Commodore Pendergrast, of the home squadron, arrived in the Chesapeake, and was detained by the Secretary of the Navy at Norfolk, to await events that were gradually developing in Virginia and the adjoining States. The navy yard at Norfolk was at that time filled with arms and munitions, and several ships were in the harbor dismantled and in ordinary, and in no condition to be moved, had there been men to move them. Any attempt to withdraw these vessels, moreover, without a crew, was at that time deemed injudicious, as likely to arouse a more disturbed state of feeling at the South. The commandant at the yard, Commodore McCauley, however, was, early in April, cautioned to extreme vigilance and circumspection; and on the 10th of April, he was ordered, without giving needless alarm, to put the shipping and public property in condition to be moved and placed beyond danger whenever this might be necessary. A commander and two engineers were detailed to proceed to Norfolk and put the machinery of the steam-frigate Merrimac in order, that she might move herself and tow out some of the other ships; and on the 12th of April, the department directed that this vessel should be prepared to proceed to Philadelphia with the utmost despatch. It was stated in reply that four weeks would be required to put the engine in working order. The engineer-in-chief was then ordered at once to Norfolk, and the commandant was directed to lose no time in placing an armament on board the Merrimac, and removing her, together with the Plymouth, Dolphin, and Germantown, away from Norfolk, with as much of the public property, ordnance stores, &c., as could be saved. The engineer-in-chief reported the Merrimac as ready to be moved on the 17th, but Commodore McCauley at that time refused to have her fired up. The fires were, however, started early the next morning, the engines were working, and the engineers, firemen, and sufficient men were on board, but the commandant still refused to permit her to be moved, and in the afternoon gave directions to draw the fires. The Secretary of the Navy states that the cause of his refusal to move the Merrimac, has no explanation other than that of misplaced confidence in his junior officers who opposed it. Commodore Paulding was then immediately ordered to Norfolk with such officers and marines as could be obtained, and with directions to take command of all the vessels there, and at all hazards prevent the ships and public property from passing into the hands of the secessionists. With troops just ar-

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rived at Fortress Monroe from Massachusetts, and others, he reached Norfolk on the evening of Saturday the 20th, where he found that the powder magazine had already been seized, and that an armed force under Gen. Taliaferro had commenced throwing up batteries in the vicinity of the navy yard. The commandant of the yard, hopeless of extricating the ships, had just ordered them to be scuttled, and they were sinking on the arrival of Commodore Paulding. To render them useless, Commodore Paulding ordered them to be fired; and he also destroyed as much public property in the yard as he was able to do with his limited force. The Cumberland was then taken in tow, and the vessels returned with her down the river, notwithstanding the obstructions that had been sunk in the channel for the purpose of preventing her removal. By this disaster, the disabled vessels of the navy yard, about 2,000 cannon, 300 of which were of the Dahlgren pattern, together with a great quantity of powder, were left in possession of the Confederates.

In view of these acts, and of similar hostile demonstrations occurring at the same time in Baltimore, the Government was impelled to hasten at once the completion of all public armed vessels, and, moreover, to issue orders to the commandants of the navy yards in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, to purchase or charter and arm, equip, and man such steamers as might be found suitable for the public service. The whole naval force was required to carry into effect the proclamations declaring an embargo or blockade of the Southern ports which resisted the execution of the national laws; and on account of the great extent of nearly 3,000 miles of the coast along which these ports were situated, the force was divided into two squadrons, one for the Atlantic and one for the Gulf of Mexico. At Hampton Roads, notice was given of this blockade on the 30th of April by Flag-officer Pendergrast, in command of the home squadron; and it was soon afterwards made effective by Flag-officer Stringham, who arrived in Hampton Roads on the 13th of May, with his flag-ship, the Minnesota. The Niagara arrived at Boston from Japan on the 24th of April, and soon after proceeded off Charleston harbor, and thence to the Gulf of Mexico, to intercept, if possible, large shipments of arms and munitions of war from Europe destined for the Gulf States. The Gulf squadron was under the command of Flag-officer William Mervine, who arrived in the Gulf on the 8th of June, in the steamer Mississippi, in advance of his flag-ship, the Colorado.

The Secretary of the Navy, in his report of July 4th, presented the following statement of the vessels at that time in service:

"Of the 69 vessels, carrying 1,346 guns, mentioned as available for service on the 4th of March last, the sloop Levant has been given up as lost in the Pacific; the steamer Fulton was seized at Pensacola; and one frigate, two sloops, and one brig were burnt at Norfolk. These vessels carried 172 guns. The other vessels destroyed at Norfolk were considered worthless, and are not included in the list of available vessels.

"These losses left at the disposal of the department 62 vessels, carrying 1,174 guns, all of which are now, or soon will be in commission, with the exception of the

	Guns.
Vermont, ship-of-the-line	84
Brandywine, frigate	50
Decatur, sloop, at San Francisco	16
John Hancock, steam tender, at San Francisco	3

"There have been recently added to the navy, by purchase, 12 steamers, carrying from 2 to 9 guns each, and 3 sailing vessels. There have been chartered 9 steamers, carrying from 2 to 9 guns each. By these additions, the naval force in commission has been increased to 82 vessels, carrying upwards of 1,100 guns, and with a complement of about 13,000 men, exclusive of officers and marines. There are also several steamboats and other small craft which are temporarily in the service of the department.

"Purchases of sailing ships have been made for transporting coals to the steamers that are performing duty as sentinels before the principal harbors. * * *

"The squadron on the Atlantic coast, under the command of Flag-officer S. H. Stringham, consists of 22 vessels, 296 guns, and 3,300 men.

"The squadron in the Gulf, under the command of Flag-officer William Mervine, consists of 21 vessels, 282 guns, and 3,500 men.

"Additions have been made to each of the squadrons, of 2 or 3 small vessels that have been captured and taken into the service. The steamers Pawnee and Pocahontas, and the flotilla under the late Commander Ward, with several steamboats in charge of naval officers, have been employed on the Potomac River, to prevent communication with that portion of Virginia which is in insurrection. Great service has been rendered by this armed force, which has been vigilant in intercepting supplies, and in protecting transports and supply-vessels in their passage up and down the Potomac.

"The flotilla, on the 27th ultimo, met with a serious and sad loss in the death of its gallant commander, James H. Ward, who died at his post, while covering the retreat of his men from the assault of an overpowering number of rebel enemies. In the death of Commander Ward the navy has lost a brave officer, who has enriched it by military and scientific contributions, served it faithfully in varied spheres, and promised much for it in the future.

"The squadron in the Pacific, under the command of Flag-officer John B. Montgomery, consists of 6 vessels, 82 guns, and 1,000 men.

"The West India squadron is under the command of Flag-officer G. J. Pendergrast, who has been temporarily on duty, with his flag-ship, the Cumberland, at Norfolk and Hampton Roads, since the 23d of March. He will, at an early day, transfer his flag to the steam-frigate

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Roanoke, and proceed southward, having in charge our interests on the Mexican and Central American coasts, and in the West Indian Islands.

"The East India, Mediterranean, Brazil, and African squadrons, excepting one vessel of each of the two latter, have been recalled.

"The return of these vessels will add to the force for service in the Gulf and on the Atlantic coast, about 200 guns and 2,500 men."

He also stated in his report that 259 officers of the navy had resigned their commissions, or been dismissed from the service, since the 4th of March; for which reason many of the vessels were necessarily sent to sea without a full complement of officers. Many, however, who had retired to civil pursuits, had promptly come forward in this time of their country's need, and voluntarily tendered their services, while many masters and masters' mates were also appointed from the commercial marine. So promptly did seamen present themselves at the naval rendezvous of all the principal seaports, under the authorized increase and abbreviated term of enlistment, that only one or two ships experienced any detention for want of a crew, and none beyond two or three days. Never, as the Secretary states, has the naval force had so great and rapid an increase, and never have our seamen come forward with more alacrity and zeal to serve the country.

In the need of a substantial class of vessels suitable for performing continuous duty off the coast in all weathers, the department contracted for the building of 23 steam gunboats, each of about 500 tons burden, and made preliminary arrangements for several larger and fleeter vessels, in addition to taking measures for carrying out the order of Congress of the preceding session for the construction of 7 sloops of war, with the addition of one more. At each of the Northern navy yards, Portsmouth, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, two of this last class were directed to be built.

The following table comprises a summary of the vessels purchased for naval service during the year 1861:

Class of Vessels.	No.	Number of guns to each.	Total number of guns.	Tonnage of each.	Total tonnage.	Cost of each.	Total cost.
Side-wheel steamers	36	1 to 10	160	123 to 1,800	26,680	$12,000 to 200,000	$2,418,162
Screw steamers	42	1 to 9	170	65 to 2,100	19,985	5,000 to 172,500	2,187,367
Auxiliary steam bark	1	....	5	....	418	....	57,200
Ships	13	1 to 8	52	234 to 1,375	9,968	7,000 to 40,000	313,562
Barks	17	2 to 6	78	265 to 888	8,136	11,500 to 22,000	243,460
Barkantine	1	....	..	....	296	....	16,000
Schooners	25	1 to 4	50	53 to 349	5,458	6,000 to 18,000*	241,700
Brigs	2	2	4	196 to 264	460	9,000 to 10,000	19,000

Of side-wheel steamers, 9 were first-class steamships, all of them costing from $85,000 to $200,000 each, except one, the Alabama, which was bought for $23,000. Among the steamers were 18 ferry-boats and tug-boats, the former purchased from the Brooklyn and New Jersey companies. The Navy Department also purchased, after August 13th, a large number of old vessels, for the purpose of loading them with stone and sinking them at the entrance of the ports of the Confederate States. These consisted of 20 ships, 22 schooners, 16 barks, and 1 brig, and their total cost was $160,205. A considerable number of vessels, mostly large steamers, were also chartered for the use of the navy, for which, between the middle of April and the middle of September, the department paid the sum of $39,305 05.

The armed vessels were almost exclusively ordered, on entering into the service, to proceed to the Southern ports, for the purpose of enforcing their blockade, and the result of their operations is shown in the following summary of vessels, captured and destroyed from April 23 to November 15. These are 7 ships, 12 barks, 9 brigs, 115 schooners, 8 sloops, and 7 miscellaneous, the last including the steamer Salvor, loaded with arms, from Havana, and bound to Tampa Bay. Most of these vessels contained valuable cargoes, and three of them were privateers. A few were recaptured prizes, and were restored to their owners. The table on the next page presents a list of the vessels constructed at the navy yards, and contracted for the navy during the year 1861.

Iron-clad Vessels.—At the close of the following table three vessels are introduced, belonging to a new class of war steamers. The year 1861 will always be famous in naval history for the material change then first fairly established in the construction of vessels of war, by rendering them as nearly impenetrable as possible to the heaviest shot, by means of a coating of iron plates. The superiority of a few guns of the heaviest calibre to the large batteries of the older ships was then first generally appreciated, and the whole system of ship-building in the navies of France and England, as also of some of the minor naval powers of Europe, underwent a more complete change than had followed the introduction of steam. The building of wooden vessels was entirely abandoned, except in some special cases where they were to be covered with plates of iron, and the day of old wooden frigates and line-of-battle ships was looked upon as having passed. But steam floating-batteries were then no new invention. They were recommended as long ago as 1813 by Robert Fulton, and one was built for the U. S. Government after his plans, and completed soon after the close of the war with Great Britain. An account of this and of other steam-batteries

* One schooner named the Chotank, formerly the privateer Savannah, prize to the Ferry, was purchased at marshal's sale for $1,250.

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Name.	Class.	Place of Building.	Builder of Hull.	Price of Hull.	Builder of Machinery.	Price of Machinery.
Kearsarge*	Screw sloop	Portsmouth navy yard.	Government	....	Woodruff & Beach, Hartford, Ct.	$104000
Ossipee*	"	" "	"	....	Reliance Machine Co., Mystic, Ct.	98,000
Sacramento*	"	" "	"	....	Taunton Locomotive Manuf'g Co.	117,000
Wachusett*	"	Boston navy yard	"	....	George W. Quintard, New York	104,000
Housatonic*	"	" "	"	....	Jabez Corry & Co., Boston	110,000
Canandaigua*	"	" "	"	....	Atlantic Works, Boston	110,000
Adirondack*	"	New York navy yard.	"	....	Novelty Works, New York	125,000
Ticonderoga*	"	" "	"	....	Allaire Works, New York	110,000
Oneida*	"	" "	"	....	Murphy & Co., New York	102,000
Lackawanna*	"	" "	"	....	George W. Quintard, New York	110,000
Juniata*	"	Philadelphia navy yard.	"	....	Pusey, Jones & Co., Wilmington, Del	95,000
Tuscarora*	"	" "	"	....	Merrick & Sons, Philadelphia	102,000
Monongahela*	"	" "	"	....	" "	110,000
Shenandoah*	"	" "	"	....	" "	110,000
Tahoma†	Screw gunboat	Wilmington, Del.	W. & A. Thatcher.	$45,500	Reany, Son & Archbold, Chester, Penn.	46,500
Wissahickon†	"	Philadelphia	John Lynn	52,500	Merrick & Sons	45,000
Sciota†	"	"	Jacob Birely	52,000	Isaac P. Morris & Co	44,000
Itasca†	"	"	Hillman & Streaker	52,500	" "	45,000
Unadilla†	"	New York	John Englis	56,500	Novelty Iron Works, New York	31,500
Ottawa†	"	"	J. A. Westervelt	56,500	" "	31,500
Pembina†	"	"	Thomas Stack	56,500	" "	31,500
Seneca†	"	"	Jere'h Simonson	56,500	" "	31,500
Chippewa†	"	"	Webb & Bell	55,000	Morgan " "	46,000
Wyoma†	"	"	C. & R. Poillon	55,000	Allaire Works, New York	46,000
Owasco†	"	Mystic River, Ct.	Maxon, Fish & Co.	53,000	Novelty Iron Works, New York	46,000
Kanawha†	"	East Haddam, Ct.	L. G. & W. H. Goodspeed.	52,000	Pacific Iron Works, Bridgeport, Ct.	45,500
Cayuga†	"	Portland, Me.	Gildersleeve & Son	52,000	Woodruff & Beach, Hartford, Ct.	45,500
Huron†	"	Boston	Paul Curtis	55,000	Harrison Loring, Boston	46,000
Chocura†	"	"	Curtis & Tilden	56,500	" "	45,000
Sagamore†	"	"	A. & G. Sampson	55,000	Atlantic Works, Boston	46,000
Marblehead†	"	Newburyport, Mass.	G. W. Jackman, Jr.	53,000	Highland Iron Works, Newburgh, New York.	43,000
Kennebec†	"	Thomaston, Me.	G. W. Lawrence	55,000	Novelty Iron Works, New York	45,500
Aroostook†	"	Kennebunk, Me.	N. W. Thompson	52,000	" " "	47,500
Kineo*	"	Portland, Me.	J. W. Dyer	53,000	Morgan " "	46,500
Katahdin†	"	Bath, Me.	Larrabee & Allen	52,000	" " "	45,500
Penobscot†	"	Belfast, Me.	C. P. Carter	52,000	Allaire Works, New York	45,000
Pinola†	"	Baltimore, Md.	J. J. Abrahams	52,000	Charles Reeder, Baltimore	45,000
Sebago‡	Side-wheel steamer.	Portsmouth navy yard.	Government	....	Novelty Iron Works, New York	50,000
Mohaska‡	"	" "	"	....	Morgan Iron Works, New York	50,000
Sonoma‡	"	" "	"	....	Novelty " "	50,000
Conemaugh‡	"	" "	"	....	" " "	50,000
Maratanza‡	"	Boston navy yard	"	....	Harrison Loring, Boston	48,000
Tioga‡	"	" "	"	....	Morgan Iron Works, New York	50,000
Genesee‡	"	" "	"	....	Neptune " "	50,000
Octorora‡	"	New York navy yard.	"	....	" " "	48,000
Port Royal‡	"	" "	Thomas Stack	....	Vessel complete for	100,000
Miami‡	"	Philadelphia navy yard.	Government	....	Merrick & Sons, Philadelphia	48,000
Cimeron‡	"	Bordent'n, N. J.	D. S. Merchon	....	Vessel complete for	100,000
Paul Jones‡	"	Baltimore, Md.	J. J. Abrahams	50,000	Reany, Son & Archbold, Chester, Penn.	50,000
Galena§	Iron-clad steamer.	Mystic, Ct.	Bushnell & Co	....	Vessel complete for	225,000
Monitor§	"	New York	John Ericsson	....	" "	280,000
Not named§	"	Philadelphia	Merrick & Sons	....	" "	780,000

used by the English and the French in the Crimean war is given in the article BATTERY, in vol. ii. of the "New American Cyclopædia." The French were the first to fully appreciate the immense advantage to the naval power possessing the largest number of the strongest batteries of this class, and in 1860 engaged largely in their construction; launching in that year the battery named *La Gloire*, a wooden screw-steamer of 900 horse power, 253 feet long, 55 feet broad, and drawing 27½ feet of water. To some depth below her load-water line her sides are covered with iron plates, 2 feet wide and 4½ inches thick. Her armament consists of thirty-four 54-pounders on her main deck, and two heavy shell guns forward, under an iron screen. Her ports are brought down within 6 or 7 feet of the water. So well approved was the plan that in 1861 the Government had as many as 20 batteries of this character upon the stocks or launched. The English, in order to maintain the superiority of their navy, were compelled to engage with great vigor in the same enterprise. In the course of the year 1861, they conducted a series of expensive experiments in firing from and upon an iron cupola, constructed upon a floating battery. Finding that it stood the most complete hammering with the heaviest shot without injury, the Admiralty decided upon

* About 1,200 tons each, carrying about 7 guns each.
† About 500 tons each, carrying about 4 guns each.
‡ About 700 tons each, carrying about 4 guns each.
§ About 4,600 tons altogether, carrying 2, 12, and 18 guns.

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the construction of a double cupola, carrying two guns. There were also built and afloat before the close of the year, the following iron-cased ships:

VESSELS.	TONS.	GUNS.	HORSE POWER.
Warrior	6,100	40	1,250
Black Prince	6,100	40	1,250
Defence	..	22	600
Resistance	3,668	22	600
Hector	4,000	32	800

There were also building the Achilles, of 6,100 tons, 36 guns, 1,250 horse power, and the Valiant, of 4,000 tons, 32 guns, 800 horse power. Three others, of 60 guns each, were ordered, and three more were soon to be built, cased either with 4½-inch iron on a teak wood backing, or built of 6½-inch iron slabs without a wooden backing, the choice to be determined by the greater resistance to shot on trial made at Shoeburyness. Besides these 13 ships of iron, the construction of 5 wooden ships, expressly designed for being plated with iron, was rapidly pushed forward. The armament of each of these will consist of 40 guns of the heaviest calibre. The estimated cost of these 18 vessels is £8,000,000, or $39,000,000. The following is the general description of the Warrior, the first one completed of these vessels. She is a screw-steamer, 380 feet long between perpendiculars, (420 feet over all,) of 58 feet beam, 41½ feet depth from spar-deck to keel, 26 feet draught of water, and of 6,177 tons burden, builder's measurement. She is built of iron throughout, and 205 feet of her length are protected by 4½-inch plates of solid iron, backed with two layers of teak timber, one of 10 inches next the iron, and the inner one of 8 inches. The protection extends 9 feet below load-water line. At each end of this protected portion, iron bulkheads, 4½ inches thick, backed with 18 inches of teak timber, complete the protection for the centre of the ship, and inner bulkheads extend all around this portion within 3½ feet of the sides. The enclosed space is divided into 6 water-tight compartments, one being devoted to each of the two boilers. Her main-deck ports are about 8½ feet above water at load-water line, and are 15½ feet apart. She is bark-rigged with the spars and sails of an 80-gun ship. Her guns are 68-pounders for the main-deck, ten Armstrong 70-pounders on the spar-deck, and two pivot Armstrong 100-pounders, one at each end, in all 48 guns, which may be considerably added to.

Mr. Donald McKay, the American shipbuilder, in calling the attention of our people to these startling facts in a letter from London of Dec. 3d, 1861, alludes to the inferiority of our navy, which ranks hardly with that of second-rate European powers, and to our unquestioned ability to build and man a first-class fleet. He remarks: "It would be easy for us to build in one year, a fleet of 500 to 600 men-of-war ships, from a gunboat to the largest class of iron-cased frigates. It is a well-known fact that we built in one year, the astonishing number of 2,034 vessels and steamers of all classes, measuring together 583,450 tons. * * * * We would be able in our merchant yards alone to turn out in one year 583 ships of 1,000 tons each. In our six navy yards, where the choicest materials are stocked for building a fleet of 100 ships, 60 more might be built in one year, making a total of 643 men-of-war ships of all classes, varying in their armament from 3 to 60 guns. More than a hundred of our greatest engineering firms would complete all the machinery necessary to be put in these ships in less than a year. Our capabilities and facilities of building ships have not in the least suffered by the loss of the seceded States, which have never built one per cent. of the sea-going ships of the United States." As an evidence of the entire change that is taking place in the views of practical men as to the future character of vessels of war, Mr. McKay recommends, that in any great emergency our navy could be rendered much more efficient for defence by cutting down all our line-of-battle ships one or two decks, casing them with 5-inch iron plates, and arming them with 30 or 40 guns of the heaviest calibre. Our heavy frigates might be made shell-proof with iron plates, and the armament on the upper deck be dispensed with on account of the additional weight. Our merchant steamers and large clipper ships may readily be transformed into frigates, sloops, and gunboats of great efficiency and speed superior to that of any men-of-war ships yet built. A very large number of our barks and brigs are well adapted for receiving an armament of from 8 to 20 guns, and more than a thousand large coasting schooners of 28 to 30 feet breadth of beam, of a class unsurpassed for speed by any sailing vessels, and having great stability and strength, can soon be transformed into men-of-war schooners, armed with a pivot gun, or a mortar of the heaviest description placed amidships, and two to four 22-pounders at the ends. The subject came before Congress in 1861, and on the 3d of August an act was approved, directing the Secretary of the Navy "to appoint a board of three skilful naval officers to investigate the plans and specifications that may be submitted for the construction or completing iron-clad steam-ships or steam-batteries, and on their report, should it be favorable, the Secretary of the Navy will cause one or more armored, or iron or steel-clad steam-ships or floating steam-batteries to be built; and there is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $1,500,000." Commodores Joseph Smith and H. Paulding, with Capt. C. H. Davis, were appointed this board, and their report was presented of the date of Sept. 16. While considering iron-clad ships as without doubt formidable adjuncts to coast and harbor fortifications, the board questioned their advantages and ultimate adoption as cruising vessels, chiefly on account of the enormous

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weight added to the vessel by the armor, which involved greater power to propel her, and at the same time largely increased the cost of construction. To meet the immediate demand for vessels as far as practicable invulnerable to shot, and adapted by their light draught of water to penetrate our shoal harbors, rivers, and bayous, the board recommended "that contracts be made with responsible parties for the construction of one or more iron-clad vessels or batteries, of as light a draught of water as practicable consistent with their weight of armor." They also advised the construction in our own dock-yards, of one or more of these vessels upon a large and more perfect scale when Congress shall see fit to authorize it. The report concludes with a synopsis of the propositions and specifications submitted, amounting to 17 in number, the terms of construction for the different vessels ranging from $32,000 to $1,500,000. Three only of these were selected as worthy of recommendation, the others being put aside, either owing to too great cost or for other reasons. The three proposals recommended were those of J. Ericsson, New York; Merrick & Sons, Philadelphia; and C. S. Bushnell & Co., New Haven, Conn. Of these the remarks of the board are as follows:

"J. Ericsson, New York.—This plan of a floating battery is novel, but seems to be based upon a plan which will render the battery shot and shell-proof. It is to be apprehended that her properties for sea are not such as a seagoing vessel should possess. But she may be moved from one place to another on the coast in smooth water. We recommend that an experiment be made with one battery of this description on the terms proposed, with a guarantee and forfeiture in case of failure in any of the properties and points of the vessel as proposed. Price, $275,000; length of vessel, 174 feet; breadth of beam, 41 feet; depth of hold, 11½ feet; time, 100 days; draught of water, 10 feet; displacement, 1,245 tons; speed per hour, 9 statute miles.

"Merrick & Sons, Philadelphia.—Vessel of wood and iron combined. This proposition we consider the most practicable one for heavy armor. We recommend that a contract be made with that party, under a guarantee, with forfeiture in case of failure to comply with the specifications; and that the contract require the plates to be 15 feet long and 36 inches wide, with a reservation of some modifications, which may occur as the work progresses, not to affect the cost. Price, $780,000; length of vessel, 220 feet; breadth of beam, 60 feet; depth of hold, 23 feet; time, 9 months; draught of water, 13 feet; displacement, 3,296 tons; speed per hour, 9½ knots.

"S. C. Bushnell & Co., New Haven, Conn., propose a vessel to be iron-clad, on the rail and plate principle, and to obtain high speed. The objection to this vessel is the fear that she will not float her armor and load sufficiently high, and have stability enough for a sea vessel. With a guarantee that she shall do these, we recommend on that basis a contract.

"Price, $235,250; length of vessel, 180 feet; breadth of beam — feet; depth of hold, 12¾ feet; time, 4 months; draught of water, 10 feet; displacement, —— tons; speed per hour, 12 knots."

The recommendation was adopted by Congress, and the 3 vessels ordered to be built are the last three on the list given above.

The contract made with Capt. Ericsson stipulated for the completion of his battery within 100 days from the signing of the contract, which was Oct. 5th, 1861, and the extraordinary provision was introduced, that the test of the battery, upon which its acceptance by the U. S. Government depended, should be its withstanding the fire of the enemy's batteries at the shortest ranges, the United States agreeing to fit out the vessel with men, guns, &c. The following is a general description of the vessel as completed and delivered to the U. S. Government for trial, March 5, 1862. The hull is formed by two distinct parts, a lower and upper, both of which are flat-bottomed; the lower one built of ¾-inch iron, 124 feet long, 34 feet wide at the top, and 6½ feet deep. The sides incline at an angle of about 51° with a vertical line, and terminate in sharp ends, the bow projecting and coming to a point at an angle of 80°. The upper hull is 174 feet long, 41 feet 4 inches wide, with perpendicular sides 5 feet high. It juts over the lower hull on each side 3 feet 7 inches, and at each end 25 feet. The sides of this portion are built of white oak, 2½ feet thick, covered with 6 inches of iron plates on the outside, and a ¼-inch plating of iron within; the object of the latter being to arrest splinters in case of a ball penetrating the sides. The top is covered with a bomb-proof flat deck unprotected by any railing or bulwark. This deck consists of oak beams, 10 inches square and 26 inches apart, covered with 8-inch plank, and this with 2 layers of iron, each an inch thick. The draught of water is 10 feet, leaving only 18 inches above the surface. The projecting ends of the upper hull serve as a cover for the propeller and rudder in the stern and the anchor in the bow. The former are entirely out of reach of shot; and the latter is carried in the upper hull, from which it is readily lowered, and into which it is hoisted again by men working below, without any exposure or sign of their movements on the outside. The lower hull is so situated beneath the upper, that it can only be reached by a ball after this has passed through at least 25 feet of water, and the inclination of the sides would then prevent its penetration; and the upper is impregnable in its 6 inches of iron, backed with 30 inches of white oak and the inner lining of ¼-inch iron. The prominent object upon the deck in the middle of the boat is the turret or castle, a cylinder of 20 feet diameter within, and 9 feet high, built of 8 thicknesses of 1-inch plates, bolt-

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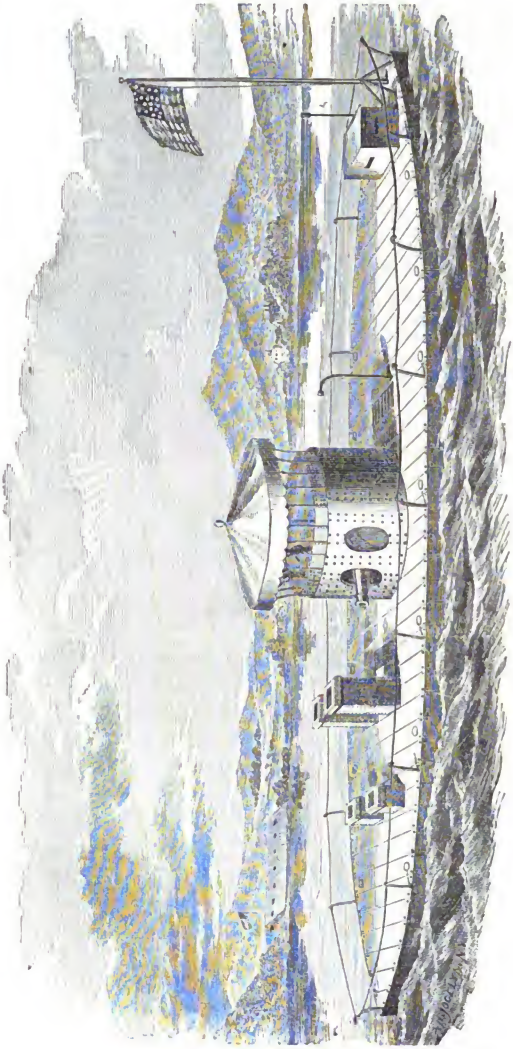

ERICSSON'S BATTERY—THE MONITOR.

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ed securely one over another with overlapping joints, and lined with an additional layer of iron an inch thick, thus making 9 inches in all. The weight of the turret is about 100 tons, and its support is a circular bed plate of composition metal firmly secured to the deck. Upon this it is supported except in time of action, when the weight is taken by a vertical central shaft of iron, with which it is made to revolve as desired, the motive power being a steam engine specially designed for this service, as also for working the blowers for the fires, and for ventilation. On the top, the turret is covered with iron beams and perforated iron, shell-proof. This, while it affords protection, admits the circulation of air necessary in working the guns. Small sliding iron hatchways are also provided to afford an entrance for the men through this portion. The turret is constructed for two heavy guns, which constitute the whole armament of the battery. They are placed precisely parallel with each other, and both are directed out the same side of the turret. Those selected for the first trial were 11-inch Dahlgren smooth-bore guns, carrying 168 lb. round shot. Some wrought-iron shot were provided for the first encounter, but their use was forbidden for fear of their bursting the guns, by reason of their weight, being 15 lbs. greater than that of the shot used in proving the guns. The portholes are circular openings, 3 feet above the deck, just large enough to admit the muzzle of the gun, and kept closed by a sliding shutter, managed on the inside, and removed only when the gun is run out to be fired. The gun-carriages are of wrought iron and run on slides very accurately constructed. The sighting of the guns was designed to be not over their line through the portholes; but four holes were pierced through the turret at the height of the eye for telescopes, and just outside of the holes reflectors were fixed, which bent the ray of light coming in a direction parallel with the guns through the axis of the telescope. In action, however, the ordinary mode of sighting was adopted. The turret is caused to revolve to the right or left, by the movement of a small wheel which controls the action of the steam, and is turned by the gunner or his assistants, and a scale is provided by which the elevation of the guns is also adjusted. When ready for firing, the shutter is triced up by the gunner, the piece is run out, fired, and instantly returns by the recoil, a friction clamp upon the sides of the ways arresting it at any desired point. On this side of the turret is an additional thickness of iron plating of about 3 inches. The pilot or wheel-house, as originally constructed, was a square box formed of bars or beams of wrought iron, 9 inches by 12, interlocked at the corners, and covered with heavy plating. Elongated horizontal apertures at the sides afford the only lookout for the helmsman. These apertures may also be used as loopholes for musketry if desirable. In the place of chimneys, bomb-proof gratings are set in the deck, and through these the smoke of the fires is driven out by the blowers; low temporary chimneys are however provided, which are removed in time of action. The deck is thus entirely free of all incumbrances, and the men who work the vessel and handle the guns, are all entirely out of sight beneath the invulnerable plating. All access into the interior is securely shut off, so that if the battery were boarded, the men could not be reached and no harm could be done to the vessel itself. Its sharp and powerful iron prow will enable it to sink with ease any wooden vessel it can reach, and its light draught allows of its running into shoal waters either for offensive operations or to retire, if necessary, to a distance from more powerful vessels of deeper draught. Her complement of men consists of 60 in all, of whom 11 are officers. The battery is evidently designed for harbor and river operations, and not for encountering heavy seas.*

* The important service soon performed by this vessel, and the immense consequences following the first encounter between iron-clad vessels, will justify us in presenting in this form a short sketch of her voyage, and of the battle in which she was immediately afterwards engaged, although the events properly belong to the year succeeding that to which this volume is particularly devoted. The Monitor was taken in tow from New York harbor by a steam-tug on the 6th of March, 1862, and propelled by her own steam-power also, was hurried towards Hampton Roads, to be in readiness, if possible, for the threatened descent upon our shipping of the frigate Merrimac, which the Confederates had covered with a heavy plating of iron, and with a roof forward formed of bars of railroad iron. In case of encountering storms, the original plan was to make a harbor, and thus avoid the dangers to which a vessel of this character would be subjected. The voyage, however, was performed through a heavy gale of wind and rough seas, which the vessel happily weathered, although the waves rolled over the top of the turret, and the water was driven with violence through the apertures necessarily left for ventilation, for the escape of smoke, &c. This threatened several times to extinguish the fires, and caused the engines to work so feebly, that they were incompetent to expel the noxious gases, or pump out the water. Several of the men and officers were rendered senseless by the suffocating fumes from the fires, and were only restored by being brought up into the turret, and exposed to the fresh air. In the height of the gale the tiller rope was thrown off the wheel, and but for the strong hawser connecting the battery with the tug-boat ahead, the former must have foundered before her movements could have been brought under any control. During the night, when those dangers were most imminent, no means whatever were available for signalling to the tug-boat the need of seeking protection nearer the shore, from which direction the wind came, and all on board were thus kept in constant alarm.

To those upon whom rested the responsibility of the great trial, upon which they were about to enter, no sleep was afforded after Friday morning the 7th of March. On Saturday evening the Monitor entered Hampton Roads as the engagement of the day was terminating between the Confederate ships—the iron-plated Merrimac, the Jamestown, and the Yorktown, with the United States vessels—the sloop-of-war Cumberland, the frigate Congress, and the steam-frigate Minnesota, the two former of which had already been destroyed, the one by the terrible battering power of the Merrimac, and the other by her heavy broadsides of shot and shell. During the night the Merrimac lay at anchor near Sewall's Point, and the Monitor remained near the Minnesota, which was fast aground between Fortress Monroe and Newport News. Early on Sunday morning the Merrimac was seen advancing towards the Minnesota, to renew the work of destruction she had so successfully prosecuted the day before. When within range, her shot were discharged at the frigate aground without any heed being paid to the apparently insignificant stranger within a mile of which she was passing. At this distance, those on board the Merrimac must have been astonished as one of the 11-inch Dahlgrens from the curious little tower upon the raft-like structure opened upon the ship with its hundred and sixty-eight pound shot. From that time the attack upon

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Stevens Battery.—In November an act was passed by Congress, directing the Secretary of the Navy to appoint a committee to examine the Stevens Battery at Hoboken, N. J., and report upon the expediency of its being completed by the Government. This board consisted of Commodore Stringham, Commander William Inman, Captain T. A. Dornin, and Chief Engineer A. C. Stimers, all of the United States Navy, and Prof. Joseph Henry, of the Smithsonian Institute, who met at the navy yard in Brooklyn, on the 1st of December, and proceeded to the investigation of the subject, with which they were charged. The report of the board, made Dec. 24th, was unfavorable for the completion of the ship, Prof. Henry, however, not fully concurring in the conclusion arrived at by the naval officers.

The ship is described as a long, slender iron vessel, evidently intended for high speed in smooth water, and but partially completed. Her length is 420 feet, and extreme breadth 53 feet. Her sides are built of ½-inch iron, riveted to ribs of angle iron 6 inches deep, 3 inches wide, and ½ inch thick, spaced two feet apart throughout the entire length. The bottom is strengthened with floor timbers of plate iron, secured to a heavy box keelson, running from stem to stern, and the plating over this portion is ⅝ of an inch thick. Five tubular boilers on each side, occupying 80 feet of the length of the vessel, are secured to the iron keelson, and immediately abaft these are the 8 main engines, nearly completed, and occupying 53 feet length of the vessel.

Four engines, of 1,000 horse power each, are connected with each of the two propeller shafts, which are worked quite independently of each other, so that the propellers, revolving in different directions, if desired, may be used to turn the ship round, or they may be used as a substitute for the rudder. Forward of the boilers are two pumping engines, and pumps for feeding the boilers, and two engines for running a large fan-blower for furnishing fresh air throughout the ship, drawn down through gratings in the bomb-proof deck above. This will cause a powerful draught in the furnace fires, independently of the height of the chimney. The lower deck, at the height of 14 feet above the bottom, is planned to extend forward and abaft the machinery, beneath which will be coal, water-tanks, and powder-magazines, and upon it provisions and shell rooms and other water tanks. The object of the tanks is for containing sea-water, which it is designed to admit to the extent of 1,100 tons, if necessary, in time of action, for the purpose of partially submerging, and thus better protecting, the vessel. At 21 feet from the bottom is the next deck, rendered bomb-proof forward and abaft the machinery, but over which it is to be of ordinary material. The portion of the ship protected by heavy armor is that occupied by the machinery, extending altogether 120 feet in length. From 3 feet outside the vessel, the sides against this portion are to be carried up on a slope of about 27° with the horizon, to 14 feet inboard, giving an upper deck 7 feet above the 21-feet deck, with the width of 23 feet amidships. The forward and after ends of this deck are formed like the sides, and slope down to the bomb-proof deck. The inclined armor is to be of 7 thicknesses of plate iron, making altogether 6¾ inches, supported upon iron beams 8 inches deep, and filled in between with locust, and locked with locust planks 6 inches thick. The upper deck is made bomb-proof by 3 layers of iron of 2 inches thickness, including wooden planking 6 inches thick. A light deck continues this platform fore and aft over the quarters of the men and officers. From the lower edge of the inclined armor at the 21-feet line, which is the load water-line, a strong protection of oak timbers, covered with iron plates, extends down the sides of the vessel to the depth of 6 feet. This protection is extended the whole length of the ship.

These arrangements will be better understood by reference to the accompanying cuts and explanations.

The armament, to be constructed especially for this battery, consists of 5 fifteen-inch guns,

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the Minnesota was abandoned, and attention was directed only to this new antagonist. The vessels soon came into close action, and no effect resulting from the shot of the Merrimac striking the Monitor, an attempt was made by the former to run down and crush or sink the smaller vessel. Five times the two vessels struck each other, and each time one of the guns of the Monitor was discharged directly against the plated sides of the Merrimac. The Minnesota directed her fire against the Merrimac, and two of her balls struck the Monitor, without, however, inflicting any damage. After the contest had raged for some hours, the Monitor, entirely unharmed, withdrew to some distance for the purpose of hoisting more shot into her turret; which being done, the fight was immediately re-commenced. The Merrimac soon appeared to be in a disabled condition, and gradually worked away towards the batteries at Sewall's Point. As afterwards ascertained, the heavy iron prow, projecting six feet from the stem of the Merrimac, was so wrenched by the concussion against the side of the Monitor, that the timbers of the frame were started, causing the vessel to leak badly. It is not known that the shot of the Monitor penetrated the sides of her opponent; but it has been reported and denied that the timbers behind the iron plating were shattered by the tremendous force of the blows. The Merrimac received some injury, and loss of life was incurred from the shot of the Minnesota, but to what extent is not known. During the fight, the first officer of the Monitor, Capt. A. H. Worden, took his station in the pilot-house, and directed the firing by signals to the First Lieutenant, S. Dana Greene, by whom the guns were trained and fired. One of the last shots of the Merrimac struck the pilot-house near the aperture through which Captain Worden was looking at the instant. The blow, which was so heavy as to break one of the great wrought-iron beams of the pilot-house, stunned this officer, seriously injuring his eyes and face. On the retiring of the Merrimac, the second officer, now taking charge of the vessel, knowing that another shot striking the pilot-house would be likely to complete its destruction, and render the vessel unmanageable by disabling the steering apparatus; and acting under positive orders which restricted the Monitor to a defensive course, except so far as might be necessary to protect the Minnesota, declined to pursue the Merrimac, and remained by the Minnesota. Excepting the damage to the pilot-house, the Monitor received no injury in this naval battle. Two men leaning against the inner wall of the turret were knocked down and stunned for a short time by a shot striking the opposite side against them, but no other inconveniences were experienced by the officers and crew. Many marks of shot were found upon the sides, turret, and deck of the Monitor, the deepest penetration of which was on the vertical sides, amounting in one instance to 4½ inches. On the tower the deepest depression was 1½ inches, and on the deck ¼ inch.

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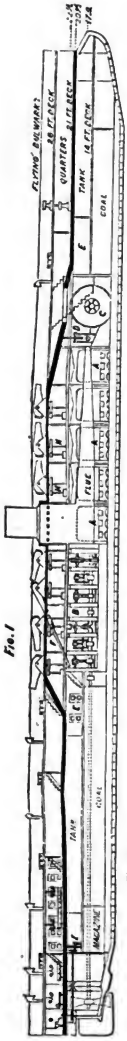


Fig. 1

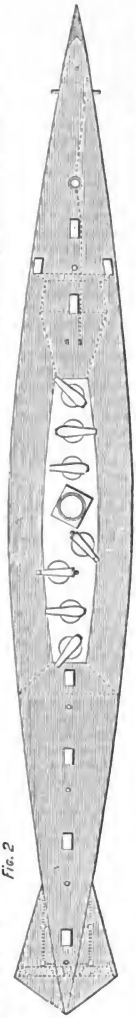
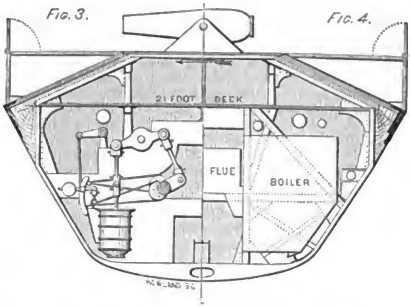


Fig. 2



DESCRIPTION OF THE STEVENS BATTERY.

Fig. 1, longitudinal section. All parts below the heavy line representing the armor, are protected from shot and shells.

A, Boilers.
B, Engines.
C, Blowers.
D, Pumping Engines.
EE, Stowage.
F, one of the Steam-loading Cylinders.
H, Steam Machinery for training the guns.
I, Helm.

Fig. 2, Deck Plan. The light part under the guns is the top of the casemates, and is level with the rest of the upper deck.

Fig. 3, half cross section, 54 feet aft the centre, through the engines.

Fig. 4, half cross-section, 40 feet forward the centre, through the boilers.

THE HULL.

Length over all, 420 feet.
Breadth over all, 53 feet.
Depth from upper or gun deck, 28 feet.
Draft of water, without coal or stores, 17 feet 2 inches.
Draft of water, with coal and stores, 20 feet 6 inches.
Fighting draft, 22 feet 6 inches.

THE ENGINES AND BOILERS.

Number of screw-propellers, 2.
Number of engines, 8.
Diameter of cylinders, 3 feet 9 inches.
Length of stroke, 3 feet 6 inches.
Number of boilers, 10.
Horse power, 8,600.

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capable of throwing round shot of 425 lbs. weight, and 2 ten-inch rifled guns. They are to rest on wrought-iron shot-proof carriages, each of the 15-inch guns, with its carriage, weighing 60,000 lbs., and each of the 10-inch guns, with its carriage, 40,000 lbs. The weight of broadside thrown by these guns is 2,200 lbs., far exceeding that of any other war vessel in the world. The weight of broadside of all the guns of the Warrior is 1,564 lbs, and of the Minnesota, unprotected by armor, is 1,122 lbs. The original plan was to depend upon the immense weight and strength of these guns for their protection against the shot of the enemy, and it was supposed that they might themselves be sufficient defence to the single man required upon deck to each one for sighting it; but a covering of wrought iron is also devised for their further security in their exposed situation *en barbette*. The whole arrangement for loading and training them is of an exceedingly novel character, designed to be conducted entirely by men below the deck, and with steam machinery, under the direction of the gunner in charge of each gun. The loading is performed by depressing the muzzle into an opening in the deck at an angle of about 20°. The bore is thus brought in line with the steam cylinder, below which it has, upon the outer and upper extremity of its piston-rod, a compound sponge and rammer. On admitting steam to one side and the other of this piston, the gun is sponged out, and the ammunition being placed in a position near the muzzle, is rammed home by the steam rammer, after which the piece is elevated, trained upon the enemy, and fired. The recoil is received by springs of india rubber disks, making a pile on each side 40 inches long, which throw the piece forward into position again, similar springs in front checking the return movement in that direction.

The total expenditure upon the vessel has been $728,435.87, of which the Government has paid $500,000 and Mr. Edwin A. Stevens the remainder. The amount required to complete the vessel is estimated at $554,858.13, making the total cost $1,283,294. The following were the principal objections found by the board in the construction and equipment of the ship: her great length compared with the transverse strength rendering her unsafe in a heavy sea, while for harbor service alone, she would be inconvenient on account of her length and draught of water; the exposure of the quarters of the men and officers to be flooded by shot-holes in the unprotected sides near the water-line when the ship is submerged below the 21-feet deck; a want of sufficient strength above the 14-feet line for the support of the heavy armor; the inefficiency of the side armor forward and abaft the central protected part; the danger to the light deck when the heavy guns are fired nearly on a line with the keel. This last objection, however, was withdrawn after the board had witnessed some experiments made by Mr. Stevens in firing a 10-inch gun over a deck temporarily arranged on the same plan. The others also have been ably answered by Mr. Stevens in a memorial he addressed to the Senate and House of Representatives in February, 1862, in which he fully explained the peculiarities in the construction of the vessel, presented the opinions of experts thoroughly acquainted with the construction of iron steamships, who reported unanimously their opinions in favor of the great strength and safety of the vessel, and her great capacity of speed, &c., which is estimated at not less than 17 nautical or 20 statute miles an hour.

This memorial, which forms a large printed pamphlet, contains much valuable information respecting iron-clad ships, the history of their earliest designs, and offers an interesting explanation of the fact of the French preceding all other European governments in adopting this class of war vessels, their first idea on the subject being derived from an eminent person, who, when an exile, became aware of some of the author's experiments. On the 31st of December Mr. Stevens having made preparations for a series of experiments at Hoboken, upon a large scale, invited the board appointed to examine the battery, together with a large number of gentlemen, officials and others, to witness their results. On the day appointed, Jan. 4, a large company assembled at Hoboken, where they were shown the battery in its incomplete state, and the models and plans according to which it was to be finished. After this the following experiments were made: a 10-inch gun, procured from the Navy Department, weighing 9,883 pounds, was mounted with India rubber buffers behind the trunnions. This gun was loaded with a full service charge, 11 pounds of powder, and a solid spherical ball weighing 124 pounds, and was fired at a target exactly representing a section of the armor of the battery, and anchored in the river, 220 yards from the gun. The target was composed of layers of plate iron from five-eighths to two inches thick, making 6¾ inches in all. It was 4 feet broad, 8 feet long, and set at an angle of 27½ degrees with the horizon.

The iron was backed with two layers of locust timbers seven inches thick each. In the lower layer were imbedded wrought-iron beams six inches high, four feet long, and two feet apart, weighing forty-six pounds to the yard.

Beneath the wood was a half-inch iron plate, making the entire thickness twenty-one and one-fourth inches. The upper and lower plates were fastened to the wood by wood screws fifteen inches apart, and the side edges of the upper plates were battened by iron, one inch thick and three inches wide, and riveted together.

This target rested on a raft, so as to have no support except at the edges, the lower part of it was 18 inches under water.

After a few experimental shots, the gun was pointed at the target, and the first shot struck it 21 inches above the water, and within nine

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inches of the right edge of the target. Its effect was to make an indentation and deflection, which together were $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches deep in the deepest place, and which ran out to the surface or diminished to nothing in a distance of 13 inches measured on the line of flight without cracking any of the plates. The second shot passed to the right of the target, and the third went over it. The fourth shot struck the target on its left side, 13 inches from the edge, and 11 inches above the water, with the same effect as that of the first shot, except that the depression was $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches deep. The figure of this indentation was similar to that of the first. The recoil of the gun was $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and did no injury to the carriage or buffers.

This gun was loaded by steam-power, the muzzle being depressed so as to bring the bore parallel with a steam cylinder situated below a platform made to represent the deck of the battery. The platform was composed of white pine planks, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, resting on pine beams 5 inches square and 2 feet apart from centre to centre, and caulked and pitched in the usual manner. The piston-rod of this steam cylinder was the ramrod of the gun. Upon the upper end of this ramrod was a swab, which also answered the purpose of a rammer. The cartridge and ball were attached to a *sabot* and placed on a scoop, arranged so as to lift the ball to its proper position between the rammer and the muzzle of the gun, when steam being admitted to the cylinder, the ball was forced home. The gun was then elevated, sighted, and fired.

The deck above described was $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the line of fire. Upon examination after the firing, no injury or change could be perceived in the deck or its caulkings.

A Parrott rifled gun having a $6\frac{4}{10}$-inch bore, and weighing about 9,300 lbs., was then fired at the target with 10 lbs. of powder and an elongated shell weighing 100 lbs. Several of these shots were fired, and one struck the target 4 feet 6 inches from the water, and 6 inches from the right side, making a depression one inch deep and running out to the surface at a distance of 8 inches without doing other injury to the plates. This shot grazed the edge of the batten, displacing the corner to the depth of half an inch. The mounting of this gun was such that temporary sights had to be used, which accounts for the inaccuracy of its aim.

The experiments of settling and raising a vessel and of turning her on her centre were tried with the iron steamboat Naugatuck. She is 100 feet long by 20 feet beam and 7 feet depth of hold, and is arranged with apartments at the ends and on deck for receiving the water to depress her. The water was pumped into the compartments and on deck, depressing the vessel 2 feet $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and submerging the deck 6 inches in 15 minutes. The water was then pumped out in 8 minutes, restoring the vessel to her original draft. The vessel was turned end for end in $1\frac{1}{4}$ minutes, by reversing one of her two screw propellers. These experiments were repeated several times with substantially the same results.

On the 11th further experiments were made in the presence of General Scott, General Anderson, Colonel Delafield, and other officers, engineers, and citizens. The 10-inch gun, mounted as before described, was loaded by steam with 11 pounds of powder and a 124-pound ball, and fired four times with the same charge; the entire time occupied by the four shots being 139 consecutive seconds, and the average time being $34\frac{3}{4}$ seconds. The quickest time was 25 seconds. The average was increased by the failure of a friction primer to go off. A 225-pound elongated shot was afterwards fired with 4 pounds of powder, having been loaded with the same rapidity as the 124-pound shots, and the recoil being less. The raft on which the target was secured, having been carried away by the floating ice in the river, it could not be replaced in time for this experiment.

The energies of the navy were severely tested during the year, in maintaining the blockade of an immense line of sea coast. So successful was this effort that the governments of Europe acknowledged its efficiency, and refrained from any interference. The other operations may be briefly stated. On the 12th of April, upon the receipt of orders from Secretary Welles conveyed by Lieutenant Worden, the commander of the fleet off Pensacola harbor, Captain Adams, prepared to reënforce Fort Pickens, and the same night the troops under Captain Vodges, and the marines under Lieutenant Cash were landed. No opposition was made, and no accident or disorder occurred. The expedition was under the command of Commander Charles H. Poor, assisted by Lieutenants Smith, Lewis, Newman, and Belknap.

On the 31st of May, the gunboat Freeborn, supported by the Anacosta and Resolute, made a serious cannonade upon the Confederate batteries at Aquia Creek. The firing continued for two hours, and the three lower batteries of the enemy were silenced. The action was recommenced on the next day, a higher tier of batteries being engaged, and continued for five hours, from half-past eleven A. M. to half-past four P. M. The gunboat Pawnee was engaged on the second day. Some damage was done to the vessels, but no one was killed.

On the 5th of June, the steamer Harriet Lane opened fire upon the Confederate battery at Pig Point. This was for the purpose of ascertaining the strength of the battery. Thirty rounds of shot and shell were thrown from the steamer, and about fifty from the battery. The vessel was somewhat injured, but no lives were lost. (*See* PIG POINT.)

On the 3d of June the brig Perry captured the privateer Savannah. (*See* PRIVATEERS.)

On the 26th of June the Freeborn and Reliance, gunboats, made an attack on the Confederate batteries at Matthias Point, and were

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repulsed, with the loss of Commander Ward, killed, and four wounded. (*See* WARD, and MATTHIAS POINT.)

On the 21st of July, a battalion of marines, under the command of Major John G. Reynolds, was present and took part in the battle of Bull Run. (*See* BULL RUN.)

On the 25th of July, Lieutenant Crosby, with five launches and four boats from Fortress Monroe, proceeded up Back River, a small stream, not far from the fortress, and destroyed ten vessels. They also brought back a schooner heavily laden with corn, provisions, and other articles.

On the 10th of August, Galveston, in Texas, was bombarded by Commander Alden. (*See* GALVESTON.)

On the 15th of August, the gunboats Reliance and Resolute were despatched to make a reconnoissance of Matthias Point. A boat was sent with a small party to capture another boat seen on the Virginia shore. As the former approached the shore they were fired on from the bushes, and three of the boat's crew were instantly killed and one wounded. The gunboats opened fire upon the covert and drove the enemy out, when the boat's crew was brought off by assistance from one of the vessels.

On the 26th of August, the naval and military expedition to Hatteras Inlet sailed from Hampton Roads. (*See* EXPEDITIONS.)

On the 10th of September, the gunboat Conestoga, Lieutenant S. E. Phelps, opened fire on a Confederate battery at Lucas Bend, a few miles below Cairo on the Mississippi River. There were sixteen pieces of field artillery and one heavy piece in the battery. Some of the guns were rifled. In a short time the gunboat Lexington, under Commander Stembel, arrived. The guns of the battery constantly changed their position on the shore, and the boats moved up or down in like manner. As the former were silenced at one spot they reappeared at another until they were finally silenced. Several shots were also fired at a Confederate gunboat, which retired to Columbus. The object of the movement of the gunboats was to accompany a body of troops marching down the Missouri side of the river.

On the 13th of September, the schooner Judah was destroyed as she lay at the Pensacola navy yard. (*See* PENSACOLA.)

On the 14th of September, the fort on Beacon Island, at Ocrocoke Inlet, was destroyed and twenty-two guns disabled.

On the 16th of September, a naval force under Commander Melancthon Smith occupied Ship Island.

On the 5th of October, the gunboat Monticello, Lieutenant D. L. Braine, shelled a Confederate force on Hatteras Island and the steamers from which they had landed. (*See* HATTERAS ISLAND.)

On the 5th of October, an attempt was made to cut off two boats and twenty-three men belonging to the steamer Louisiana, which had been sent to destroy a schooner at Chincoteague Inlet, Virginia. The schooner was destroyed, and four of the Federal force were wounded. The injury to the Confederates is unknown.

On the 11th of October, a large schooner was destroyed in Quantico (or Dumfries) Creek by a Federal force in two launches under Lieutenant A. D. Harrall. It was dark at the time, and the attacking party was fired upon by a considerable Confederate force on the shore.

On the 11th of October, a Confederate battery at Lynnhaven Bay was silenced by the propeller Daylight, Commander Samuel Lockwood. The battery had opened fire upon an American ship, which, during a gale, had dragged within reach of its guns.

On the 13th of October, the affair at the Passes of the Mississippi took place. (*See* LOUISIANA.)

On the 21st of October, a skirmish at long range took place between the steamer Massachusetts, Captain Smith, and a Confederate steamer of light draft and great speed, in Mississippi Sound. The Massachusetts was struck by a 68-pounder shell, but continued the engagement until her ammunition was exhausted.

On the night of October 27, a boat expedition from the steamer Louisiana destroyed a schooner at Swan's Bug Creek, near Chincoteague Inlet, Virginia.

About October 30, Lieutenant Phelps with three companies of an Illinois regiment in the gunboat Conestoga, attacked a Confederate force at Eddyville, up the Tennessee River, 62 miles from Paducah. Forty-four prisoners were taken, and also stores.

On the 7th of November, the batteries at Port Royal were captured. (*See* EXPEDITIONS.)

On the 9th of November, the gunboats Taylor, Commander Walke, and Lexington, Commander Stembel, participated in a disastrous attack on the batteries at Belmont on the Mississippi River. On the same day a schooner was burned at Currituwan Creek, Va., by a force from the gunboat Cambridge, Commander W. A. Parker.

On the 14th of November, the gunboat Corwin had a conflict with a Confederate steamer at Hatteras Inlet.

A number of exploits were performed before the close of the year by the gunboats of the navy.

NEW HAMPSHIRE is one of the New England States, and one of the original members of the Confederation. It is situated between lat. 42° 41′ and 45° 11′ N., and long. 70° 40′ and 72° 28′ W. from Greenwich. Its length from north to south is 176 miles; extreme breadth, 90 miles; average breadth, 45 miles; area, 9,280 square miles, or 5,939,200 acres. The population in 1860 was—whites, 325,622; free colored, 450; total, 326,072. It is bounded north by Lower Canada, east by Maine and the Atlantic, south by Massachusetts, and west by Vermont, from which it is separated by the Connecticut River. It is divided into ten counties.

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The valuation of the real and personal property of its citizens in 1850, was $103,652,835; in 1860, $156,310,860. The vote at the presidential election in the same year was as follows: Lincoln, 37,519; Douglas, 25,881; Breckinridge 2,112; Bell, 441. At the presidential election in 1856 the vote was as follows: Fremont, 38,345; Buchanan, 32,789; Fillmore, 422. The State had, on the 1st of January, 1862, 684 miles of railway completed and in progress, of which 658 miles, constructed and equipped at a cost of $22,676,234, were open for traffic.

The State responded promptly to the call for troops in April, and the Governor issued the following proclamation:—

CONCORD, *April* 16, 1861.

SIR: The President of the United States having, in pursuance of the act of Congress approved February 28, 1795, called upon the State of New Hampshire for a regiment of militia, consisting of ten companies of infantry, to be held in readiness to be mustered into the service of the United States for the purpose of quelling an insurrection and supporting the Government, I, Ichabod Goodwin, Governor of New Hampshire, command you to make proclamation, calling for volunteers from the enrolled militia of this State to the number required, and to issue from time to time all necessary orders and instructions for enrolling and holding in readiness to be mustered into service said volunteer corps, agreeable to the aforesaid requisition. ICHABOD GOODWIN.

To the Adjutant-General N. H. Militia.

On the 8th of May the first regiment was ready, and it left Concord for the seat of war on the 25th of May.

The election for State officers had taken place on the second Tuesday of March, and the republican candidate, Nathaniel S. Berry, was elected, receiving a majority of 4,496 votes over his opponent, George Stark. The new Governor was not inaugurated till the session of the Legislature on the 5th of June. In his Message delivered the next day, he urged immediate attention to such measures as were necessary to aid the General Government in the war which was made upon it by a portion of the States, and trusted that New Hampshire would be behind none of her sister States in the appropriation of men and money for the purpose. He recommended the organization of at least one regiment for every county in the State, to be thoroughly drilled and equipped for service at the call of the Legislature.

To these recommendations the Legislature responded most cordially. During the session of thirty days, resolutions were reported declaring the war now in progress to be solely for the maintenance of the Government and the suppression of rebellion; declaring against the right of secession; asserting that neither the President nor Congress can constitutionally entertain any proposition which had for its object the dismemberment of the Government or the dissolution of the Union; and finally declaring that the State of New Hampshire pledged her resources for the integrity of the Union, the support of the Constitution, and the enforcement of the laws of the General Government. When these resolutions were put to the vote, the members all rose and gave a unanimous aye. A militia bill was passed, authorizing the Governor to raise three regiments, to each of which he might add a company of artillery, cavalry, and riflemen. One million of dollars was also appropriated for recruiting, arming, and equipping troops for the service of the United States. Eight regiments were raised and sent forward during the year: one for three months, mustered into service on the 7th of May, 1861; which returned and was mustered out of the service on the 9th of August, 1861; and seven regiments for three years or during the war; and one battery of artillery, three companies of sharpshooters, and four companies of cavalry. The whole number of enlistments, since the first requisition by the President, was 9,197 men. The sums paid for recruiting and equipping the several regiments and companies amounted to $893,333 26.

In November, the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Chase, wrote to the Governor as follows:

Will you inform me, at the earliest practicable period, whether the authorities of New Hampshire will assume and pay the amount of direct tax apportioned to that State by the existing law; and also whether, in case of any change in the law by which a different and perhaps larger amount shall be apportioned to the State, the authorities will probably assume and pay it?

I am, very respectfully,
S. P. CHASE, Sec. of the Treasury.

NATHANIEL S. BERRY, Governor, &c.

To this inquiry the Governor replied as follows:

In answer, I would say that, in order that our State may avail itself of the advantages of said act, you are hereby notified and assured that it is the intention of the authorities of this State to assume and pay such direct tax into the Treasury of the United States, agreeably to the provisions of said act. And, in case of any change by which even a larger amount shall be apportioned to this State, it will probably be assumed and paid, as aforesaid.

I respectfully suggest that it may be the wish of our State, if agreeable to the Department, to allow, in the form of a just and reasonable set-off against said tax, such just debts and claims as may be due and owing from the General Government to the Treasurer of this State, lawfully created and advanced, to furnish troops, agreeably to the acts of Congress on that subject. We also with pleasure assure you that New Hampshire will, by her men and money, furnish her full proportion of the means requisite to crush out this unholy rebellion, at such times and occasions as the General Government shall demand.

Very respectfully,
NATHANIEL S. BERRY.

To S. P. CHASE, Secretary of Treasury.

The banking capital in the State is $5,131,000, which was reduced during the year by $102,000, on the part of some of the banks. There are twenty-seven savings institutions in the State, with an aggregate of assets amounting to $5,860,229; the amount due to depositors was $5,653,585, and the surplus $206,948. The State debt on the 1st of June, 1861, was $31,668, which was considerably reduced during the remainder of the year.

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NEW JERSEY. The State of New Jersey was one of the original thirteen, and is one of the Middle States. It is almost entirely surrounded by navigable waters, being separated from Pennsylvania and Delaware on the west and south by the river and bay of Delaware, and on the east having the Atlantic Ocean, Staten Island Sound, the Kills, and the Hudson River. The northeastern boundary, which separates it from New York, is a line drawn from 40° on the Hudson, to a point on the Delaware 41° 21′ north latitude. The greatest length of the State, from Cape May to Carpenter's Point, is 166 miles. Its breadth varies from 40 to 75 miles, and the surface is 7,276 square miles.

The population of the State of New Jersey is, by the census of 1860, 672,024. In 1850, it was 489,319 whites, and 236 slaves. A number of legal slaves still exist in the State; but being mostly the attached servants of old families, are not regarded in the light of slaves. The progress of population in the State has been very rapid in the last ten years by accessions from New York. The soil of New Jersey is good, and, by the valuation of the census, it ranks higher than that of any other State.

The number of the electoral votes of the State is seven, and it was the only Northern vote not given entirely to Mr. Lincoln. There were cast three for Mr. Douglas.

The Governor is elected for three years. The Senate consists of twenty-one members, elected for three years; and the House of sixty, elected for one year. The Governor is Chas. S. Olden.

The city of Newark has a population of 72,000; and the census shows its annual manufactures at $23,264,313, of which $18,000,000 found a market at the South.

The people of New Jersey were apparently alive to the dangers which threatened the country through the course of events. A State Union Convention was called to meet at Trenton on the 11th of December, 1860, the same day on which the South Carolina Senators withdrew from Congress.

The following is the call for the Convention:

The undersigned respectfully invite the people of New Jersey to assemble in mass Convention at Trenton on Tuesday, the 11th instant, at 12 o'clock, at the State House, to consider the condition of national affairs, and to concert such measures as may be deemed advisable under the present crisis of our Republic. All national men in favor of constitutional Union measures are invited to attend.

The call was signed by representatives of all the national parties in the State by thousands.

The Convention assembled on the day appointed, amidst a vast concourse of people at Trenton.

The following preamble and resolutions were adopted:

Whereas, history records that to New Jersey is due the credit of having given such instructions to her Commissioners, which met at Annapolis in 1786, to adopt measures for a more perfect union of the States, which led to the assembling of the Convention of 1787, which formed that admirable Constitution that, under the blessing of God, has conferred such inestimable benefits on the people of the United States; and whereas, New Jersey has always faithfully abided by the compacts and agreements to which she assented when she accepted and adopted the Constitution of the United States; and whereas, that Constitution was the result of generous and magnanimous concession and compromise, and New Jersey is now, as formerly, willing to make any proper concession, or give any proper additional guarantees which wisdom and patriotism may require for its promotion; and whereas, from the foregoing consideration, it is evidently proper that New Jersey should interpose, and by her conservative voice invite her sister States, as well as all extremists of all parties and sections, to pause and deliberate, and consent to make one more patriotic effort in the preservation of the Union which Washington pronounced the "palladium of our liberty;" therefore be it

Resolved, That there is imminent danger of the dissolution of the United States.

Resolved, That the cause of the present portentous crisis is the actual and threatened interference on the part of the Northern agitators with the rights and property of the people of fifteen States of this Union.

Resolved, That we see no remedy for this deplorable state of public affairs unless the North, in the most prompt and explicit manner, shall avow its determination to remove all political agitation for the abolition of slavery; shall repeal all acts designed to nullify or embarrass the faithful execution of the fugitive slave law; shall consent to the citizen of the South enjoying the services of his domestic while temporarily sojourning here on business or pleasure; and shall accord to the South all the rights of property guaranteed by the Constitution and the laws, and the decisions of the Supreme Court in pursuance thereof.

Resolved, That it is no valid objection to the concession or compromises which we have suggested that they are compromises of political principles; for the Constitution was only made by concession and compromise of political principles, and in all its parts we trace the evidence of the mutual surrender and compromise of political principles.

Resolved, That five delegates from this Convention be appointed to confer with our sister States, and urge upon them the necessity of the measures which we have suggested as indispensable to the restoration of amity between the States and the preservation of the Union.

The following extracts, from letters addressed to friends in Washington, by two among the distinguished Jerseymen who participated in the proceedings of the Convention, give an idea of the prevailing sentiment:

From Commodore Stockton.—If the South will only give us time, we will bring the North in entire and honorable fraternity with the South. We will save the Union if they (the South) will postpone action until the spring. I have no doubt that the sentiment of the North will be practically in accord with our address.

From Samuel J. Bayard.—We had a great Convention yesterday in Trenton. A more respectable or imposing body of men for character, property, gravity, and every element of importance, never assembled in New Jersey. The public mind is becoming much alarmed in New Jersey in spite of all attempts to make light of current events.

The Legislature assembled January 8th, and the conservative feeling was strong. A spirit of conciliation and compromise, blended with anxiety for the Union and national honor, was paramount among the people of the State, and was strongly reflected in the tone of the Message of the Governor. He remarked: "Unwilling to abandon the cause, and clinging to the hope that the Committee of Congress, appointed for that purpose, will agree on measures of com-

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promise, we anxiously await the result. If it should appear that their views cannot be harmonized, then I earnestly recommend that (unless some more approved plan is proposed) without delay you adopt a resolution inviting all the States to appoint delegates, in such manner as can be most speedily and satisfactorily done, who shall meet and endeavor to agree upon terms by which our Union may be saved. We cannot believe it possible that such a Convention would fail to agree on terms acceptable to a majority in all sections of the country, and these terms could be presented to Congress as the united wish of the people of the States."

In accordance with this disposition, January 15th, the Committee on National Affairs in the Legislature reported joint resolutions, endorsing the Crittenden compromise, and instructing Senators, and requesting Representatives to support them in Congress, also to call upon Congress for a National Convention. The resolutions were adopted by the Legislature and laid before Congress. They were as follows:

Joint Resolutions on the state of the Union, passed by the Legislature of New Jersey.

Whereas the people of New Jersey, conforming to the opinion of "the Father of his Country," consider the unity of the Government, which constitutes the people of the United States one people, a main pillar in the edifice of their independence, the support of their tranquillity at home and peace abroad, of their prosperity, and of that liberty which they so highly prize; and properly estimating the immense value of their national Union to their individual happiness, they cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it as the palladium of their political safety and prosperity; therefore,

1. *Be it resolved by the Senate and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey*, That it is the duty of every good citizen, in all suitable and proper ways, to stand by and sustain the Union of the States as transmitted to us by our fathers.

2. *And be it resolved*, That the Government of the United States is a National Government, and the union it was designed to perfect is not a mere compact or league; and that the Constitution was adopted in a spirit of mutual compromise and concession by the people of the United States, and can only be preserved by the constant recognition of that spirit.

3. *And be it resolved*, That however undoubted may be the right of the General Government to maintain its authority and enforce its laws over all parts of the country, it is equally certain that forbearance and compromise are indispensable at this crisis to the perpetuity of the Union; and that it is the dictate of reason, wisdom, and patriotism, peacefully to adjust whatever differences exist between the different sections of our country.

4. *And be it resolved*, That the resolutions and propositions submitted to the Senate of the United States by Hon. John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, for the compromise of the question in dispute between the people of the Northern and of the Southern States, or any other constitutional method of settling the slave question permanently, will be acceptable to the people of the State of New Jersey, and the Senators and Representatives in Congress from New Jersey be requested and earnestly urged to support these resolutions and propositions.

5. *And be it resolved*, That as the union of these States is in imminent danger, unless the remedies before suggested be speedily adopted, then, as a last resort, the State of New Jersey hereby makes application, according to the terms of the Constitution, to the Congress of the United States, to call a Convention (of the States) to propose amendments to said Constitution.

6. *And be it resolved*, That such of the States as have in force laws which interfere with the constitutional rights of citizens of the other States either in regard to their persons or property, or which militate against the just construction of that part of the Constitution that provides that the "citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States," are earnestly urged and requested, for the sake of peace and the Union, to repeal all such laws.

7. *And be it resolved*, That his Excellency, Charles S. Olden, Peter D. Vroom, Robert F. Stockton, Benjamin Williamson, Joseph F. Randolph, Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, Rodman M. Price, Thomas J. Stryker, and William C. Alexander, be appointed commissioners to confer with Congress and our sister States, and urge upon them the importance of carrying into effect the principles and objects of the foregoing resolutions.

8. *And be it resolved*, That the commissioners above named, in addition to their other powers, be authorized to meet with those now or hereafter to be appointed by our sister State of Virginia, and such commissioners of other States as have been or may hereafter be appointed, to meet at Washington on the 4th of February next.

On the 24th of January these resolutions passed the Senate, 11 to 6. The affirmative being 10 Democrats and 1 National Union. On the 25th they passed the House, 31 to 11.

Those Republican members who supported Mr. Lincoln adopted the following preamble and resolutions:

Resolutions of the Republican members of the New Jersey Legislature, on the present state of the Union.

Whereas the Democratic majority of the Legislature of New Jersey, now in session, have, by a strictly party vote, passed certain resolutions, indorsing the Crittenden compromise resolutions and propositions, and declaring the same to be acceptable to the people of New Jersey, and we, the friends and supporters of Lincoln and Hamlin, representing in said Legislature one-half of the people of New Jersey, totally dissent from the resolutions passed by the Democratic majority, and it is proper that the views of ourselves and our constituents should be formally made known to the whole country; therefore,

Resolved, That we adhere to the following resolutions, presented in our behalf and supported by us unanimously in our respective places in the Senate and General Assembly of New Jersey, to wit:

1. *Be it resolved*, That the Constitution of the United States was ordained and established, as set forth in the preamble, by the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity; and if the people of any State in the Union are not in the full enjoyment of all the benefits intended to be secured to them by the said Constitution; if their rights under it are disregarded, their tranquillity disturbed, their prosperity retarded, or their liberties imperilled, by the people of any other State, full and adequate redress can, and ought to be, provided for such grievances through the action of Congress, and the other proper departments of the National Government.

2. *And be it resolved*, That while the people of New Jersey can make no concessions to, or compromise with traitors, levying war against the Government, seizing its fortresses and revenues, and firing upon its flag, yet they admire the patriotic fidelity of those true friends of the Union who are fighting an unequal battle in the Southern States, and they pledge them their coöperation in all measures needful for their welfare, security, and happiness within the

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Union and under the Constitution; that they cannot surrender their love of liberty and their cherished principles, yet they are willing, if acceptable to them, to unite in establishing a policy which shall be final and conclusive in its settlement of existing difficulties, upon the basis of the following propositions:

I. A sacred guarantee that neither Congress nor any branch of the Federal Government shall interfere in any manner with the peculiar systems of labor or domestic institutions of any of the States.

II. A prompt repression of all armed invasions of any State or Territory, and the speedy and sure punishment of all persons engaged in such lawless attempts.

III. A faithful execution of that clause of the Constitution which provides "that no person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on the claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due," and all laws passed in pursuance thereof, and the repeal of all State laws, the purpose and intent of which are to prevent their faithful execution, and also the faithful execution of those equally important clauses of the Constitution which requires that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States," that "the rights of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated," and that "no person shall be deprived of life or property, without due process of law."

IV. An enabling act, providing that all that portion of the territory of the United States in which slavery was not prohibited by the Missouri compromise, passed in 1820, comprising all south of the parallel of 36° 30′ north latitude, and now constituting the Territory of New Mexico, shall be formed into a State which shall be admitted into the Union upon an equal footing with the other States, with or without slavery as the people shall decide: *Provided*, That in all the territory belonging to the United States, north of the parallel aforesaid, slavery or involuntary servitude, except for crime, shall be forever prohibited.

3. *And be it resolved*, That the Government of the United States is a National Government; and the Union it was designed to create is not a mere compact or league, but is indissoluble by any authority except the whole people of the United States; and the Government and the Union thus established it is the duty of every good citizen to maintain and defend at all hazards.

4. *And be it resolved*, That the Constitution of the United States contains all the powers necessary to the maintenance of its authority, and it is the solemn and most imperative duty of the Government to adopt and carry into effect whatever measures may be necessary to that end; and the faith and the power of New Jersey are hereby pledged to the support of such measures, in any manner and to any extent that may be required of her by the constituted authorities of the United States.

The first sentence in this preamble is hardly explicit. The Republicans had ten members in the Senate, yet only six voted against the resolution. In the House there were 24 Republicans, 13 of whom did not oppose the resolutions adopted by the Legislature; nevertheless their action would have been of a soothing character, had it not had an appearance of factions dissent from the majority of the Legislature.

On the 27th of January a joint committee was appointed to reconstruct the legislative districts in accordance with the new census.

Much of the session was passed in discussion upon railroad bills, that were respectively urged by the Camden and Amboy Railroad, and by the N. J. Railroad. Just previous to the adjournment all those desired by the former company were passed.

The Legislature having adjourned, the people waited with anxiety for the result of affairs at the South, when, on the 15th of April, they were startled by the news of the fall of Fort Sumter.

The military board immediately assembled at Trenton. On the arrival of the detailed call for troops from Washington, orders were issued to the major-generals at the head of the four military divisions of the State to raise in each division one regiment. The uniformed companies, called by law the active militia, in the several divisions, were first enrolled, and the residue filled up from the reserve militia.

The city of Trenton was quite excited. Gov. Olden ordered Company A of the City Battalion to the State arsenal, under apprehensions that the arms would be taken away, although such apprehensions were utterly groundless.

Meanwhile tenders of services were made from all quarters of the State.

On the 17th of April Governor Olden issued a formal proclamation, calling for the four militia regiments, one from each division, to number 780 men each, and ordering them to rendezvous at Trenton, the capital of the State.

The enthusiasm was now great, although many Unionists were annoyed by parties who sought to fasten unpopular suspicions on them by compelling them to make public demonstration of sentiments from which they had never wavered.

The Trenton Bank and the Mechanics' Bank tendered loans of $25,000 each to the Governor to aid the regiments. A national salute was fired from the State arsenal in honor of the Boston troops passing through. Meetings and assemblages were common in all parts of the State.

April 20. Gen Runyon's regiment at Newark was nearly ready to move, and the Common Council of Newark voted $100,000 to provide for the families of volunteers, and $5,000 for their equipment.

Gov. Olden called an extra session of the Legislature of the State, to meet on Tuesday, April 30, at 12 o'clock noon, at the State House in Trenton, to provide means for the exigencies of the future, and manifest their patriotic devotion to the Federal Government.

Major-General Theodore Runyon was appointed commander of the New Jersey forces, and the movement of troops began. They started in 12 propellers by canal to Bordentown, thence down the Delaware to land at Annapolis. The whole brigade, armed with Minié muskets, with its four pieces of artillery, arrived at Annapolis May 5. The 14 transports with a strong convoy, made a splendid appearance steaming in two lines down the Chesapeake.

The extra session of the Legislature convened by the Governor to prepare for the crisis, met at Trenton, April 30. All the Senators were

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present, but seven members of the House were absent.

The Governor's Message was received and read. He recommended a loan of $2,000,000 at 7 per cent., and a State tax of $100,000; also the repair of State arms, the purchase of 10,000 stand of arms, field-pieces and munitions, also the raising of four regiments for State service, to be held subject to the call of the General Government; also provision for the defence of the southern part of the State by fortified posts or an intrenched camp.

The Legislature immediately proceeded to work and, having completed their business, adjourned May 10. The bills passed were to authorize the four regiments for State service, asked for by the Governor; an act appropriating to the families of married volunteers $6 a month, and to unmarried volunteers $4 a month; to authorize the city of Newark to borrow money to aid the families of volunteers mustered into the service of the United States; similar bills for Trenton, Jersey City, Rahway, Camden, and Bordentown; also to authorize a loan of $2,000,000 and a State tax of $100,000; (the bonds were to be of the denomination of $1,000, $5,000, and $10,000, bearing 6 per cent. interest, payable semi-annually, and exempt from taxation. They are reimbursable to the amount of $100,000 in January of each year from 1865 to 1869, and issued of the denomination and time of payment, as far as practicable, to suit the purchasers.) Bills were also passed, as requested by the Governor, authorizing the purchase of 10,000 stand of arms, artillery, and munitions of war, and equalizing the military divisions of the State.

Resolutions thanking the Governor for the energy and activity he had displayed in raising the quota of troops for the State, pledging New Jersey to use all her power to maintain the Union and Constitution, and thanking the President for the energy displayed in defence of the Union, passed the Senate by a unanimous vote, and also passed the House.

The mustering of troops, and the issuing of contracts for the supplies now proceeded with the utmost vigor.

The dulness of business, and the large pay of the soldiers stimulated patriotism, and volunteers were offered in large numbers.

Gov. Olden issued a proclamation, commanding all persons holding official positions, and all citizens of the State, to be on the alert "for the detection of any violation of the laws against treason or misprision of treason, and to take measures to bring to justice any person who shall be concerned in enlisting men, or providing arms or munitions for the enemy.

There remained in the service at the close of the year eight regiments of infantry, one of riflemen, and two artillery companies, numbering 9,850 men holding their organization from the State; and two regiments, one of cavalry and one of infantry, raised independently of it. These, with those who have joined military organizations in other States, show a total of at least 17,000 Jerseymen enlisted in the cause of the Union.

The amount expended in equipping the 13 regiments furnished for the war is $665,303.81, Of this there was expended in the first requisition for four regiments of militia—three-months men—$167,817.21. On the second requisition for three regiments for the war—$170,015.40, and on the third requisition, also for three-years regiments—$318,417.20. Besides this, the State has furnished extra clothing to her men, amounting to $18,914.09—making the total $685,217.90. The amount is less than is allowed by the Government contracts by $30,000.

NEWPORT NEWS is a postal village in Warwick County, Virginia. It is near the mouth of James River, and about ten miles from Fortress Monroe. On the 27th of May an intrenched camp, consisting of twenty-five hundred men, was formed there. One object was to command Sand Island, which is about midway in, and completely guards the entrance to James River. This camp was quietly occupied throughout the year by a considerable force of Federal troops.

NEW YORK, one of the Middle States of the Union, and the most populous, is bounded on the north by Lake Ontario, the St. Lawrence and Canada East; on the east by Vermont, Massachusetts, and Connecticut; on the south by the Atlantic Ocean, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; west by Pennsylvania, Lake Erie, and Niagara River. Its extreme length from east to west is about 335 miles, and its greatest breadth from north to south about 308 miles, containing an area of 47,000 square miles. The population in 1860 was 3,838,457 whites, 49,085 free colored; total, 3,887,542. The increase in the white population during the previous ten years was 25.69 per cent. (*See* NEW AMERICAN CYCLOPÆDIA.)

The situation of the State of New York in respect of the Western States, has had a great influence upon its prosperity. With the completion, in the year 1824, of the Erie Canal, which opened the navigation of the lakes to tide water, a great impetus was given to the trade of the cities. The competition of the rich lands of the west with those of the river counties caused a migration to the more fertile sections of the Genesee valley and the west, and improved the aggregate wealth of the State through a greater yield for the same amount of labor bestowed. As the States that border the great western waters began to develop their resources, and pour upon the bosom of the lakes their annually increasing produce, the prosperity of New York received a new impulse, and its wealth accumulated more rapidly. The construction of the great lines of railroads, the Erie and the Central, was followed by a more rapid increase of population and of wealth. This is manifest in the taxable valuations for each county in 1846, when the through lines

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began to operate, and in the present year, from the official returns, as follows:

Taxable Valuation of the State of New York.

Place.	1846.	1860.	1861.
Albany	$16,858,717	$39,044,737	$39,444,737
Alleghany	3,360,864	8,083,120	8,083,120
Broome	2,048,139	8,391,423	8,391,423
Cattaraugus	3,108,761	6,620,148	6,620,148
Cayuga	9,852,227	19,214,844	19,214,844
Chatauque	4,310,511	14,370,102	14,370,102
Chemung	2,664,381	6,472,762	6,472,762
Chenango	4,149,005	10,500,000	10,500,000
Clinton	1,673,581	5,727,775	5,727,775
Columbia	9,210,324	18,365,480	18,365,480
Cortland	2,183,978	6,165,923	6,165,923
Delaware	3,663,890	8,210,352	8,210,352
Dutchess	19,518,477	29,979,280	29,979,280
Erie	12,570,440	47,251,841	47,251,841
Essex	1,488,196	8,924,027	8,924,027
Franklin	1,475,378	4,149,270	4,149,270
Fulton	1,827,983	4,054,412	4,054,412
Genesee	5,814,614	11,650,136	11,650,136
Greene	2,916,500	7,950,084	7,950,084
Hamilton	314,122	470,333	470,333
Herkimer	6,261,041	10,144,567	10,144,567
Jefferson	6,625,874	15,988,769	15,985,760
Kings	33,335,602	106,295,591	108,295,591
Lewis	1,658,000	4,495,200	4,495,200
Livingston	9,159,628	14,896,555	14,896,555
Madison	6,497,764	11,072,782	11,072,782
Monroe	14,906,364	26,732,076	26,732,076
Montgomery	3,568,185	7,354,077	7,354,077
New York	244,952,004	559,078,778	571,078,798
Niagara	4,938,418	12,823,822	12,823,822
Oneida	12,042,531	25,639,879	25,639,879
Onondaga	15,480,848	28,850,128	28,850,128
Ontario	12,629,547	16,445,575	16,445,575
Orange	11,607,619	24,525,254	24,525,254
Orleans	4,864,192	9,682,749	9,682,749
Oswego	5,312,692	14,254,368	14,254,368
Otsego	5,429,800	12,072,302	12,072,302
Putnam	2,891,963	6,114,035	6,114,035
Queens	11,945,525	21,843,083	21,843,083
Rensselaer	18,276,223	26,278,026	26,278,026
Richmond	1,373,279	9,728,402	9,728,402
Rockland	2,856,528	5,440,260	5,440,260
St. Lawrence	8,506,321	15,683,259	15,683,259
Saratoga	6,795,089	12,048,856	12,048,856
Schenectady	2,849,218	5,692,756	5,692,756
Schoharie	1,947,306	6,856,681	6,856,681
Schuyler		4,230,728	4,230,728
Seneca	5,822,088	8,159,547	8,159,547
Steuben	6,172,414	12,050,506	12,050,506
Suffolk	6,106,018	13,991,732	13,991,732
Sullivan	1,468,288	4,132,695	4,132,995
Tioga	1,819,160	5,848,318	5,848,318
Tompkins	4,084,660	7,874,265	7,874,268
Ulster	5,311,896	15,567,658	15,567,658
Warren	978,476	2,519,880	2,519,880
Washington	6,173,997	15,931,105	15,931,105
Wayne	7,068,593	13,887,156	13,887,156
Westchester	10,036,817	41,012,725	42,012,725
Wyoming	4,157,131	7,750,822	7,750,822
Yates	4,106,549	7,393,706	7,393,708
	$616,824,955	$1,419,297,520	$1,441,767,430

The increase in valuation is $824,922,475, or 133 per cent. more than the whole valuation in 1846; of this increase $372,000,000 is in the city of New York. The whole presents a most unexampled development of wealth. A large portion of it is due to the operation of the railroads, the business of which has greatly increased within a few years. The number of tons freight carried on the Erie and Central railroads, and on the canals, for a number of years, is as follows:

Year.	Railroads.	Canals.	Total tons.
1855	1,512,121	4,022,617	5,254,738
1856	1,719,337	4,116,082	5,835,419
1857	1,816,854	3,344,061	5,160,915
1858	1,582,371	3,665,192	5,247,563
1859	1,706,391	3,781,684	5,485,075
1860	2,167,727	4,650,214	6,817,941
1861	2,426,720	4,507,681	6,923,351

The increase has been large, or 30 per cent. in quantity, mostly on vegetable food, coming from other States. The freights paid to the railroads, and the tolls and freight on the canals have been as follows:

Year.	Erie R. R.	Central R. R.	Canal Freights.	Canal Tolls.	Total.
1853	$2,587,214	$1,588,830	$4,189,166	$3,294,728	$11,769,938
1854	3,369,590	2,479,820	3,009,289	2,773,566	11,632,265
1855	3,653,062	3,189,603	3,696,345	2,865,677	12,684,695
1856	4,545,782	4,828,041	3,825,018	2,748,212	15,447,048
1857	4,097,610	4,559,276	1,830,359	2,045,641	12,532,886
1858	3,848,311	3,700,270	2,891,688	2,110,754	12,044,018
1859	3,195,870	3,837,148	1,941,061	1,726,945	10,198,024
1860	3,946,410	4,995,934	5,069,858	3,009,797	16,021,794
1861	4,351,464	4,664,449	5,460,598	3,908,785	18,385,291

These figures show the amount of charge on merchandise, east and west, for transportation, and indicate the progress of business. In the last year the rise of freights consequent upon the sudden increase of produce sent east through the closing of the western rivers, added much to the cost of transportation. The great lines of through travel are marked by the most rapid growth of wealth and population. The latter has uniformly a western tendency. The natives of New York would seem to move west, and their places to some extent be supplied with immigrants. The nativities of the population of the State were reported as follows by the census of 1855:

New York State	1,925,156
New York County	297,164
Other United States	396,423
England	102,286
Wales	8,357
Scotland	27,523
Ireland	469,733
France	18,866
Germany	218,997
Switzerland	3,498
Other European countries	40,946
Canada	47,842
Total	3,466,212

The number of votes cast in 1860 was 675,156, or an increase of 178,670 over 1856, when, as appears from the census, there were 651,000 voters in the State.

The vote of the State of New York has been generally democratic, having been as follows for several presidential elections:

Year.	Whig.	Democratic.	Republican.
1844	Clay 232,482	Polk 237,588	Birney 15,812
1848	Taylor 218,351	Cass 114,592	Van Buren 120,519
1852	Scott 234,882	Pierce 262,083	Hale 23,329
1856	Fillmore 124,604	Buchanan 195,878	Fremont 276,004
1860	..	Douglas 503,329	Lincoln 363,834

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The result of the presidential election in 1860 was followed by the action which the Southern leaders had determined on as soon as the sentiment of the North should have been shown by an election to be, as they conceived, abidingly hostile to the South. The Northern vote was 1,831,180 for Mr. Lincoln, and 1,564,-151 for the other candidates, and secession was at once inaugurated.

The Legislature of the State of New York was convened amidst considerable alarm for the safety of the Union on the part of all, except the leaders of the Republican party, who truly declared that nothing had as yet been done inimical to the rights of the South. The overtures of the Border States for settlement were regarded by some as political tricks, and not serious efforts to avert a real danger.

The State election had resulted as follows:

The Legislature: { Senate...Republicans, 28; Democrats, 9.
{ House...Republicans, 93; Democrats, 55.

The Governor, however, in his Message to the Legislature, which met on the 2d of January, urged the duty of all national Legislatures to act with moderation and conciliation, saying:

"Let New York set an example in this respect; let her oppose no barrier, but let her Representatives in Congress give ready support to any just and honorable settlement; let her stand in hostility to none, but extend the hand of friendship to all; live up to the strict letter of the Constitution, cordially unite with the other members of the Confederacy in proclaiming and enforcing a determination, that the Constitution shall be honored and the Union of the States be preserved." He recommended the repeal of the personal liberty bill, and also suggested that other States should repeal their similar laws.

These views of the Governor were not responded to by the members. They were, on the other hand, disposed to be defiant.

In the Assembly on the 3d Jan., Mr. Robinson introduced a resolution to the effect, that all the territories should be divided into two States, and that the question of slavery should be left with the people. The Democrats, so largely in the minority in the House, held a caucus, and agreed warmly to support the resolution. The majority of the House had, however, widely different views.

On Jan. 11 a series of resolutions was prepared and passed. There was but one negative vote in the Senate, and two in the lower House. The spirit animating them is manifested in the preamble and first resolution:

Whereas the insurgent State of South Carolina, after seizing the post-offices, custom-house, moneys, and fortifications of the Federal Government, has, by firing into a vessel ordered by the Government to convey troops and provisions to Fort Sumter, virtually declared war; and, whereas the forts and property of the United States Government in Georgia, Alabama, and Louisiana have been unlawfully seized, with hostile intentions; and, whereas their Senators in Congress avow and maintain their treasonable acts; therefore—

Resolved, That the Legislature of New York is profoundly impressed with the value of the Union, and determined to preserve it unimpaired; that it greets with joy the recent firm, dignified, and patriotic special Message of the President of the United States, and that we tender him, through the Chief Magistrate of our own State whatever aid in men and money may be required to enable him to enforce the laws and uphold the authority of the Federal Government; and that, in the defence of the Union, which has conferred prosperity and happiness upon the American people, renewing the pledge given and redeemed by our fathers, we are ready to devote our fortunes, our lives, and our sacred honor.

The following despatch was immediately sent to the President:

ALBANY, *Jan.* 11, 1861.

To His Excellency, James Buchanan, President of the United States, Washington City:

SIR: In obedience to the request of the Legislature of the State, I transmit herewith a copy of the concurrent resolutions of that body adopted this day, tendering the aid of the State to the President of the United States, to enable him to enforce the laws, and to uphold the authority of the Federal Government. I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's obedient servant,
(Signed) EDWIN D. MORGAN.

The resolution was ordered to be communicated to the Governors of each of the States. The defiant tone of the resolution was very unfavorable in its effects. The tender of men and money to the Administration was received with great indignation in Virginia and Georgia. The formidable nature of this tender was subsequently shown in a report of the Senate Committee on Military and Public Defence. This certainly could not have flattered the State pride, and, compared with the resolution, at the time, must have occasioned many a quiet smile. It appeared that the twenty thousand men in the State who were uniformed, well drilled, and nominally equipped, had only eight thousand muskets or rifles fit for immediate service. The remaining twelve thousand, if called into action at once, would not have been prepared to go. The State was nearly as destitute of cannon as of muskets. About one hundred and fifty field-pieces were all she could command. But New York has since vindicated her military reputation.

The alarm in the public mind was daily becoming more intense. The fact that the resolutions of the Legislature were received as defiant, induced more conciliatory action on the part of the people, and a compromising memorial received an immense number of signatures, without distinction of party, and was forwarded on Jan. 12 to Congress. The following is an extract containing its sentiment:

We judge, that an agreed explanation of any uncertain provisions of the Constitution, a clearer definition of the powers of the Government on disputed questions, and an adaptation of it, in its original spirit, to the enlarged dimensions of the country, would satisfy all the honest differences among our countrymen.

Therefore, we pray leave to suggest, that the assurance coupled with any required guarantees, of the rights of the States to regulate, without interference from any quarter, the matter of slavery in their borders, of the rights secured by the Constitution to the delivery of fugitives, the readjustment of the laws bearing on these subjects, which are in possible con-

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flict with it, and some adjustment of the rights of all the States of the Union in the new territory acquired by the blood and treasure of all, by an equitable division, in the immediate organization of it into States, with a suitable provision for the formation of new States in their limits, or otherwise, would embrace all that is claimed on any part, and could be arranged without concession of principle on any part.

Your memorialists humbly pray, that such measures, either of direct legislation or of amendment of the Constitution, may be speedily adopted, as will accomplish the objects above stated—which they are assured will restore peace to their agitated country.

This memorial, carrying with it the names of the leading capitalists of the country, as well as the State, the men on whom ultimately the Government was to depend for its means and support, was forwarded to Washington by a large delegation.

Immediately following this memorial, was a call of the merchants to meet at the Chamber of Commerce on the 18th January. The meeting took place according to the call, was very largely attended, and the following memorial to Congress was almost unanimously adopted:

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress:

The memorial of the subscribers, citizens of the State of New York, respectfully showeth: That, while sharing in common with our fellow-citizens, the general solicitude at the dangers which are now threatening the peace and unity of our country, they desire to give their urgent and emphatic expression of the necessity which seems to exist for mutual conciliation and compromise, and without discussion as to the merits of the various questions at issue, believing that the perpetuity of the Union of the United States as one nation is of vastly more importance than the establishment or rejection of this or that subject of controversy, and that the people of the North will approve of the general outline of the plan of compromise agreed upon by the Senators and Representatives of the Border States:

Your memorialists humbly pray that such measures may be speedily adopted by Congress, for the settlement of our present difficulties, as will embrace substantially the plan of compromise so recommended by the Representatives of the Border States, and which, they believe, will restore tranquillity and peace to our own distracted country.

The following resolutions were then offered and unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to circulate the foregoing memorial for signatures, and to have the city, and as far as practicable, the State canvassed for that purpose.

Resolved, That a committee of our most influential citizens, irrespective of party, be appointed, with power to add to their number, to take charge of the memorial when signed, and forward or present the same at Washington, in such manner as they may deem most judicious, using their influence for the settlement of the existing national difficulties.

Resolved, That a copy of this call and the proceedings of this meeting be forwarded to each of the Senators and Representatives of this State in Congress, and also to each of the Senators and Representatives in our State Legislature.

These endeavors, added to demonstrations in other parts of the State, with those of the citizens of other States, produced many and earnest efforts at compromise at the seat of Government. Among the efforts was that of the Border States for a Peace Convention.

On the 24th Jan., the Governor of New York received resolutions passed by the General Assembly of Virginia, inviting such States as would "unite with her in the earnest effort to adjust the unhappy controversies, in the spirit in which the Constitution was originally formed, and consistently with its principles, so as to afford adequate guarantees to the slave States for the security of their rights, to appoint commissioners to meet hers on the 4th of the following month, in Washington, to consider and agree, if practicable, upon some suitable adjustment."

The Governor accordingly recommended the appointment of five citizens of the State, to meet those of Virginia and other States. On Feb. 1, the Legislature, after many discussions and delays, selected commissioners to the Peace Conference, but they were required to take no part in the proceedings unless a majority of the non-slaveholding States were represented.

The Convention met Feb. 4, at Washington, and on the 1st March agreed to a plan of compromise. (*See* PEACE CONFERENCE.)

The news of the result of the deliberations of the Peace Conference at Washington created much excitement at Albany. Despatches were received, announcing the result, and saying that a general feeling of joy and satisfaction existed in Washington. This feeling was, however, not participated in by the Legislature at Albany, and one of the delegates, Mr. Field, was much blamed for not being present, and giving the casting vote of the delegation against the measure.

While the debates in relation to the appointment of commissioners to the Peace Convention were proceeding, an immense Union meeting was held Jan. 28, at the Cooper Institute, New York. The speakers were among the most eminent orators of both parties, and resolutions were passed as follows:

Resolved, That the people of New York send three Commissioners to the Conventions of the people of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi; and that such commissioners be instructed to proceed immediately to such States, and to confer with the delegates of the people of said States in regard to the measures best calculated to restore the peace and integrity of this Union. And to report to the people of this city at the earliest practicable moment.

The question was loudly called for and carried unanimously. The following gentlemen were then named as Commissioners, and ratified by the unanimous cheers of the audience: James T. Brady, Cornelius K. Garrison, Appleton Oaksmith.

At nearly the same time, when all parties were striving to do something to avert the evils that were impending over the country, a call was made by the Democratic State Central Committee for a Convention, of four delegates from each Assembly, to be held at Albany on the 31st of January.

The Convention met pursuant to the call, on

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the 31st of January, at 11 A. M., in Albany, and was very fully attended. The Chairman, in the course of his remarks on the objects of the meeting, said: "The people of the State demand the peaceful settlement of the questions that have led to disunion. They have a right to insist that there shall be conciliation, concession, compromise. While yet the pillars of our political temple lie scattered on the ground, let them be used to reconstruct the edifice. The popular sentiment is daily gathering strength, and will overwhelm in its progress alike those who seek to stem it on the frail plank of party platforms, and those who labor to pervert it to mere party advantage.

"If those who are intrusted with political power will not act in accordance with this pervading public sentiment, let them, at least, submit the question to a direct vote of the people. Their voice will be omnipotent here, and if it be raised in time it may be effectual elsewhere."

The meeting was addressed by the venerable ex-Chancellor Walworth, ex-Governor Seymour, A. Belmont, late U. S. Minister to the Hague, and other most noted public men of the State. The following were some of the resolutions unanimously approved:

1. *Resolved*, That the crisis into which the country has been thrown by the conflict of sectional passions, and which has already resulted in the declared secession of six States, and the threatened coöperation of nearly all the other States of the South with them, the seizure of Government property and of the Federal defences—the confronting of the disaffected States and of the Federal Government in the attitude and with the armament of Civil War—is of such a nature as, raising all patriotic citizens above the considerations of party, should impel them to the sacrifices by which alone these calamities may be averted or their further progress arrested.

2. *Resolved*, That, in the opinion of this Convention, the worst and most ineffective argument that can be addressed by the Confederacy or its adhering members to the seceding States, is civil war. *Civil war will not restore the Union, but will defeat, forever, its reconstruction.*

3. *Resolved*, That we can look for the restoration of the Union, and the reinvigoration of the Constitution, only to the continuance of that spirit of conciliation and concession in which they were founded; and that there is nothing in the nature of pending difficulties which does not render it proper to adjust them by compromises such as, by the practice of our Government, have been resorted to in the settlement of disputed claims, even with foreign nations. That while our Government, believing its title to the territories in the northeastern and northwestern portions of the Union, which were given up to Great Britain, was clear and unquestionable, yet for the purpose of saving the people from the evils of war, surrendered a portion of our original territory and also a part of the Louisiana purchase, exceeding in value all the domain which the South demands, in joint occupation—having conceded thus much to a foreign nation in the interest of peace—it would be monstrous to refuse to settle claims between the people of our own land, and avert destruction from our common country by a similar compromise.

4. *Resolved*, That, whereas it is obvious that the dissolution of this Union can only be prevented by the adoption of a policy which shall be satisfactory to the Border States, it is our duty to support them in their patriotic efforts to adjust those controversies. And inasmuch as these questions grow out of the acquisition of territories not provided for by the Constitution; and in regard to which the people of the South believe that they are entitled to a joint occupancy, in person and property, under the Constitution and by the decision of the Courts; while on the other hand, the dominant party at the North claim that they should be excluded therefrom, it is eminently fit that we should listen to the appeals of loyal men in the Border States, to dispose of this question by one of those measures of compromise in the spirit of which the Constitution was founded, and by which all territorial questions have from time to time been settled.

5. *Resolved*, That inasmuch as the political convulsions which threaten the destruction of the country, were not contemplated at the time of the last election, and their continuance will be more disastrous to the interests of our citizens, involving the ruin of our commercial and laboring classes, and possibly carrying the desolation of civil war into the homes of our citizens, we hold that it is their right to be heard in regard to the adjustment of these difficulties, (which, in our opinion, can at present best be settled by the adoption of the Crittenden proposition or some other measure acceptable to the Border States,) and that a committee of five be appointed, to prepare, in behalf of this Convention, a suitable memorial to the Legislature, urging them to submit the Crittenden compromise to a vote of the electors of the State, at the earliest practicable day.

Early in February, the delegation appointed at the merchants' meeting, Jan. 17, proceeded to Washington, with a monster petition from New York, with 40,000 signatures, praying for a settlement of the difficulties, and in a number of ways the people manifested their earnest anxiety for peace.

The desire to avoid every semblance of irritation and ill-feeling was manifested in an extraordinary manner in several parts of the country. This was by discountenancing those persons through whose agency the Northern sentiment had acquired the appearance of a hostility to the South, incompatible with its continuance in the Union.

At Syracuse, Jan. 30, a meeting was held in Convention Hall to denounce slavery, but was turned into a Union meeting for the support of the Constitution and the Government, expressing the opinion that by peace only the Union could be preserved, and the Abolitionists were driven from the Hall.

On the 3d of February, the Hon. Ira Harris was elected United States Senator, in place of Mr. Seward, who was appointed to the Cabinet.

On the 21st of March, the Governor received from the President an authenticated copy of the joint resolution adopted by Congress proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the State Legislatures, should become a part of that instrument, in the following language: "No amendment shall be made to the Constitution which will authorize or give to Congress the power to abolish or interfere, within any State, with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or service, by the laws of said State."

This amendment, if it had been cordially adopted by three-fourths of the States, would have shown a desire to conciliate, although it was of no practical value whatever.

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Inasmuch, however, as no State passed it at that time, it rather confirmed the sentiment of hostility than modified it. Public feeling was, however, in favor of some mode of compromise.

On the 22d of March the police of New York seized 38 boxes of muskets, shipped for Savannah on the steamer Monticello, in New York, and deposited them in the State arsenal in New York City. On Saturday, the 2d of February, Messrs. D. C. Hodgkins & Sons, of Macon, citizens of Georgia, produced at the Executive office satisfactory evidence that 200 of said guns belonged to them as their individual property, (the others were said to belong to Alabama,) and claimed of Governor Brown the protection of the State, of which they were citizens, against the seizure. The Governor immediately wrote to Governor Morgan, and telegraphed the letter, demanding the immediate delivery of the guns thus seized to G. B. Lamar, of New York, whom he named as his agent to receive them. The Governor waited till the following Monday evening, and still received no reply to his demand. He then telegraphed the operator of the line at Albany, N. Y., to know whether his despatch to Governor Morgan had been received and delivered to him. The operator replied that it had. Gov. Brown then waited till half-past nine o'clock Tuesday night, and still received no response from Gov. Morgan.

He then determined upon reprisals, and therefore issued to Col. Jackson the following order, directing the seizure of the vessels named:

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
MILLEDGEVILLE, GA., *Feb.* 5, 9½ P. M.

I have demanded of the Governor of New York the prompt delivery to my agent, for D. C. Hodgkins & Sons, citizens of this State, of their guns, seized by the police of New York, on board the Monticello, and deposited in the arsenal of that State. The demand has been delivered to him. He has had a reasonable time and has made no reply. I am determined to protect the persons and property of the citizens of this State against all such lawless violence, at all hazards. In doing so I will, if necessary, meet force by force. I feel it my duty in this case to order a reprisal. You will therefore direct Colonel Lawton to order out sufficient military force and seize and hold, subject to my order, every ship now in the harbor of Savannah, belonging to citizens of New York. When the property of which our citizens have been robbed is returned to them, then the ships will be delivered to the citizens of New York, who own them. JOSEPH E. BROWN.

Col. H. R. JACKSON, Aide-de-Camp, Savannah, Ga.

In obedience to this order there were seized the barks Adjuster and D. Colden Murray; brigs W. R. Kibby and Golden Lead, and schooner Julia A. Hallock.

A reply, sent by Gov. Morgan, was received by Gov. Brown after the seizure of the vessels. Meantime the owners of the ships seized made application to Gov. Morgan for redress. He replied as follows:

STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
ALBANY, *February* 9, 1861.

GENTLEMEN: I received, this morning, a telegraphic despatch from you, stating that your "barque Adjuster had been seized in Savannah by order of the Government of Georgia, on account of arms detained in New York," and asking to be informed "how to proceed, under the circumstances, in order to avoid loss and detention."

In answer to your inquiry, I can only say that your remedy is through the United States Courts, or, if you so elect, through the Courts of the State of Georgia, within whose limits the offence of which you complain, is stated to have been committed. In a case of this kind the executive authority of New York can render you no assistance, for the obvious reason that no law of this State has been infringed; and because the wrong was not perpetrated within its jurisdiction. If, as you state, officials or citizens of Georgia have detained your vessels as a measure of retaliation for the alleged seizure of certain arms by the officers of the police of New York, the tribunals of that State, or of the United States, it must be presumed, will determine the acts as entirely unjustifiable, and will afford you ample redress for any loss by detention or otherwise which you may suffer. If your vessel is delayed for any other reason than that suspected by you, it is but fair to assume that the Courts of Savannah will examine into the facts with that impartiality which should characterize all judicial proceedings.

It is but proper to add that if the detention of the Adjuster is the deliberate act of the constituted authorities of Georgia, it is equally unjustifiable, and there can be no doubt that, at no distant day, the Federal authorities will obtain full reparation for you for any damages you may sustain; if not, then the General Government itself, which owes you protection in return for your allegiance, is thereby under the fullest obligation to indemnify you.

Very respectfully yours, E. D. MORGAN.

Messrs. FUNCH & MEIDCHE, New York.

On the same day, however, the following despatch was sent:

NEW YORK, *Feb.* 9, 1861.

To his Excellency, Gov. BROWN:

The arms have been put at the command of the owners here; please release all vessels.

G. B. LAMAR.

Upon the receipt of the above despatch the Governor immediately issued the following order to Col. Jackson:

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
MILLEDGEVILLE, *Feb.* 9, 9 P. M.

I have just received a despatch from G. B. Lamar, my agent in New York, stating that the arms have been put at the commands of the owners. The object for which the seizure was made having been accomplished, and the rights of the citizens of this State having been vindicated, you will order the vessels seized to be immediately released.

JOSEPH E. BROWN.

To Col. HENRY R. JACKSON, Savannah, Ga.

Governor Brown then returned to Mr. Lamar, at New York, the following despatch:

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
MILLEDGEVILLE, *Feb.* 9, 9 P. M.

The object of the seizure having been accomplished, and the rights of our citizens having been vindicated, I have ordered the release of the vessels.

JOSEPH E. BROWN.

To G. B. LAMAR, New York.

The crisis was now at hand. The new Administration at Washington had been five weeks in power, and had made no movement. The congressional elections of Connecticut and Rhode Island had taken place on the 1st of April, and the Democrats had gained four members. The elections elsewhere were giving indications of reaction. The garrison at Fort Sumter was nearly exhausted of supplies, and a surrender, until the national affairs should be adjusted, or forcible reënforcement

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could no longer be deferred. An armament left New York early in April, and the crisis came on the 15th.

On the fall of Fort Sumter the Governor received the proclamation of the President, calling for 75,000 militia. The quota of New York was 13,000. He immediately communicated it to the Legislature, and in a few hours an act was passed, which conferred large powers on the Governor, and authorized the enrolment of 30,000 men, for two years instead of three months, and appropriated $3,000,000.

The Governor issued a proclamation for the troops to rendezvous at Elmira and New York City. One of the board of officers went to Washington, and obtained the acceptance of the surplus 21 regiments, and marching orders were sent on the 16th to the regiments in New York to proceed to Washington. Large contracts were immediately made for supplies.

April 24, an agent of the State left for Europe with a letter of credit for $500,000, with which to purchase arms. 19,000 Enfield rifles were landed in New York at a cost of $375,000. On the 25th of May the authorized 30,000 men had been raised, and by the 12th of July they had been organized into 38 regiments, officered, and despatched to the seat of war.

Orders and rules were immediately issued, placing under the control of the military board of the State the regimental and field-officers, and parts of regiments were thereby consolidated, or transferred to complete the commands of officers by whom they had not been raised.

There were accepted, in addition, from the Union Defence Committee in New York, 10 regiments. By the 1st of July, the New York troops in the field numbered as follows:

Three-months Militia	8,300
Three-years Militia	3,400
Two-years Volunteers	30,000
Three-years Volunteers	5,000
Total New York troops	46,700

The battle of Bull Run gave a new impetus to the demand for troops, and the Governor, without additional authority from the Legislature, which was not in session, issued a proclamation for 25,000 three-years troops. The Federal Government was to supply the money necessary to raise and equip them. October 1, the quota of the State was raised to 100,000, and Nov. 6 to 120,000 men. September 7, there was paid by the State Paymaster, General Van Buren, to 40 regiments, $287,490.63 for services between the mustering of the regiments into the State service and their transfer to that of the United States.

It is due to the State of New York, and also to the city of New York, to say there was no relaxation in their efforts to meet the necessities of the Government. The civil authorities, private associations, and individuals were as ready and prompt in their measures at the close of the year as when the war commenced. The drain upon their resources for men and money had apparently made no diminution.

The aggregate number of volunteers furnished up to January 1, 1862.

Arm of Service.	Batteries.	Battalions.	Regiments.	Strength
Militia regiments enlisted for 3 months	..	..	11	7,334
Volunteer reg'ts org'zed (infantry)	..	..	88	73,713
Do. do. do. (cavalry)	..	..	10	8,405
Do. battal'ns do. (cavalry)	..	1	..	337
Do. reg'ts do. (artillery)	..	..	2	2,478
Do. battal'ns do. (artillery)	..	2	..	666
Do. batteries do. (artillery)	9	..	..	1,152
Do. reg't do. (engineers)	..	..	1	855
Do. rocket battalion	..	1	..	163
Do. incomplete organizations still in the State	..	..	..	14,233
Recruits for regiments in the field, estimated at	..	..	..	11,000
Total	9	4	112	120 361

The following is a statement of the ordnance and small-arms in the hands of the troops, and in the arsenals of the State, on the 1st day of January, 1862:

Description.	In the hands of the troops.	In the Arsenals of the State.	Total belonging to the State.
Nine-pounder	5	2	7
Carriage	5	2	7
Limber	4	2	6
Caisson	2	2	4
Six-pounder	70	4 iron 33bra.	107
Carriage	69	94	163
Limber	70	94	164
Caisson	39	92	131
Twenty-four pound howitzer	1	..	1
Carriage	1	..	1
Limber	1	..	1
Caisson	..	..	..
Twelve-pound howitzer	4	4	8
Carriage	4	4	8
Limber	4	3	7
Caisson	2	2	4
Mountain howitzer	8	7	15
Carriage, limber and caisson	8	14	22
Twenty-pound Parrott's rifled cannon	..	10	10
Battery wagons	..	21	21
Forges	..	21	21
Ten-pounder Parrott's rifled cannon	..	18	18
Carriages, twelve pounds	..	10	10
Limber	..	10	10
Caisson	..	10	10
Artillery sabres	502	45	547
Artillery swords	666	102	768
Non-commissioned officers' swords	..	1,505	1,505
Cavalry sabres	926	372	1,298
Carbines	171	4	175
Percussion muskets and bayonets	11,014	13,149	24,163
Flint muskets and bayonets	464	324	788
Flint rifles	145	45	190
Percussion rifles	1,917	5,924	7,841

Of the New York troops who entered the field, there were killed in battle up to January, 1862	270
Died from natural causes	350
Made prisoners of war	550
Honorably discharged	2,700
Discharged by error in United States muster	1,500
Discharge by court-martial	140
Absent without leave, and desertions	3,300
Unaccounted for	900
Discharged by expiration of time of service (three-months militia)	7,344
In the field December 31, 1861	89,034

If there be added to the latter the volunteers

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still in the State, an available force of 103,307 is shown.

It was estimated that, in addition to the foregoing aggregate, at least 2,500 men were drawn from New York and mustered into organizations not enumerated above.

This force was scattered over nine States, in 43 different brigades, and under 12 generals of division.

The New York troops have taken part in every engagement on land during the year, east of the Alleghanies and south of Washington. They have enriched the soil of six States with their blood.

To aid the immense work of organizing and forwarding the troops, General Wool moved his head-quarters, April 21, from Troy to the Astor House. On the 28th of April he was peremptorily ordered back to Troy, on the singular plea of his infirmities, although he held official command at Fortress Monroe long afterwards.

May 8, Gen. J. A. Dix was appointed major-general, and May 15 James S. Wadsworth, of Genesee, was appointed major-general—a gentleman of large wealth, great public spirit and energy, but without military experience. He had been, in July, 1860, tendered the nomination as Governor of New York, but declined in favor of Governor Morgan, and he was made one of the two major-generals of New York.

At the close of the year it became apparent, that, although all the States had been very active in mustering troops into the service of the Government, the means of payment must come from New York. In making requisitions for the men, the calls were necessarily proportioned to the population or number of fighting men in each State. In this number are comprised all between the ages of 18 and 45. The census compiled at Washington furnished the number of the people, and also the number of those of the military age. If the whole is compared with the number in service reported by the Secretary of War, the result is as follows:

	Population.	18—45	In arms.
New York	3,887,542	766,344	113,027
Other States north	15,435,138	3,033,656	527,610
Total	19,322,680	3,800,000	640,637

This levy is a very large one, no less than every sixth able-bodied man. The mustering of men was, however, but a small part of the undertaking, since it is very evident, where the population is composed in great numbers of mechanics and manufacturers, who are thrown out of employment by the fact of war, that to employ these is a great advantage, and no real hardship beyond the cost of blood. The pay in the army, $13 per month, in addition to the allowance to families, and other provisions by States, towns, and counties, was such as to make it a change for the better in a pecuniary sense for a considerable number of the men. In some cases, the pay over rations amounted to more than $20 per month. It is evident, that where a State has a large number of men in the field, drawing pay from the Federal Government, which pay is remitted to the families and friends, that it becomes a source of wealth, although not so beneficial as when those persons are actually producing wealth at home. The great question was the means of payment. Who was to advance the money to pay all these troops? these $2,000,000 per day estimated by the department? At the close of the year the Secretary reported that he had borrowed in the course of the year:

Loans	$260,000,000
Advanced by New York	210,000,000

Without this advance of the capitalists of New York, there had been no movements of troops or purchase of arms. The perils of the operation were well appreciated. Foreign capitalists withdrew their confidence on the ground that the future payment of the debt was doubtful. If, said they, the Union is dissolved, who is to pay? If it is restored, will the ten millions southern and the eight millions western farmers vote to tax themselves and their children forever to repay this money to certain capitalists?

Boston reduced the quota of its advance from 30 to 20 per cent. New York had no doubts or hesitation. Its devotion was superior to all, and it took not only its own, but that which Boston had rejected.

On the 14th of October, the nation was startled and surprised at the receipt of a circular from the Secretary of State, advising the placing of New York in a state of defence against foreign enemies. Governor Morgan immediately responded, and was referred to the Chief of Engineers, with whom a correspondence on the subject was opened.

In October, the Bark Helen Augusta sailed from New York for Hayti with 113 black emigrants, of whom one half had been born in the States. Their object was to become cotton cultivators there.

The Fall elections of the State of New York presented no very animated feeling. The one absorbing sentiment of the public was in relation to the war, in the prosecution of which there was no division of opinion. But the public displeasure was manifest against the most demonstrative of those who opposed all settlement.

The vote for State officers was as follows in November, 1861:

State Officers.	Fusion.		Democratic.	
Secretary of State	Ballard	297,428	Jones	189,716
Comptroller	Robinson	296,855	Scott	187,408
Attorney General	Dickinson	295,669	Champlin	188,261
Treasurer	Lewis	296,769	Williams	188,774
Engineer	Taylor	294,422	Richmond	188,507
Prison-Inspector	Tappen	291,857	Rhodes	188,206
Judges' Court of Appeals	Wright	276,901	Comstock	198,746
Canal Comm'r	Allenger	290,944	Lord	176,746
Canal Commission'r's Vacancy	Bruce	179,691	Wright	198,583

NEW YORK CITY. The city of New York, which mainly through its geographical position has become the metropolis of the country, has risen to be the first city of the New World, and has developed a growth more rapid than even

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the marvellous increase of the whole nation. The population of the city proper has quadrupled in thirty years, and in so doing has spread northerly upon Manhattan Island. The numbers in each ward, by the National census for each decade, and by the State census for each five intermediate years, have been as follows:

POPULATION OF NEW YORK CITY.

Wards.	1830.	1835.	1840.	1845.	1850.	1855.	1860. White. Male.	1860. White. Female.	1860. Colored. Male.	1860. Colored. Female.	1860. Population.
1.....	11,331	10,380	10,629	12,230	19,754	13,468	9,155	8,107	58	53	17,373
2.....	8,293	7,549	6,324	6,962	6,655	8,249	1,437	1,093	47	20	2,597
3.....	9,559	10,884	11,581	11,900	10,355	7,909	1,970	1,763	22	2	3,757
4.....	12,705	15,439	15,770	21,090	23,250	22,895	12,152	9,775	48	19	21,994
5.....	17,722	18,495	19,159	20,362	22,656	21,617	10,815	10,126	653	744	22,337
6.....	13,570	16,827	17,193	19,348	24,698	25,562	13,819	13,043	146	188	26,696
7.....	15,873	21,481	22,989	23,556	32,690	34,422	19,720	20,121	59	82	39,982
8.....	20,729	28,570	29,073	30,900	34,612	34,052	17,713	18,775	1,261	1,657	39,406
9.....	22,810	20,618	24,795	30,907	40,657	39,982	20,664	23,297	168	256	44,385
10.....	16,438	20,926	23,626	20,993	23,216	26,578	14,411	14,395	89	113	29,004
11.....	14,915	26,845	17,052	27,259	43,758	52,959	29,165	30,181	92	133	59,571
12.....	11,868	24,457	11,658	18,378	19,431	17,556	14,319	13,216	135	128	27,938
13.....	12,593	17,130	18,517	22,411	28,246	26,597	16,189	16,166	267	295	32,917
14.....	14,288	17,306	20,235	21,108	25,196	24,754	12,966	14,049	441	654	28,080
15.....	..	13,202	17,755	19,422	22,364	24,046	12,429	14,380	552	446	27,557
16.....	..	..	22,274	40,350	52,882	59,823	20,748	23,709	229	290	45,176
17.....	..	..	13,619	27,147	43,709	50,548	35,035	37,590	127	181	72,953
18.....	..	..	..	..	31,546	39,415	25,244	31,814	128	276	57,462
19.....	..	..	..	..	13,465	17,866	13,793	13,993	203	327	28,292
20.....	..	..	..	..	..	47,055	31,686	34,855	623	843	67,512
21.....	..	..	..	..	..	27,014	22,155	20,494	155	213	42,917
22.....	..	..	..	..	..	22,605	31,812	29,767	70	76	61,725
Total.	202,589	270,089	312,710	371,223	515,547	629,810	386,909	406,272	5,691	7,081	805,651
Blackwell's Island											4,581
Ward's Island											772
Bedloe's Island											4
Ellis' Island											5
Governor's Island											696
Randall's Island											1,953
Pop. of New York County											813,669

Increase from 1830 to 1835	67,500
" " 1835 to 1840	42,621
" " 1840 to 1845	58,513
" " 1845 to 1850	144,324
" " 1850 to 1855	114,263
" " 1855 to 1860	175,841

The following table gives the population of the city embracing Brooklyn, as compared with the numbers of the whole white population of the Union during the present century, from official returns:

Years.	Whole White Population.	New York.	Proportion of New York.
1800.....	4,412,911	60,787	1-70th.
1810.....	6,048,450	100,775	1-60th.
1820.....	8,100,067	130,881	1-62d.
1830.....	10,557,887	215,049	1-50th.
1840.....	14,575,998	348,948	1-40th.
1850	19,583,068	643,165	1-30th.
1860.....	27,380,070	1,087,702	1-25th.

The influence of railroads has been to cause the extension of dwellings very rapidly into the surrounding counties during the past ten years; hence great numbers who are daily engaged in business in New York, and form part of its commercial activity, are carried to their homes within a circle of thirty miles' radius, and are, consequently, not numbered in the city population. Nevertheless, the proportion that does reside in the city has been carried up from one-seventieth of all the white population in the Union to one-twenty-fifth in 1860. This increase of population is an index to the great increase of wealth in the city, which, according to the official returns for 1860, holds the following proportion to the whole wealth of the country and State:

Ratio of Assessments.	Real.	Personal.	Total.
United States assessed values	$37,606 756,585	$4,081 661,050	$41,088,417,635
New York State " "	1,069 658 080	320,806 558	1,390,464,638
" City " "	398,583,619	178,697,036	577,280,656

The proportion of wealth in the city is thus larger than the proportion of population, which has undergone so great an increase in the last ten years.

The progress of the wealth and population of the city up to 1830 was such as to make it evident, with the large command of business which the city possessed, and the abundant supplies of water, fuel, and food which were cheaply brought to it, that it must soon occupy the whole of the island.

The dwellings of the population spread towards the upper wards, while the lower were more devoted to business purposes. What were formerly the aristocratic resting places of the Knickerbockers, have become occupied by substantial warehouses, and the farms and country seats of these old residents have become sites for blocks of palaces, the centres of fashion and display. By this process, the owners of moderate farms became the landed millionaires of the city. This evident tendency promoted attention to "up-town" lots, and in 1830 there commenced that season of real estate spec-

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ulation which carried property in the upper part of the island to exorbitant prices in 1836. The reaction then commenced, and the year 1843 gave the lowest point for real estate values. The general business of the city then began to recover, and the course was upwards with a steady progress. The foreign famine of 1847–'48 gave a great impulse to business, and was followed by a large immigration and the successive opening of railroads, each adding to the commerce, which new lines of steamboats still further helped to concentrate in New York. With the growth of business the population overflowed into Brooklyn, Williamsburgh, New Jersey, and the river counties. By this operation, the value of personal property in the city was checked, since persons living out of its limits were not easily reached. The gold discoveries gave a new impulse to business, and the Crystal Palace of 1853 also lent its aid; while, in the same year, the introduction of railroads in the streets at once, as it were, gave the means of spreading up town, and the upper part of the island was rapidly peopled. The Central Park added to the attraction in that direction. The dwellings of the wealthy portion of the population have migrated as regularly as the means of doing so have been extended. Thirty years ago only 11,000 persons were to be found above Fourteenth street, and the real estate valuation above that line was but $3,664,980. If we now divide the island into three districts, viz.: below Canal street; between Canal and Fourteenth street; and above Fourteenth street, and take the population and valuation of each district, we have results as follows for many periods:

Year.	Below Canal Street.		Canal to Fourteenth Street.		Above Fourteenth Street.		Total.	
	Population.	Valuation.	Population.	Valuation.	Population.	Valuation.	Population.	Valuation.
1836.....	79,574	$84,284,119	170,078	$91,620,517	24,437	$57,837,667	270,089	$233,742,303
1843.....	91,797	71,908,306	225,708	73,829,609	53,728	19,212,599	371,233	164,950,514
1850.....	107,367	99,734,878	294,668	95,407,149	118,359	57,044,726	515,394	252,186,753
1855.....	94,718	112,920,377	268,210	94,530,899	271,882	120,524,590	629,810	336,975,866
1860.....	96,110	125,290,582	301,580	110,719,891	423,423	162,628,196	821,113	398,538,619

With the year 1836, as above stated, the values of real estate culminated, and then declined over the whole island to 1843. From that time improvement again was manifest. The immigration from abroad rapidly increased, filling the up-town wards. In the five years ending with 1855 a remarkable change took place in the population. Below Fourteenth street, and above Canal, there was a reduction of 31,458 in the population, which, facilitated by the railroads, went up town. Below Canal street there was a reduction of 13,000, attracted to Brooklyn, Staten Island, New Jersey, and other neighboring localities. In the five years up to 1860, in which immigration continued large, the numbers have again increased in all the sections, but mostly above Fourteenth street. The railroads have continued the facilities for cheap and prompt transportation, as well in the city as in Brooklyn. The number of passengers carried on these roads was as follows:

Railroad Line.	1859. Passengers.	1860. Passengers.	Receipts.	Expenses.	Dividends.
Brooklyn City.....	....	10,477,984	$520,855 18	$409,959 38	$80,000
Eighth Avenue.....	7,889,997	7,775,040	388,750 20	274,121 84	120,000
Ninth Avenue.....	....	1,984,341	99,217 07	70,958 12	....
Second Avenue.....	5,182,011	5,190,602	263,061 73	233,362 43	52,000
Sixth Avenue.....	6,479,129	7,398,908	369,945 40	261,698 64	90,000
Third Avenue.....	9,974,101	12,109,417	610,597 17	445,241 56	122,550
Total.....	....	44,942,292	$2,252,426 75	$1,695,342 54	$464,550
Total, 1861.....	....	49,444,490	2,269,774 65	1,809,466 00	1,339,311

Thus there were in round numbers 25,000,000 people conveyed to and from their business in New York by the railroads in 1861, in addition to the transportation by the omnibuses. These large numbers of the people have not yet covered half the area of the island. The official reports give the following. (See table A.)

The construction of the Central Park, magnificent ornament as it is to the city, took from the supply of house-lots a space equal to the occupation of 72,000 persons, according to the density of the population between Canal and Fourteenth streets. The density of that section in a belt crossing the island from North to East rivers, has been largely increased, and tenement houses there abound, some on improved plans, by which all "the modern improvements" are supplied to the occupants of rooms on reasonable terms. A late report of the Sanitary Association gives the following facts in relation to the occupancy of houses:

"Three years since, (1857,) the number of buildings of all descriptions in this city was some 53,000. The city is divided into twenty-two wards. In 1856, nineteen of these wards contained a population of 536,027 inhabitants, divided into 112,833 families, averaging a little less than five souls in each family. For the accommodation of these 112,833 families, residing in nineteen wards, there were 36,088 dwellings, averaging about three and one-half families occupying an entire house. There are but 12,717 of these families occupying an entire house; 7,148 of these dwellings contain two families; 4,600 contain each three families. Thus while 24,465 of these dwellings shelter but 36,213

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TABLE A.

TABLE *showing the number of Lots improved and unimproved in the different Wards, during the years* 1860 *and* 1861.

WARDS.	1860.		1861.	
	Improved.	Unimprov.	Improved.	Unimprov.
1	2,023	24	2,037	20
2	1,214	1	1,214	1
3	1,232	5	1,235	2
4	1,838	40	1,855	69
5	1,935	12	1,936	11
6	1,261	11	1,261	11
7	2,532	430	2,539	419
8	2,705	31	2,708	28
9	3,650	405	3,752	423
10	1,647	22	1,651	18
11	2,584	656	2,585	516
12	2,063	54,239	2,285	54,060
13	1,508	131	1,519	129
14	1,581	6	1,581	6
15	2,617	80	2,654	61
16	3,708	1,045	3,643	899
17	3,559	229	3,579	160
18	4,155	2,491	4,516	2,130
19	2,068	12,977	2,886	14,010
20	4,275	1,721	4,861	1,085
21	3,441	1,647	3,656	1,466
22	3,699	10,559	4,329	9,950
Total	54,725	86,761	58,972	86,008

families, the remaining 13,623 houses have to cover 76,620 families, averaging nearly six families to each house, showing that about three-fourths of the whole population of New York live, averaging but a fraction less than six families in a house, while only about one family in ten occupy a whole house. The following table will show how the families are apportioned to these dwellings:"

Families contained.	No. houses.	Families contained.	No. houses.	Families contained.	No. houses.	Families contained.	No. houses.
1 family	12,717	13 families	800	25 families	9	40 families	1
2 families	7,148	14 "	168	26 "	26	49 "	1
3 "	4,680	15 "	90	27 "	1	48 "	1
4 "	3,256	16 "	289	28 "	1	45 "	2
5 "	2,055	17 "	58	29 "	1	48 "	1
6 "	1,960	18 "	63	30 "	4	50 "	1
7 "	1,487	19 "	15	32 "	2	54 "	1
8 "	1,444	20 "	155	34 "	1	56 "	1
9 "	855	21 "	9	35 "	2	57 "	1
10 "	556	22 "	28	36 "	5	87 "	1
11 "	175	23 "	5	37 "	1	94 "	1
12 "	377	24 "	58	38 "	1		

There are many single blocks of dwellings containing twice the number of families residing on the whole of Fifth Avenue, or than a continuous row of dwellings similar to those on the Fifth Avenue three or four miles in length. There is a multitude of these squares, any of which contains a larger population than the whole city of Hartford, Conn., which covers an area of seven miles.

There are in Brooklyn 4,483 houses, which, according to the report of the Superintendent of the Police, have from three to one hundred persons each.

The increase of the population of the city in the last ten years, and the rise which has simultaneously taken place in the value of the land, combined with the influx of foreigners who were, to some extent, accustomed to the crowded condition of foreign cities, led to the construction of the tenement houses on more extended scales. The more so, that it was found that capital so invested paid enormously. In many cases not less than 35 per cent. Some idea of the magnitude of these dwellings may be gathered from one, which is 50 feet front by 250 feet deep. It has an alley running the whole depth on each side of it. These alleyways are excavated to the depth of the cellars, arched over, and covered with flag stoops, in which, at intervals, are open gratings to give light below; the whole length of which space is occupied by water-closets, without doors, and under which are open drains communicating with the street sewer.

This building is occupied mostly by foreigners. It is calculated for 126 families, each having a room in which they cook, eat, sleep, and sit. The only ventilation is by a window which opens against a dead wall eight feet distant, and to which rises the vapor from the vault below. Such buildings are, many of them, provided with gas and water, and they vary in the degree of ventilation and sanitary regulation. The importance they occupy in this metropolis is manifest in the fact, that the population of the city of New York was, in 1861, 810,000; of which one-half lived in tenement houses.

The whole number of dwellings of all descriptions in the city is 55,000, which includes stores, churches, &c. In 1860, the population was 805,000, or 161,000 families. Of these, 15,000 only occupy entire houses; 9,120 dwellings contain two families; and 6,100 contain three families. Thus 30,200 dwellings contain 71,540 families.

The supervision of the police has gone a great way towards improving the condition of these houses, and consequently the health of the people.

The number of aliens is large, and it is this population that swells so largely the number of occupants of tenement houses, particularly in the Tenth, Eleventh, and Seventeenth wards. It is not to be inferred, however, that it is poverty only that causes such dense settlement, since a spirit of economy and frugality manifests itself among these people, which forbids too much expenditure for the high rents charged in the city or for much riding on railroads. The rapid increase of the population in the city not only caused a progressive rise in the value of land, but also raised rents through the demand that existed for houses, requiring large capital to be invested in them; and also through the increase of taxes, which have nearly doubled every five years, and have fallen mostly upon real property, to be repaid in rents. That large class of population, therefore, which is engaged in manufacturing operations, and which can spare the time less than the money, requisite to go long distances between their homes and their occupations, necessarily diminish their rents by occupying less room. The economy in this respect adds to their comforts in others.

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The evidence of this is found in the savings banks, the deposits in which have shown such marvellous increase.

The savings in these institutions underwent a rapid increase—in the aggregate, twenty millions in four years. The return for 1858 does not, however, show an increase; neither does it show a reduction. The fact that no increase of deposits is apparent, is due to the panic of 1857, which threw such large numbers out of employ in the winter of 1857–58, and compelled them to resort to their savings for support. The war in 1861 was still more disastrous. In New York and Brooklyn more than one-fourth of the whole population are depositors in the savings banks, being nearly half the adult population. The terrible effects of the war are manifest in the operations of the banks of New York State for the year 1861:

Years.	No. of Accounts.	Due Depositors.	Amount Deposited.	Withdrawn.
1860.....	300,693	$67,440,397	$34,934,271	$28 308.414
1861.....	300,511	64,098.119	27,439,855	33.678,073
Decrease..	182	$3,337,278	$7,494,416	..
Increase..	..	..	..	$5,369.659

Thus there were nearly 7½ millions less added to the savings, and $5,369,659 more drawn upon for necessities. This reduction appears to have taken place in the first half of the year to a greater extent than subsequently, since up to July the deposits declined $2,267,353. It was inferred that the deposits were withdrawn to invest in Government securities. But inasmuch as the Government had not issued its small denominations of notes until after the deposits had been withdrawn, that reason is not very tenable. It is probable, however, that in the eagerness with which the people of New York responded to the call of the President for troops, much was withdrawn from the savings banks to aid their departure. The seven largest of the city institutions reduced their deposits $4,137,077; some of the smaller ones, and those of the interior towns, increased their deposits. The result, however, shows how fearfully the war has told upon the producing classes of the metropolis, even in its first year, and before the taxes which the expenditure makes necessary fall upon the real estate and consumable articles, to swell their expenses while it destroys their incomes. By this double process those large saving accumulations may gradually melt before the exigencies of the Government.

The aggregate property of the city, and the rate of taxation for a series of years, are represented in the following table:

Year.	Value of Real Estate.	Value of Personal Estate.	Total Real and Personal.	Amount raised by Tax.	Population.	Percentage of Taxation to Property.	Total Population of United States.
1826.....	$64,804,050	$42,434,981	$107,238,931	$388,379	163,000	.36	11,883,000
1827.....	72,617,770	39,594,156	112,211,926	437,692	172,000	.39	11,729,000
1828.....	77,138,880	36,879,653	114,019,533	485,751	182,000	.43	12,002,000
1829.....	76,199,430	35,672,686	111,883,066	507,107	192,000	.45	12,477,000
1830.....	87,603,580	37,684,938	125,288,518	569,178	202,589	.41	12,866,020
1831.....	95,594,835	41,966,194	137,560,259	572,104	212,000	.42	13,241,000
1832.....	104,160,605	40,741,723	144,902,328	665,385	222,000	.46	13,625,000
1833.....	114,124,566	52,366,976	166,491,542	971,854	232,000	.58	14,020,000
1834.....	128,240,280	60,299,231	186,548,511	853,605	243,000	.45	14,425,000
1835.....	143,742,425	74,991,278	218,723,703	965,602	254,000	.44	14,841,000
1836.....	233,732,803	75,758,617	309,500,920	1,085,180	265,000	.35	15,266,000
1837.....	196,450,109	67,297,241	263,747,350	1,244,972	276,000	.47	15,702,000
1838.....	194,543,820	69,609,582	264,152,941	1,486,993	288,000	.56	16,147,000
1839.....	196,940,184	73,920,885	270,860,019	1,352,826	300,000	.50	16,603,000
1840.....	187,221,714	65,011,801	252,233,515	1,354,885	312,710	.54	17,069,453
1841.....	186,359,948	64,843,972	251,194,920	1,394,136	325,000	.56	17,540,000
1842.....	176,513,092	61,292,559	237,805,651	2,131,382	339,000	.85	18,043,000
1843.....	164,955,514	64,274,765	229,229,079	1,747,516	354,000	.76	18,577,000
1844.....	171,937,591	64,789,559	236,727,148	1,988,818	371,000	.84	19,142,000
1845.....	177,207,990	62,787,527	239,995,517	2,096,191	390,000	.87	19,738,000
1846.....	183,480,534	61,471,470	244,952,004	2,526,146	411,000	1 03	20,356,000
1847.....	187,815,883	59,837 913	247,153,299	2,581,776	434,000	1.05	21,026,000
1848.....	193,029,076	61,164,447	254,163,523	2,715,510	459,000	1.07	21,716,000
1849.....	197,741,919	58,455,224	256,197,143	3,005,762	487,000	1.17	22,438,000
1850.....	207,142,576	78,919 240	286,061,816	3,230,085	515,547	1.13	23,191,876
1851.....	237,015,856	93,093,001	330,110,857	3,324,455	543,000	.91	23,951,000
1852.....	253,278,884	98,490,042	351,768,926	3,380,511	571,000	.96	24,720,000
1853.....	294,637,296	118,994,187	413,631,482	5,066,698	599,000	1.23	25,499,000
1854.....	339,360,396	131,721,338	462,021,734	4,845,386	627,000	1 05	26,298,000
1855.....	336,975,846	150,022,812	486,998,278	5,843,822	655,000	1.20	27,088,000
1856.....	340,972,098	170,774,393	511,740,491	7,075,425	684,000	1.38	27,897,000
1857.....	352,958,803	168,216,449	521,175,252	8,111,758	713,000	1.56	28,716,000
1858.....	368,346,296	162,847,994	531,194,290	8,621,091	742,000	1.62	29,545,000
1859.....	378,954,930	172,968,192	551,923,122	9,860,926	771,000	1.79	30,384,000
1860.....	398,438,619	178,697,637	577,230,656	9,758,507	813,658	1.69	31,641,977
1861.....	403,955,665	174,634,306	581,579,971	11,390,040	844,000	1.95	32,412,000
				$113,054,734			

The progress of taxation is large. In 1826 it was $2¼ per head; in 1846, $6 per head; in 1856, $10½ per head; in 1861, $13½ per head. On the other hand, the value of property per head has not increased. It was $700 average in 1827, and is about the same now. The taxes imposed for the year 1861 were not, however, all for city purposes, but were composed as follows:

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For the use of the State of New York, for Canals, Schools, and general purposes.....	$2,108,635 32
For County purposes, including Police.....	2,675,057 00
For the Corporation of the City of New York.....	6,297,230 19
To supply deficiencies in the product of the tax hereby imposed.....	300,117 92
Total tax for 1861 authorized by the Legislature.....	$11,380,040 43

[This does not include any of the sums raised for war purposes, such sums having to be obtained by loans.]

Over the State tax—$2,108,635 32—the local authorities have no control whatever, although the quota of State tax imposed upon the city has increased during the past ten years from $160,000 to more than $2,000,000. It is alleged, however, that great injustice is done to the city of New York by the system which prevails of undervaluing property in the agricultural districts of the State, by means of which a disproportionate burden is thrown upon the large cities; and through the exaction of large sums of money yearly from the city for the benefit of the schools of the interior of the State, in view of the fact that $1,300,000 are annually required for the public schools of the city.

County Tax—$2,675,059.—The principal item of expenditure for county purposes is that for the Metropolitan Police, amounting to about $1,700,000.

City Tax—$6,297,230.—It has been customary for the Board of Supervisors to levy such amounts for the use of the corporation of the city as is suggested by the Common Council, and sanctioned and directed by the Legislature of the State. Of the amount, $1,000,000 is for salaries, and $1,012,000 for interest on the debt; $1,800,000 for schools.

The war taxes are still to come, and under the direct tax law will be nearly $1,500,000 for New York City. Inasmuch as the population of the city is one-twentieth of that of the Northern States, it must pay that proportion of the proceeds of the new tax bills, which are estimated to give $160,000,000, which will give a proportion of $8,000,000 per annum for New York, or, with the local taxes, $19,400,000, being nearly $20 per head.

The debt of the city is as follows:

5 per cent. Water Stock, payable in 1870.....	$3,000,200
5 " " " " " 1880.....	2,147,000
5 and 6 per cent. Croton Stock, payable in 1890..	1,000,000
6 " " " " " 1889..	900,000
5 " " " " " 1875..	284,700
6 " " " " " 1875..	1,578,900
5 per cent. Building Loan Stock No. 3, payable in 1870.....	75,000
5 per cent. Building Loan Stock No. 4, payable in 1873.....	115,000
5 per cent. Fire Indemnity Stock payable in 1883.	402,763
5 " Central Park Fund Stock, payable in 1893.....	399,300
6 per cent. Central Park Fund Stock, (Arsenal,) payable in 1893.....	275,000
6 per cent. Central Park Fund Stock, (Arsenal,) payable in 1887.....	3,066,071
6 per cent. Central Park Improvement Stock, payable in 1887.....	2,063,200
6 per cent. Central Park Improvement Stock, payable in 1876.....	809,000
6 per cent. Floating Debt Fund Stock, payable in 1873.....	2,748,000
6 per cent. Real Estate Bonds, payable in 1873...	600,000
Total amount redeemable from Sinking Fund.	$19,874,139

Funded City Debt, redeemable from taxation, August 1, 1861, viz.:

5 per cent. Public Education Stock, payable in 1873.....	$154,000
5 per cent. Public Building Stock, No. 3, payable in 1861-66.....	300,000
5 per cent. N. Y. City Stocks for Docks and Slips, payable in 1867-76.....	500,000
6 per cent. Tompkins Market Stock, payable in 1862-69.....	136,000
Total redeemable from taxation.....	$1,090,000
Total amount of funded debt.....	$20,964,139
5 per cent. War Loan.....	$1,000,000
5 " " "	500,000
	$1,500,000
Amount of sinking fund for redemption of city debt, Sept. 1, 1861.....	$5,440,488 60

In the past year the city contracted two loans for war purposes. When the fall of Fort Sumter startled the North and aroused it to action, previous to the resolutions of the great meeting at Union Square, the Common Council, April 22, passed an ordinance, entitled, "An ordinance making an appropriation in aid of the defence of the National Union, and authorizing the borrowing of money for that purpose," approved April 26, 1861, in pursuance of which the "Union Defence Fund Bonds," $1,000,000, payable May 1, 1862, were issued. Subsequently, and in order to aid the families of volunteers, a loan of $500,000 was made, payable July 1, 1862.

The population of the city of New York, which numbers one-twentieth of the whole population of the free States, has politically been largely democratic. This is expressed in its vote for presidential electors in a series of periods:

	Whigs.		Democrats.		Republicans.	
1840	Harrison,	20,958	V. Buren,	21,925	Birney,	153
1844	Clay,	26,885	Polk,	28,296	"	117
1848	Taylor,	29,056	Cass,	19,198	V. Buren,	5,166
1852	Scott,	23,115	Pierce,	34,226	Hale,	505
1856	Fillmore,	19,922	Buchanan,	41,913	Fremont,	17,771
1860			Douglas,	62,293	Lincoln,	38,290
Total votes,		119,436		207,861		57,063

The election of Gen. Taylor, a Mexican soldier and Southern slaveholder, was less a party vote than a tribute to a military hero, and he was nominated not as representing any of the old principles which had so long divided the great parties of the country, but on the mere ground of availability. So little then remained of old party animosities against persons, since the principles contended for had been settled, that the possible nomination of Clay by the Democrats was much discussed. The nomination of Mr. Cass, however, led to the separation of the Free Soil element, which had lain dormant since the Missouri Compromise, as a means of defeating Mr. Cass by dividing the vote of New York. The plan was successful, although the city of New York lent but little support to the movement. The example, however, was not lost upon parties, and the question then inaugurated became the basis of a new party.

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The great city of New York, the centre of all the financial and commercial operations of the country; the point to which produce tends for sale directly, or if exported from other ports, to which the bills drawn against it come for negotiation; the great reservoir to which capital from every point comes for employment, and to which all securities, public and private, tend for negotiation; the fountain of capital which pours its vivifying stream into every and the remotest sections, animating industry, facilitating production, and cheapening transportation; which counts in every town and hamlet its debtors, and which is the agent, so to speak, of the national commerce in its foreign transactions, was preëminently conservative in its views, and patriotic in its sentiments. This great national heart throbbed with the utmost solicitude for the general welfare. It marked with earnest solicitude the gathering clouds which lowered over the political future; earnestly and actively urged compromise by every honorable means, which should allay surging passions, and restore the bonds of union while yet union was possible. When, however, the smoke of war enveloped the National flag, and the seat of Government resounded with the clang of arms, New York, holding the purse-strings, without which no great movement can be undertaken, came forward promptly to save the Government from a fall.

The idea that the gathering difficulties were only a political threat, was by many circulated. On the 22d December a meeting in the city was addressed by Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, in which he remarked:

I need not say to you that I do not think it (secession of South Carolina) is likely to be followed by many other States on this continent, or to be persevered in long, because it is manifestly very much inferior to the system that already exists. The State of South Carolina desires to go out. Just at this moment I am going back to Washington for the purpose of admitting the State of Kansas in; and I venture to say that for every State on this continent that will go out of the Union, there stand already waiting at least two States that will be glad to come in, and take their place.

Let South Carolina, let Alabama, let Louisiana—let any other State go out, and while they are rushing out you will see Canada and all the Mexican States rushing in to fill up the vacuum. It is the wisdom discovered by our fathers which is all concentrated in these three words of such pregnant meaning—*E Pluribus Unum.*

They do not humbug me with their secession; and I do not think they will humbug you. And I do not believe that, if they do not humbug you and me, they will much longer succeed in humbugging themselves. Now, fellow-citizens, this is the ultimate result of all this business. These States are always to be together—always shall. Talk of striking down a star from that constellation. It is a thing which cannot be done. I do not see any less stars to-day than I did a week ago, and I expect to see more all the while. The question then is, what in these times—when people are laboring under the delusion that they are going out of the Union, and going to set up for themselves—ought we to do in order to hold them in. I do not know any better rule than the rule which every good father of a family observes. It is this: If a man wishes not to keep his family together, it is the easiest thing in the world to place them apart.

If we keep entirely cool, and entirely calm, and entirely kind, a debate will ensue which will be kindly in itself, and it will prove very soon either that we are wrong—and we shall concede to our offended brethren—or else that we are right, and they will acquiesce, and come back into fraternal relations with us.

I believe that secession was stronger on the night of the 6th of November last, when a President and Vice-president, who were unacceptable to the Slave States were elected, than it is now. That is now some fifty days since, and I believe that every day's sun which set since that time, has set on mollified passions and prejudices, and that if you will only give it time, sixty days' more suns will give you a much brighter and more cheerful atmosphere.

During the session of Congress which closed March 4, while State after State of the South was withdrawing its members from Congress and seceding from the Government, citizens of New York were exerting themselves to procure, through the aid of the Border States still represented, some plan of compromise which might be at least satisfactory to those States, thereby retaining them in the Union, and through their affinity with the extreme South ultimately bringing all again together in harmony and renewed national prosperity. The New York capitalists and merchants were particularly active. Monster petitions for the several plans of compromise proposed in Congress were opened, and circulated among all classes. These were forwarded in great numbers to Washington, but without any effect on Congress. New York then foresaw and calmly awaited the coming storm, the burden of which was to fall upon her shoulders.

The States of the South continued to secede. The property of the Federal Government was seized, armies were mustering at the South; a new Government forming, and every sign of approaching dissolution was manifest. Mr. Stanton, of Ohio, offered in the House a bill, granting the necessary powers for the Executive to use force in maintaining the authority of the Government; even this was not passed, and the Congress finally came to an end. The new President was inaugurated. No one could understand if coercion was to be used or not. But on the 1st of April, while the Government was making appeals to New York for money, an expedition was there fitted out to supply Fort Sumter peaceably or by force. The response to that expedition was the thunder of those guns which roused the North, and made plain the future. The reverberation had not died away, when the voice of the President in his proclamation was heard calling for 75,000 men to be sent "to recover and re-possess the property." The appeal went home to the heart of the people, and that New York which had so long striven against this policy, now threw itself upon the altar of the country, and offered up its vast wealth to sustain the Government.

The proclamation of the President and the news of the fall of Fort Sumter reached the city on the 15th of April, causing an intense excitement. All shades of opinion seemed to vanish before the one great fact that the country was

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in danger and must be saved. Citizens of all classes breathed but one spirit of patriotism, and the Mayor of the city issued the following:

MAYOR'S OFFICE, NEW YORK, *April* 15, 1861.

To the People of the City of New York:

As Chief Magistrate, representing the whole people, I feel compelled at this crisis to call upon them to avoid excitement and turbulence. Whatever may be or may have been individual positions or opinions on questions of public policy, let us remember that our country now trembles upon the brink of a precipice, and that it requires a patriotic and honest effort to prevent its final destruction. Let us ignore the past, rising superior to partisan considerations, and rally to the restoration of the Constitution and the Union, as they existed in the days and in the spirit of our fathers. Whether this is to be accomplished by fratricidal warfare, or by concession, conciliation, and sacrifice, men may differ; but all will admit that here at least harmony and peace should prevail. Thus may we, under the guidance of Divine Providence, set an example of peace and good will throughout our extended country. In this spirit and with this view, I call upon the people of New York, irrespective of all other considerations or prejudices, to unite in obedience to the laws, in support of the public peace, in the preservation of order, and in the protection of property.

FERNANDO WOOD, Mayor.

The allusions in this proclamation to mob violence were in consequence of persons seizing the moment of excitement to incite the mob to make many newspapers show the Union flag. All citizens were now decorated with the national emblem in every variety of form, while from store, dwelling, church, and public buildings, signs, and lamp posts fluttered the Stars and Stripes in every variety of form and in the greatest profusion.

Instantly the military were in motion; every drill room and armory was alive with active officers calling for and enrolling men. On the 16th several regiments were already partly equipped. The 1st National Guard, Col. Allen, the 7th Regiment, 79th Highlanders, the 71st, the Fire Zouaves of Ellsworth, the 70th, the 55th, the 12th, and others were rapidly organizing to march. On the 17th the 6th Massachusetts, Colonel E. J. Jones, arrived in New York on its way to Washington, and met the most enthusiastic reception. It made a triumphal march through the city on the 17th of April.

The intelligence that the favorite New York regiment, the 7th, would leave for Washington on the 19th, created an immense excitement. Although it was announced that the departure would not be before 3 P. M., the streets were thronged at an early hour of that day. Lafayette Place, where the regiment was to form previous to marching, was very attractively dressed —a huge flag being displayed from the Astor Library, with many others from private buildings. The aspect of Broadway was very gay. The Stars and Stripes were floating everywhere, from the costliest silk, 20, 30, 40 feet in length, down to the homelier bunting, and the few inches of painted calico. But the gayest and, in this respect, the most remarkable thoroughfare was Cortlandt street, which showed a gathering of flags, a perfect army of them. They were not, in that comparatively brief space, from Broadway to the Jersey City Ferry, to be numbered by dozens or by scores: every building seemed like "Captains of Fifties," flag over flag waving. From every window, from the first floor to the roof, from every doorway, they waved responsive to the fluttering banners that were held in every hand.

Through this gay and expectant throng marched the 8th Massachusetts, Col. Timothy Monroe, accompanied by Gen. B. F. Butler, who had been the Breckinridge candidate for Governor at the election in November, and was now leading the Massachusetts troops. The regiment was presented with colors on the way. This, which would have been an absorbing ceremony at another time, merely filled a portion of the time until the 7th came.

They formed in Lafayette Place about 4 P. M., in the presence of an immense crowd, each window of each building being filled with applauders. Before moving, the excitement of the crowd was made wild by the news of the attack upon the 6th Massachusetts in Baltimore, and there were served out to the 7th forty-eight rounds of ball-cartridge. Once in line, they proceeded through Fourth street to Broadway, down that great thoroughfare to Cortlandt street, and across the ferry, in boats provided for the purpose, to Jersey City. The line of march was a perfect ovation. Thousands upon thousands stood on the sidewalks. The regiment was escorted by a band of Zouaves, who volunteered for the occasion. Their gay uniform and peculiar step revived the excitement that had begun somewhat to droop among the crowd that had waited for hours, as the regiment did not reach the Park till half-past five. After the Zouaves came a strong body of police, and after the police the regiment. The officers were Col. M. Lefferts, Lieut.-Col. W. A. Pond, Major A. Shaler.

The public bodies at once began to adopt measures to supply and move the troops. An immense mass meeting, without distinction of party, was called for, April 20, in Union Square. It proved one of the largest and most enthusiastic ever held. It was addressed by J. A. Dix, Secretary of the Treasury under Mr. Buchanan, D. S. Dickinson, Senator Baker of Oregon, Robert J. Walker, formerly Secretary of the Treasury, Mayor Wood, Ex-Governor Hunt, James T. Brady, John Cochrane, Hiram Ketchum, D. S. Coddington, Esq., and a number of Irish and German citizens, all breathing the one unanimous sentiment of ignoring the political opinions of the past, and standing by the Government with their whole heart, regardless of who might administer it for the time. The fortunes and lives of the citizens were pledged to that end.

A meeting of the merchants of New York city was held at the Chamber of Commerce, April 19th. The proceedings were characterized by the utmost harmony and unanimity.

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Resolutions upholding the Federal Government, and urging a strict blockade of all ports in the secession States, were unanimously adopted. It being announced that several of the regiments needed assistance to enable them to leave—on motion, a committee was appointed to receive donations, and in ten minutes the subscription had reached over $21,000. What was still more important was the appointment of a large committee of the most influential capitalists, to use their exertions to secure an immediate taking of the $9,000,000 remaining of the Government loan.

On Monday, April 22, the Mayor of the city of New York recommended, and the Board of Aldermen voted, $1,000,000 to aid in the defence of the Government.

At a meeting of the whole New York Bar on the same afternoon, the announcement was received with enthusiastic cheers, and the Bar raised $25,000 on the spot.

Each day now presented its military pageant. The city appropriated the Park to the erection of extensive barracks for the entertainment of the troops, which from North and East made New York their halting place *en route* for the capital. The Worcester Rifles, the 1st Regiment of Rhode Island, per steamer Osceola, passed through on Sunday, the 21st, and on the same day departed the 6th, 12th, and 71st New York State Militia.

The people were early astir on that day, and by 10 o'clock every available spot where a human being could stand, was occupied, through the entire length of Broadway; and from near Canal street to Grace Church, not only the sidewalks, but the whole of the street, was densely thronged. Every window, door, stoop, balcony, and housetop was alive with human beings, of every age, sex, and condition, in expectation of this most novel and exciting scene. From almost every housetop and store, from the windows of almost every private dwelling, from the masthead of every ship, from the flagstaff of every manufactory, from all the public buildings, from the Roman Catholic Cathedral, from the lofty spire of Trinity Church, from St. Paul's Church, the national ensign was flying. The other streets were thronged as on a gala day. On all coats were pinned the red, white, and blue cockade, and in every lady's bonnet ribbons of the same colors were tastefully tied. In the Park, cannons were booming at different times during the day. At the arsenal, regiments, just raised, were formally organized and equipped.

At the armories of the 6th, 12th, and 71st, from early dawn all was bustle and animation, preparing for the afternoon departure. At the rendezvous of the several regiments, the character of the day was ignored, and the maxim realized that in war times there are no Sundays.

At the wharves great steamers were alive with the bustle of preparation for conveying large numbers of troops. In the stream at anchor was the steamer Osceola, with troops from Rhode Island. At the railroad depot in Jersey City the greatest activity prevailed, and means of transportation were being got in readiness for moving as many regiments as might present themselves.

Young men in uniforms, with knapsacks strapped, were seen leaving luxurious homes in aristocratic parts of the town, prepared to rough it with the roughs in defence of the country. Firemen were gathered at their engine-houses, and busy in doing what they could to help off companions who had enrolled themselves in Ellsworth's regiment of Firemen Zouaves.

At noon the 6th, 12th, and 71st regiments, comprising 3,000 men, marched down Broadway, fully armed and equipped. The occasion was without hardly a parallel, and the march a complete ovation. The 6th embarked in the steamer Columbia, the 12th in the steamer Baltic, and the 71st in the steamer R. R. Schuyler. A Massachusetts battalion, and some regulars went on board the Ariel. As the fleet left, the harbor was a scene of great excitement. The piers, landings, and housetops of the city, Jersey City, Hoboken, and Brooklyn were crowded. The Battery was covered with people, and thousands of boats saluted the steamers crowded with the troops. Flags were dipped, cannons roared, bells rang, steam-whistles shrilly saluted, and thousands upon thousands of people sent up cheers of parting.

On the same Sunday many congregations mingled practical patriotism with piety, and took occasion to make contributions for the outfit of volunteers, or for the support of their families. In a church in Brooklyn a letter was read from the 13th Regiment N. Y. S. M., asking for uniforms for recruits, and the response was a collection of about $1,100 for that patriotic purpose. In the Broadway Tabernacle, the pastor preached a sermon in the evening on "God's Time of Threshing." The choir performed "The Marseillaise" to a hymn composed for the occasion by the pastor. A collection was taken for the Volunteers' Home Fund amounting to $450, to which a member of the congregation afterwards added $100. Dr. Bethune's sermon was from the text: "In the name of our God we will set up our banners." In Dr. Bellows' church the choir sang "The Star-Spangled Banner," which was vigorously applauded by the whole house. At Grace Church (Episcopal) Dr. Taylor began by saying, "The Star-Spangled Banner has been insulted." At Dr. McLane's Presbyterian church, Williamsburgh, "The Star-Spangled Banner" was sung. Dr. T. D. Wells (Old School Presbyterian) preached from the words: "He that hath no sword, let him buy one." Dr. Osgood's text was: "Lift up a standard to the people."

On Monday, the march of troops continued through the city, and on the 23d again New York was alive with excitement to witness the

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departure of the 6th, 13th, and 69th regiments. The 8th, 1,000 strong, Col. Geo. Lyon, formed in 16th street, and at 4 o'clock proceeded, amidst the cheering citizens, to pier No. 36, North River, where they embarked on board the steamer Alabama. The 69th Irish, Col. Corcoran, assembled at their armory, No. 42 Prince street, at 3 o'clock. They received the order to march, and they proceeded down Broadway amidst such greetings as the excited Irish citizens alone could demonstrate. At 6½ they left in the James Adger. The 13th, Col. Abel Smith, left on board the Marion. Thus through more than two months the living stream of troops went out of New York to support the Government. The record was nearly as follows:

Date.	Regiment.	Colonels.	Men.
April 17	6th Mass	Jones	678
" 19	5th "	Lawrence	925
" 19	8th "	Monroe	852
" 19	7th New York	Lefferts	1,110
" 21	71st "	Martin	1,000
" 21	6th "		1,000
" 21	1st Rhode Island	Burnside	1,300
" 21	12th New York "	Butterfield	1,000
" 23	8th "	Lyon	1,000
" 23	13th "	Smith	1,000
" 22	69th "	Corcoran	1,582
" 29	25th "	Bryan	700
May 2	11th " Zouaves	Ellsworth	1,100
" 2	Rhode Island Battery	Tompkins	150
" 5	28th New York	Bennett	1,000
" 7	5th "	Schwarzwaelder	850
" 12	1st Connecticut	Terry	800
" 14	2d "	Tyler	850
" 16	14th New York	Wood	960
" 18	2d "	Tompkins	950
" 20	3d Connecticut	Arnold	780
June 1	1st New Hampshire	Tappan	1,108
" 4	8th N. Y. Volunteers	Blenker	1,000
" 4	10th " "	McChesney	1,000
" 4	9th " "	Styles	1,000
" 6	Garibaldi Guard	D'Utassy	1,050
" 6	12th N. Y. Volunteers	Quincy	800
" 6	13th " "	Walrath	800
" 7	2d Maine	Jameson	800
" 7	1st "	Jackson	850
" 9	79th New York	Cameron	900
" 9	9th N. Y. Volunteers	Hawkins	1,000
" 13	6th " "	Wilson	900
" 14	19th New York	Clark	750
" 14	3d Maine	Howard	1,010
" 16	Co. K 9th New York	Bunting	80
" 17	1st Mass	Cowden	1,045
" 18	21st New York	Rogers	780
" 20	14th N. Y. Volunteers	McQuade	870
" 20	4th Mass	Berry	1,065
" 20	38th N. Y. Volunteers	Hobart	790
" 20	18th " "	Jackson	780
" 22	2d Rhode Island	Slocum	1,226
" 22	26th New York	Christin	800
" 22	29th "	Von Steinwehr	872
" 22	2d New Hampshire	Marston	1,046
" 24	17th N. Y. Volunteers	Lansing	850
" 24	37th " "	McCann	815
" 24	31st " "	Pratt	897
" 26	2d Vermont	Whiting	950
" 26	28th New York	Donnelly	780
" 26	5th Maine	Dunnell	1,001
" 29	1st New York	Montgomery	1,011
" 29	16th "	Davies	630
" 29	30th "	Matheson	870
" 29	9th Mass	Cass	1,100
	Total		56,100

During that period of time New York continued to pour out an average, in round numbers, of 1,000 men per day at the call of the Government, not only supplying and equipping the men, but furnishing the money, and lending large sums to the Government in addition.

The action of New York in response to the call of the President may be thus summed up, showing the number of men and the amount of money furnished. The calls of the Government for loans were as follows:

Borrowed in February	$7,243,500
" " April	7,814,890
" " May	7,310,000
" " July	12,000,000
New York City advanced in April	2,155,000
" " " May	1,500,000
" advanced by corporations and individuals	2,000,000
" Banks loaned in August, October, and December	105,000,000
Approximate sum advanced	$145,023,390

Besides these sums, $1,000,000 more may be put down as the contribution made by families towards the more comfortable outfit and equipment of such of their members as took arms in defence of the National flag. Thus much for the supply of means, which comparatively could be obtained nowhere else, but which New York poured forth with such lavish hand. The calls for troops up to the meeting of Congress were as follows:

First call, Militia, 3 months	75,000
Second call, Volunteers, 3 years	42,000
Regulars for the Army	36,000
Navy	23,000
Total	176,000

New York contained 160,000 able-bodied men; of these, governmental departments estimate 60,000 as ordinary laborers; of whom 39,000 men marched with the city regiments, making nearly one-fourth of all the men summoned. New York thus, in three months, sent in round numbers 40,000 men and $150,000,000 to sustain the Government under the difficulties brought upon it.

The first difficulty encountered by the mustering troops was to obtain the means of moving. When this was understood, the purses of all parties were open; and on the 18th of April, thirty-seven gentlemen subscribed $3,100 to aid the Seventh Regiment, about to march, and the amount was raised to $6,140 on the following day. Numerous other offers were made, and $7,000 were subscribed for the Fifth Regiment. The amount collected by the Chamber of Commerce Committee in a few days, was raised to $118,899. The patriotic citizens raised $11,110, and other committees obtained large sums. It was then determined to organize the Union Defence Committee, which was to take charge of the whole movement, the other committees being merged into it. April 23d, the Committee opened its offices at 30 Pine street—Gen. John A. Dix, Chairman; Simeon Draper, Vice-President; J. Depau, Treasurer. The Common Council, April 23d, passed an ordinance appropriating $1,000,000, which was placed in the hands of this committee for disbursement, and they proceeded with their

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trust, which was of great importance and well discharged. They equipped and forwarded troops, supplied guns, aided organizations, purchased arms and munitions, and extended aid to the families of the soldiers. The first ambulances sent to the seat of war were by this committee.

A very great decline took place in the number of passengers that arrived in this port in the past year, as follows:

Arrivals for the past eleven years.

Years.	Foreign Arrivals.	Passengers, Foreign.	Passengers f'm California.
1851	3,888	299,181	18,207
1852	3,822	310,395	12,158
1853	4,105	299,425	15,517
1854	4,178	341,809	15,929
1855	3,391	152,234	13,400
1856	3,869	159,284	11,925
1857	3,902	208,499	11,205
1858	3,483	97,632	8,960
1859	4,027	101,320	16,749
1860	4,451	266,627	10,710
1861	5,122	80,790	9,117

The increase of crime in the city is not so great as the circumstance of the continued flow of foreign population into it might indicate. Among the arrivals are large numbers of ignorant and vicious persons, who, in a strange country, are thrown upon evil courses as a matter of necessity to live. It is therefore not surprising that a considerable proportion of the arrests are among that class:

The amount of property reported lost by robberies, was	$133,679 96
The amount recovered	79,822 11
Total loss	$53,857 85

Among the incidental duties of the police, the following summary casts a singular light upon the transactions of a great city. The police find lodgings for such poor persons as are houseless from any cause of vice or poverty:

There were, in 1861, of such persons lodged	119,348
Lost children sent to central office	3,731
" " restored to parents	3,470
Sick and taken to hospital	1,336
Horses and cattle restored to owners	2,064
Horses and vehicles " "	247
Stores found open and closed	1,733
Dwellings " " "	1,181
Number of fires	408
" " extinguished by police	144
Rescued from drowning	183
Foundlings sent to office	104
Money restored to lodgers and others	$142,593
Violations of Sunday laws	24,370

The enormous quantity of butchers' meat stated in the annexed table, gives an average of 337 lbs. per head per annum to each individual in the city, or $25.27 per annum at the rate which the butchers pay the drovers; about $50 actually, at the retail prices.

	1861. Head.	Net lbs each.	Lbs.	Cost.	Value.
Bullocks	229,534	725	165,728,406	7½c.	$12,843,563
Hogs	559,421	140	78,318,940	6	4,699,134
Sheep & Lambs	512,566	45	23,054,470	8	1,844,357
Calves	32,868	75	2,357,100	8	188,568
Total	1,333,189		269,455,910		$19,575,783

The total number of butchers' animals sold in the city markets in eight years, has been:

Bullocks	1,551,152	Sheep and Lambs	4,064,450
Milch cows	83,351	Swine	3,059,813
Calves	352,590		
Total			9,061,566

Of the bullocks sold, 1,128,396 head have been at the regular weekly market, held every Tuesday and Wednesday. Prices have ranged in that time from 5 to 14 cents a pound for the meat, according to quality, but seldom below 8 cents a pound for such as is considered first quality.

The sources of this large supply are indicated in the 191,684 head which were sold at the Forty-ninth street market-place, corner of Fifth Avenue. These came from the following States:

Illinois	79,479	Virginia	1,117
Ohio	35,485	Connecticut	896
New York	28,044	New Jersey	460
Indiana	15,680	Wisconsin	120
Iowa	11,565	Massachusetts	67
Kentucky	8,799	Texas	59
Michigan	5,298	Cherokee Nation	100
Missouri	3,827	Canada	1,422
Pennsylvania	1,137		

The increase of railroad transportation has not only increased the quantity brought, but greatly improved the condition in which they arrive. They are no longer foot-sore and fevered from long journeys, but come in upon the railroads in good condition and healthy. In 1861 they were brought as follows:

By	Bullocks.	Swine.	Weekly average Bflks.	Swine.
Erie Railroad	87,582	169,225	1,684	3,254
Hudson River Railroad	65,449	251,425	1,259	4,835
New Jersey Cen. Railroad	18,182	125,919	350	2,422
Harlem Railroad	32,213	.....	620	.....
Camden and Amboy R. R.	7,119	.....	137	.....
On boats	16,447	.....	316	.....
On foot	2,152	.....	41	.....

It is to be borne in mind, that while the supplies have been as large as ever, the number of consumers has been less. Fifty thousand able-bodied men left the city at the call of the Government, and the effect upon consumption was material.

The consumption of flour in the city is about 1,000,000 barrels per annum. There are no means of ascertaining the quantity of farm produce brought into the city from the surrounding country, and sold in the markets.

The deliveries in this city of some of the leading articles of domestic produce have been as follows:

	1860.	1861.
Flour, bbls.	3,913,656	5,013,053
Wheat, bush.	19,659,384	28,749,900
Corn, bush.	13,005,988	23,189,449
Rye, bush.	148,977	659,363
Barley, &c., bush.	1,175,163	1,742,895
Oats, bush.	4,367,490	4,481,395
Beef, tierces and bbls.	126,556	116,794
Pork, bbls.	194,592	144,566
Bacon, &c., packages	75,685	106,561
Lard, packages	113,883	182,166
Cheese, packages	547,416	935,120
Butter, packages	430,000	556,823

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The quantities of unhealthy matter removed from the city limits during the year, under the action of the City Inspector, were as follows:

Cheese, unsound	24,666	lbs.
Venison, "	628	"
Sausages, "	2,805	"
Tripe, "	11,225	"
Swine, "	11,807	"
Poultry, "	17,759	"
Fish, "	48,000	"
Mutton, "	16,050	"
Veal, "	17,229	"
Beef, "	37,068	"
Other meats "	7,174	"
Offal, barrels	61,823	"
Dogs, and small animals, No.	15,055	
Hogs, dead, "	1,728	
Goats, " "	59	
Cows, " "	247	
Horses, " "	2,755	
Night soil, loads	45,266	
Sinks, &c., cleaned, No.	9,564	
Nuisances abated, " "	8,183	

The removal of these nuisances from the city is necessary in the highest degree to its health, and it is also an evidence of the waste which occurs in the sustaining a large city. This cannot, however, be considered large, in view of the immense number of people to be fed, and also in view of the fact that the quantities brought in are not calculated nor governed by any red tape or protective principle, but are adjusted by the exercise of the free judgment of the sellers. It is a marvel that supplies of perishable matter are so closely applied to the wants of the people.

The distress in which a large portion of the emigrants arrive in the city is a fruitful source of mortality, and this becomes conspicuous when the operations of the five dispensaries of the city are contemplated. These supplied in the year 135,235 persons, of whom 60 per cent. were foreigners. The number of children that died in 1861 was 13,614; the parentage of 9,437 was given, of whom 8,339 were of foreign parents.

The marriages in the city of New York for the year 1861, distinguishing color and condition in life, were as follows:

Monthly Return of Marriages in the City of New York for 1861.

MONTHS.	TOTALS.	SEX.		COLOR.				CONDITION IN LIFE.			
				WHITE.		BLACK.		SINGLE.		WIDOWED.	
		Male.	Fem.	Male.	Fem.	Male.	Fem.	Male.	Fem.	Male.	Fem.
January	258	258	258	252	252	6	6	232	236	26	22
February	223	223	223	217	217	6	6	197	203	26	20
March	159	159	159	152	152	7	7	135	146	24	13
April	282	282	282	278	278	4	4	247	249	35	33
May	310	310	310	304	303	6	7	278	279	32	31
June	253	253	253	243	243	10	10	223	223	30	30
July	155	155	155	150	151	5	4	131	131	24	24
August	234	234	234	232	232	2	2	198	202	36	32
September	180	180	180	167	167	13	11	159	156	21	24
October	390	390	390	371	372	19	18	336	341	54	49
November	299	299	299	291	291	8	8	266	263	39	36
December	240	240	240	234	234	6	6	218	220	27	20
Total	2998	2998	2998	2901	2904	92	89	2609	2659	384	334

The births given monthly, distinguishing color, were as follows:

Return of Births in the City of New York for 1861.

MONTHS.	TOTALS.	SEX.		WHITE.		COLORED.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Fem.
January	881	419	412	416	412	3	..
February	873	456	417	455	416	1	1
March	1,005	525	480	525	480	..	..
April	968	511	457	510	457	1	..
May	879	451	428	448	428	3	..
June	786	416	370	416	369	..	1
July	950	483	467	483	466	..	1
August	810	418	392	417	389	1	3
September	780	338	342	335	339	3	3
October	734	377	357	376	357	1	..
November	724	366	358	364	355	2	3
December	714	367	347	365	346	2	1
Totals	10,004	5,177	4,827	5,160	4,814	17	13

NORFOLK, a city in Norfolk County, Virginia, is situated on the right or north bank of Elizabeth River, eight miles from Hampton Roads, thirty-two miles from the sea, and one hundred and sixty miles, by water, or one hundred and six miles, by land, southeast of Richmond. The river, which is here seven-eighths of a mile wide, separates it from Portsmouth. Next to Richmond, Norfolk is the most populous city of Virginia, having about 14,000 inhabitants. It has more foreign commerce than any other place in the State, and, together with Portsmouth, has been the most important naval station in the Union. The entrance to the harbor is defended by Forts Calhoun and Monroe. The navy-yard was located at Gosport, a suburb of Portsmouth, on the side of the river, opposite Norfolk. This is accessible to the largest ships. A naval hospital and a large dry-dock were also located there.

At the time of the secession of Virginia, April 18th, the marines and Government forces at the yard numbered not less than eight hundred men. The vessels of war there at that time were as follows:

Ships-of-the-Line.—Pennsylvania, 120 guns; Columbus, 80; Delaware, 84; New York, (on stocks,) 84. *Frigates.*—United States, 50 guns; Columbus, 50; Raritan, 50. *Sloops-of-War.*—Plymouth, 22 guns; Germantown, 22. *Brig.*—Dolphin, 4 guns. *Steam frigate.*—Merrimac, 40 guns.

As to their condition, there was the liner Columbus, useless; liner Delaware, useless; liner New York, never launched; frigate Columbus, out of order; frigate Raritan, out of order; steam frigate Merrimac, needing full repairs; corvette Germantown, almost ready for sea.

The force of the Government within a short distance of the yard, not to mention Fortress Monroe, was the flag ship Cumberland, 300 men; receiving ship Pennsylvania, 350; marines at the barracks, 70; steamer Pocahontas, 60; total, 780.

Upon the first excitement, a party of men, without any authority, had seized the light-boats, and floating them to the shallowest point

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at the mouth of the harbor, had sunk them, to prevent the removal of the vessels of war from the navy-yard.

On the 19th Gen. Taliaferro and staff arrived at Norfolk. He had command of all the Virginia troops in that section, and was waited on shortly after his arrival by the captains of the several military companies of the city and vicinity for the purpose of reporting their strength, condition, &c., and receiving orders.

On Saturday, the 20th, the greatest excitement prevailed in the city. It was reported that the Cumberland was about to sail from the navy-yard, and preparations were made to prevent her. At twelve o'clock an officer came from the yard bearing a flag of truce, and was conducted to Gen. Taliaferro's head-quarters, where a consultation was held, which resulted in a promise from Com. Macauley, the commandant of the yard, that none of the vessels should be removed, nor a shot fired except in self-defence.

This quieted the excitement; but it was renewed at a later hour, when it was ascertained that the Germantown and Merrimac had been scuttled, and that the heavy shears on the wharf at which the Germantown was lying had been cut away and allowed to fall midships across her decks, carrying away the main topmast and yards. It was also perceived that the men were busily engaged in destroying and throwing overboard side and small arms, and other property, and boats were constantly passing between the Pennsylvania, Cumberland, and other vessels. (*See* NAVY, U. S.)

About midnight a fire was started in the yard. This continued to increase, and before daylight the work of destruction extended to the immense ship-houses known as A and B, (the former containing the entire frame of the New York, 74, which had been on the stocks, unfinished, for some thirty-eight years,) and also to the long ranges of two-story offices and stores on each side of the main gate of the yard. The flames and heat from this tremendous mass of burning material were set by a southwest wind directly towards the line of vessels moored on the edge of the channel opposite the yard, and nearly all of these, too, were speedily enveloped in flames.

The scene, at this time, was grand and terrific beyond description. The roar of the conflagration was loud enough to be heard at miles' distance; and to this were added occasional discharges from the heavy guns of the old Pennsylvania, ship-of-the-line, as they became successively heated.

When the destruction of the ship-houses was certain, the Pawnee, which arrived on Saturday, and had been kept under steam, was put in motion, and, taking the Cumberland in tow, retired down the harbor, out of the reach of danger, freighted with a great portion of valuable munitions from the yard, and the commodore and other officers. The ships proceeded as far down as the barricades at the narrows, where the Cumberland was left at anchor, and the Pawnee continued on to Fortress Monroe. The Cumberland subsequently passed out.

It afterwards appeared that the ship Pennsylvania was burnt, and the Merrimac, Columbus, Delaware, and Raritan, Plymouth, and Germantown were scuttled and sunk, and a vast amount of the machinery, valuable engines, small-arms, chronometers, &c., had been broken up and rendered entirely useless. Besides the ship-houses and their contents, the range of buildings on the north line of the yard, (except the Commodore's and Commander's houses,) the old marine barracks, and some workshops were burnt. Much of value, however, was not destroyed. The great dry-dock was uninjured. The large number of 2,500 cannon, of all kinds and sizes, fell into the hands of the State of Virginia; also shot, shell, and other warlike missiles to a very large amount. Besides these, the machinery of the yard was generally uninjured. A collection of ship-building and outfitting material, large and valuable, including a number of steel plates and iron castings, was found ready for use, and capable of being turned to account.

Old Fort Norfolk, used as a magazine, was taken by the Virginia authorities without resistance. Within were three thousand barrels of powder, containing three hundred thousand pounds; also, a large number of shells and other missiles, loaded, and for that reason necessary to be kept in magazines.

The value of the property destroyed was estimated at several millions. The cost of the immense and magnificent ship-houses and their contents formed a considerable item in the account, and so did that of the Pennsylvania. "It brings tears into our eyes," said a citizen of Norfolk, "when we realize the destruction of this noble ship, so long the ornament of our harbor and the admiration of thousands from all parts of the country who visited our waters." That splendid specimen of naval architecture, the new and beautiful frigate Merrimac, and four or five other vessels, were given to the flames, or with their valuable armament to the deep.

On the same day an order was issued by Gen. Taliaferro, prohibiting the collector of the port from accepting any draft from the United States Government, or allowing the removal of deposits, or any thing else, from the custom-house. The collector, being informed that on his refusal to obey the order a file of men would be sent down to occupy the premises, acquiesced.

To relieve the pecuniary embarrassment, and to provide an equivalent for cash for immediate purposes, the City Council immediately issued a considerable amount of small notes. The lowest denomination authorized was twenty-five cents.

On the 20th the Richmond Grays, a fine company numbering one hundred rifle muskets,

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arrived. They brought with them fourteen pieces of rifle cannon of large size, one of the pieces weighing 10,000 pounds, and three box cars filled with ammunition of various kinds, to be distributed to the patriotic companies by the way side.

On the night previous, four companies of Petersburg riflemen and infantry, numbering in all four hundred men, reached Norfolk. They were followed by two additional companies of one hundred each.

On the 22d, three companies of troops from Georgia arrived in the express train from Weldon; the Light Guards, from Columbus, numbering eighty men; the Macon Volunteers, eighty men; and the Floyd Rifles, from Macon, eighty men. The first and last commands marched immediately to the naval hospital.

About the same time the hull of the old ship United States, in which Com. Decatur captured the Macedonian, was taken possession of at the navy-yard by an efficient crew and towed down to the narrow part of the channel, a mile below Fort Norfolk, where she was moored across the channel and sunk. Only a few feet brought her in contact with the bottom. Any naval force that might attempt to pass up the harbor must remove the hulk, while, in the mean time, the shot and shells from the two forts above—one on the right and the other on the left—would be poured into them.

Norfolk thus was occupied by Confederate troops, who remained in undisturbed possession through the year.

NORTH CAROLINA, one of the original thirteen States, is bounded north by Virginia, east and southeast by the Atlantic, south by South Carolina and Georgia, and west by South Carolina and Tennessee. The population in 1860 was 631,489 whites, 30,097 free colored, and 331,081 slaves. Total 992,667. The Governor holds his office for two years. John W. Ellis, whose term of office ceased in January, 1863, died in 1861, and was succeeded by the Lieutenant-Governor Clark. The Senate is composed of fifty members, elected for two years, and the House of Commons, as it is called, of one hundred and twenty members, elected for two years. The vote at the presidential election in 1860 was as follows: Lincoln ——, Douglas 2,701, Breckinridge 48,539, Bell 44,990. The staple productions of the State are Indian corn, tobacco, and sweet potatoes. Lumber, pitch, tar, and turpentine, with some rice and cotton, are articles of export from the State.

The Legislature of the State being in session in December, 1860, previous to the meeting of the State Convention in South Carolina, a series of resolutions were offered proposing to appoint Commissioners to the South Carolina Convention for the purpose of urging that body to await a general consultation of the slaveholding States, and to provide also that the Commissioners should attend the Conventions in other States. They were made a special order, but did not pass. On the same day, in the House of Commons, the following resolution was adopted by a vote of 50 in favor, to 43 against it:

Be it resolved, That the following message be signed by the Speakers of both Houses of this Legislature, and sent by mail to the President of the South Carolina Convention:

Gentlemen of the South Carolina Convention: Will your State confer with our State, or all of the Southern States, or all of the States of the Union, in Convention or otherwise, in order that some honorable adjustment of the present difficulties between the States may be effected whereby a Constitutional Union may be preserved?

In Pasquotank County, in the northeastern part of the State, nearly half the population of which are slaves, the following resolution was adopted at a general meeting, about Dec. 20, 1860:

Whereas some diversity of opinion exists in the State of North Carolina as to the policy to be pursued by the State in the present alarming crisis in our political affairs, therefore be it

Resolved, By the people of Pasquotank County, in general meeting assembled, that no sufficient cause at present exists for a dissolution of the Union; and that, while such is our opinion, we take this occasion to express our disapprobation of the precipitate course pursued by the people of South Carolina, and our determination to resist any encroachment upon our rights, *in the Union*, let it come from whatever quarter it may.

A strong Union sentiment was shown in the State during the session of the Legislature, but it was in favor of requiring additional guarantees. The public sentiment at this time, being the first of January, has been described in these words:

"The general feeling of North Carolina is conservative. She would respond to any fair proposition for an equitable adjustment of present national difficulties, but will insist on her rights at all hazards."

On the 8th of January Forts Caswell and Johnson were occupied by unauthorized persons, who presented themselves with some show of force and demanded their surrender. Governor Ellis ordered them to be immediately restored to the proper authority. In a letter to President Buchanan, on the 12th of January, he thus describes his action:

SIR: Reliable information has reached this Department, that, on the 8th instant, Forts Johnson and Caswell were taken possession of by State troops and persons resident in that vicinity, in an irregular manner.

Upon receipt of this information, I immediately issued a military order requesting the forts to be restored to the authorities of the United States, which order will be executed this day.

My information satisfies me that this popular outbreak was caused by a report, very generally credited, but which, for the sake of humanity, I hope is not true, that it was the purpose of the Administration to *coerce* the Southern States, and that troops were on their way to garrison the Southern ports and to begin the work of subjugation. This impression is not yet erased from the public mind, which is deeply agitated at the bare contemplation of so great an indignity and wrong; and I would most earnestly appeal to your Excellency to strengthen my hands in my efforts to preserve the public order here, by placing it in my power to give public assurance that no measures of force are contemplated towards us.

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Your Excellency will pardon me, therefore, for asking whether the United States forts will be garrisoned with United States troops during your Administration.

This question I ask in perfect respect, and with an earnest desire to prevent consequences which I know would be regretted by your Excellency as much as myself.

Should I receive assurance that no troops will be sent to this State prior to the 4th of March next, then all will be peace and quiet here, and the property of the United States will be fully protected as heretofore. If, however, I am unable to get such assurances, I will not undertake to answer for the consequences.

The forts in this State have long been unoccupied, and their being garrisoned at this time will unquestionably be looked upon as a hostile demonstration, and will in my opinion certainly be resisted.

To this communication the Secretary of War replied on the 15th, as follows:

Your letter of the 12th instant, addressed to the President of the United States, has by him been referred to this Department, and he instructs me to express his gratification at the promptitude with which you have ordered the expulsion of the lawless men who recently occupied Forts Johnson and Caswell. He regards this action on the part of your Excellency as in complete harmony with the honor and patriotic character of the people of North Carolina, whom you so worthily represent.

In reply to your inquiry, whether it is the purpose of the President to garrison the forts of North Carolina during his administration, I am directed to say that they, in common with the other forts, arsenals, and other property of the United States, are in charge of the President, and that if assailed, no matter from what quarter or under what pretext, it is his duty to protect them by all the means which the law has placed at his disposal. It is not his purpose to garrison the forts to which you refer at present, because he considers them entirely safe, as heretofore, under the shelter of that law-abiding sentiment for which the people of North Carolina have ever been distinguished. Should they, however, be attacked or menaced with danger of being seized or taken from the possession of the United States, he could not escape from his constitutional obligation to defend and preserve them. The very satisfactory and patriotic assurance given by your Excellency justifies him, however, in entertaining the confident expectation that no such contingency will arise.

The bill for calling a State Convention was under debate a number of days; so, also, was the resolution proposing the appointment, on the part of North Carolina, of Commissioners to a Peace Conference at Washington, as proposed by Virginia. The Convention bill finally passed on the 24th of January.

Ultimately, the Legislature seconded the movement of Virginia, by appointing several eminent men, of both parties, to represent the State in the National Conference at Washington. Commissioners were also appointed to represent the State in the Southern meeting at Montgomery, Alabama, the avowed purpose of which was to establish a Provisional Government over a Southern Confederacy, but with instructions adopted by a vote of 69 to 38 in the Commons, that they were "to act only as mediators to endeavor to bring about a reconciliation." This vote was hailed as an unmistakable sign that North Carolina was not prepared for disunion and a Southern Confederacy.

The Convention bill, as it finally passed the Legislature, provided for putting the question to the people at the time of electing delegates; Convention or no Convention.

It further provided that the election should be held on the 28th of January, and that ten days should be allowed the sheriffs to make their returns. If a majority of the people voted for the Convention, the Governor should issue his proclamation fixing the day for the meeting. If the Convention was called, its action should be submitted to the people for ratification or rejection. If a majority of the people voted against the Convention, the Governor should make known the fact by proclamation. The action of the Convention was required to be confined to Federal matters, and the members would be sworn to that effect.

A more guarded and restricted form could hardly have been adopted and permit any liberty of action to the Convention.

On the 4th of February a resolution was passed unanimously in the House, declaring that, in case reconciliation fails, North Carolina goes with the slave States. The military bill passed in the House, authorized the arming of ten thousand volunteers, and provided for the entire reorganization of the militia.

The election for members of the State Convention resulted in the choice of a considerable majority who were in favor of the Union, and opposed to secession. As expressed at the time, "They, as Unionists, would not submit to the administration of the Government on sectional principles, but they were anxious to preserve the Union on a constitutional basis, and to obtain such guarantees as would lead to a permanent reconstruction of it."

The official vote of the State on the question of Convention or no Convention, including the vote of Davie and Heywood counties, which were reported, was: for Convention, 46,672; against a Convention, 47,323. Majority against a Convention, 651. The vote of the State was smaller by about twenty thousand than at the election in August previous.

Of the whole number of delegates, eighty-two were constitutional Union men and thirty-eight secessionists. The Union majority, therefore, was rather more than two to one.

After this election, the Governor determined not to call the Legislature of the State together in extra session unless something more urgent than was known should occur.

No events of unusual interest occurred until the attack upon Fort Sumter and the call by the President for troops. To the requisition of the Secretary at War, the Governor immediately replied by telegraph as follows:

RALEIGH, *April* 15, 1861.

Your despatch is received, and, if genuine—which its extraordinary character leads me to doubt—I have to say, in reply, that I regard the levy of troops made by the Administration, for the purpose of subjugating the States of the South, as in violation of the Constitution and a usurpation of power. I can be no party to this wicked violation of the laws of the country, and to this war upon the liberties of a free people. You

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can get no troops from North Carolina. I will reply more in detail when your call is received by mail.

JOHN W. ELLIS,
Governor of North Carolina.

Hon. SIMON CAMERON, Secretary of War.

The county of Pasquotank, which passed such a strong Union resolution on the 20th of December, as above stated, now, on the 23d of April, assembled in mass meeting at the county town, and adopted the following:

Whereas war exists between the North and the South upon an issue involving the moral, social, and political existence of the South; and whereas it becomes all good citizens and loyal subjects of North Carolina to defend her honor, and preserve her independence; therefore,

Resolved, That we, the people of Pasquotank County, in general meeting assembled, disregarding party affiliations, ignoring the political lines which heretofore have divded us as a people, forgetting and forgiving the animosities which may have been engendered by former political contests, and laying them all a willing sacrifice upon the altar of our common mother, North Carolina, do this day solemnly form a political brotherhood, whose object shall be a united resistance to common wrongs—its bond of union, the honor of North Carolina.

The forts in the State which had been once seized on a popular outbreak and restored by the Governor, were once more seized, and at this time by his orders. Guns and ammunition were obtained in Charleston for use at Fort Macon and Fort Caswell. An extra session of the Legislature was immediately summoned to assemble on the 1st of May.

The proclamation of Gov. Ellis convening that body was as follows:

Whereas by proclamation of Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, followed by a requisition of Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, I am informed that the said Abraham Lincoln has made a call for seventy-five thousand men, to be employed for the invasion of the peaceful homes of the South, and the violent subversion of the liberties of a free people, constituting a large part of the whole population of the late United States, and whereas this high-handed act of tyrannical outrage is not only a violation of all constitutional law, utter disregard of every sentiment of humanity and Christian civilization, and conceived in a spirit of aggression unparalleled by any act of recorded history, but is a direct step towards the subjugation of the entire South, and the conversion of a free Republic inherited from our fathers, into a military despotism to be established by worse than foreign enemies, on the ruins of the once glorious Constitution of equal rights;

Now, therefore, I, John W. Ellis, Governor of the State of North Carolina, for these extraordinary causes, do hereby issue this my proclamation, notifying and requesting the Senators and Members of the House of Commons of the General Assembly of North Carolina, to meet in special session at the capital in the city of Raleigh, on Wednesday, the 1st day of May. And I furthermore exhort all good citizens throughout the State to be mindful that their first allegiance is due to the sovereignty which protects their homes and dearest interests, as their first service is due for the sacred defence of their hearths, and of the soil which holds the graves of our glorious dead.

United action in defence of the sovereignty of North Carolina, and of the rights of the South, becomes now the duty of all.

Given under my hand and attested by the great seal of the State. Done at the city of Raleigh, the 17th day of April, A. D. 1861, and in the eighty-fifth year of independence. JOHN W. ELLIS.

A call was also issued by the Governor, for the enrolment of thirty thousand men, to be held in readiness to march at a day's notice.

On the 1st of May the Legislature convened in special session. In his Message, the Governor recommended that, in view of the secession of North Carolina from the Northern Government, and her union with the Confederate States, at as early a period as practicable, a Convention of the people be called with full and final powers. The powers of the Convention should be full because the sovereignty of the people must be frequently resorted to during the war, and it therefore became necessary that it should be temporarily reposed in the Convention. The action of the Convention should be final, because of the importance of a speedy separation from the Northern Government, and the well-known fact that upon this point the people were as a unit.

He also recommended "the raising and organization of ten regiments, to serve during the war, and that appropriate bounties be offered to all persons thus enlisting."

The Governor farther said that the Northern Government was concentrating a large force in the District of Columbia, ostensibly to protect the seat of Government. But such a force cannot be allowed to remain within the limits of Maryland and on the borders of Virginia without seriously endangering the liberties of the people of those States. If they be conquered and overrun, North Carolina would become the next prey for the invaders. Policy, then, as well as sympathy, and a feeling of brotherhood, engendered by a common interest, required them to exert their energies in the defence of Maryland and Virginia. Every battle fought there would be a battle in behalf of North Carolina. The Legislature met at 12 o'clock M., and at 1 P. M. both Houses had unanimously passed a bill calling an unrestricted Convention, whose action was to be final. The election of delegates took place on the 13th of May, and the Convention met on the 20th.

The Legislature unanimously repealed the section of the Revised Code, which required all officers in the State to take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States before entering upon their duties. The act further provided that it should not be lawful to administer any such oath or affirmation to any officer, civil or military.

After a session of eleven days, the Legislature adjourned, to meet again on the 25th of June. Among other measures, it passed a stay law, to take effect immediately, and authorized the Governor to raise ten thousand men, to serve during the war, and also appropriated $5,000,000 for the use of the State, giving the Treasurer power to issue Treasury notes to the amount of $500,000, in bills ranging from five cents to two dollars, and with a conditional clause, authorizing the issue of a larger amount if necessary. An act was also passed which thus defined treason:

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Treason shall consist only in levying war against this State, or in adhering to its enemies, giving them aid and comfort; or in establishing, without the authority of the General Assembly, any government within its limits separate from the existing Government; or in holding or executing in such usurped government any office, or professing allegiance or fidelity thereto, or assisting the execution of the laws under color of authority from such usurped government; and such treason, if proved by the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or by confession in open Court, shall be punished with death.

The forces of the State, under orders of the Governor, seized the Federal forts on the coast, and took possession of the mint at Charlotte, and the arsenal at Fayetteville, gaining, by the seizure of the latter, 37,000 stand of arms, 3,000 kegs of powder, and an immense supply of shells and shot. Of course, these acts placed the State in the same category with the seceded States, and the ports of North Carolina were, therefore, included in the blockade ordered by the Government.

The State Convention assembled on the 20th of May, the eighty-sixth anniversary of the Mecklenberg Declaration of Independence.

On the 21st the ordinance of secession was passed by the State Convention, as follows:

We, the people of the State of North Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinance adopted by the State of North Carolina, in the Convention of 1789, whereby the Constitution of the United States was ratified and adopted, and also all acts and parts of acts of the General Assembly, ratifying and adopting amendments to the said Constitution, are hereby repealed, rescinded, and abrogated.

We do further declare and ordain that the Union now subsisting between the State of North Carolina and the other States, under the title of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved, and that the State of North Carolina is in the full possession and exercise of all those rights of sovereignty which belong and appertain to a free and independent State.

Done at Raleigh, 20th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1861.

The following ordinance was also passed:

We, the people of North Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the State of North Carolina does hereby assent to and ratify the Constitution for the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America, adopted at Montgomery, in the State of Alabama, on the 8th of February, 1861, by the Convention of Delegates from the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, and that North Carolina will enter into the federal association of States upon the terms therein proposed, when admitted by the Congress or any competent authority of the Confederate States.

Done at Raleigh, 20th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1861.

Military preparations were immediately commenced, and as early as the 15th of June the State had raised a force of twenty thousand volunteers.

The following delegates to the Confederate Congress were elected by the Convention: For the State at large, W. W. Avery and George Davis; 1st district, W. N. H. Smith; 2d, Thomas Ruffin; 3d, T. D. McDowell; 4th, A. W. Venable; 5th, John M. Morehead; 6th, R. C. Puryear; 7th, Burton Craige; 8th, A. D. Davidson.

The flag agreed upon for the State was said to be handsome. The ground was a red field, with a single star in the centre. On the upper extreme was the inscription, "May 20, 1775," and at the lower, "May 20, 1861." There were two bars, one of blue and the other of white.

On the 15th of August the Legislature convened in extra session. The stay law of the previous session had been pronounced unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. The Senators elected to the Confederate Congress were George Davis and Wm. T. Dortch. Mr. Davis was one of the delegates at large from the State to the Provisional Congress, having been chosen by the Convention. Mr. Dortch was one of the Commoners from the county of Wayne, and also Speaker of the House of Commons of the State. Mr. Davis belonged to the Whig organization, and Mr. Dortch to the Democratic, in former years.

The sixth ballot in the House of Commons, on the 11th September, was as follows: Dortch 39; Bragg 15; Person 30; Outlaw 7; Avery 22; Davis 13; Clingman 26; Graham 30; Scattering 11.

After a session of forty days, the Legislature adjourned, *sine die*. A militia bill was passed, also an amended stay law, a revenue bill, and also bills for paying the soldiers of the State, providing means to carry on the war. An additional sum of one million in Treasury notes was authorized to be issued.

The Governor now set to work to place the means of coast defence in a satisfactory condition. At the same time troops were sent forward to the Confederate army as fast as they could be equipped. No notice was taken by the Secretary of War of the request for a few well drilled regiments for the coast defence, although the Governor offered fresh levies in their place. The State, like South Carolina and others, was expected to defend herself. The capture of the forts at Hatteras Inlet occasioned intense excitement, and although the work of the expedition extended no farther than to "take and hold" those positions, it revealed such a degree of weakness to resist any naval attack, that it awakened the first serious apprehensions among the people for the cause of the Confederacy.

A Union movement was set on foot soon after the capture of the forts at Hatteras Inlet, by a small number of persons in Hyde County. Although insignificant at first, it nevertheless awakened the apprehensions of the State authorities, which led to its speedy suppression. It was feared that more than half the counties of the State would become Union if the movement was suffered. This movement consisted in a meeting of some citizens of the county on the 12th of October, who passed a series of resolutions, and adopted a declaration of independence of the State Government. On the

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18th of November a convention assembled, composed, as it was reported, of delegates and proxies representing forty-five counties of the State. It passed an ordinance declaring vacant all State offices, and appointed a Provisional Governor, &c. An election for members of the Federal Congress was ordered by the Provisional Governor, but the person reported elected was not allowed to take his seat.

In September, when the scarcity of arms began to be known in the Confederate States, a large force was set at work at the armory in Fayetteville to alter the old flint lock guns to percussion. There were several thousand of these guns then remaining in the United States arsenal. When they could not be altered to advantage they were repaired and furnished with new flints, and found to make very serviceable guns. Hall's breech-loading rifles were also altered to carbines, making a good gun for cavalry service. Subsequently, two horizontal high-pressure steam engines were made at Richmond and sent to Fayetteville, when the manufacture of new arms was commenced under the charge of an officer named Burkart, once a master armorer in the United States service.

On the 1st of November the contributions of the State for war purposes had reached the sum of $2,044,522 96. The records of the passport office at Richmond showed at this time that in the contributions of clothing and money to her troops, the generosity of North Carolina had much exceeded that of wealthier and more populous States.

At this time the State had sent to the seat of war in Virginia, fully armed and equipped, 33,000 volunteer troops, infantry and riflemen, and a regiment of cavalry, numbering one thousand and ninety-four men. There were six thousand troops on the State coast, and camps of instruction established at Raleigh, Ridgeway, and Gareysburg, and the number of volunteers still offering was so great that General Martin, commander-in-chief of the State forces, under orders of the Governor, issued a proclamation informing the people that no further troops were needed or could be received.

The Representatives from the States to the Confederate Congress were W. N. H. Smith, Robert Bridges, Owen B. Keenan, J. D. MacDowell, Thomas S. Ashe, Archibald Arrington, Robert McLean, William Lander, R. S. Gartber, A. S. Davidson.

The commerce of the State during the year was so restricted by the blockade as not to furnish an estimate of any importance. The fact most worthy of notice in the agricultural productions of the State, was a crop of tea, consisting of about ten bushels, raised by Shelly Spencer in Hyde County. It was well spoken of as a beverage.

Battles and Skirmishes in North Carolina in 1861.

Place.	Date.	Federal Loss.			Confed. Loss.		
		Killed.	Wounded.	Prisoners.	Killed.	Wounded.	Prisoners.
Ocracoke Fort.....	Sept. 18	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kipe Keet, Hatteras Inlet.....	Oct. 5	..	..	..	large No.	..	..
Chickamacomico*...	Oct. 5	..	..	..	28	..	..
Hatteras Expedition.	Aug. 26	..	..	..	5	25	715
" Inlet†.....	Nov. 14	..	..	..	..	..	..
Swan's Cry Creek ‡..	Oct. 28	..	..	..	..	..	..

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OBITUARIES, AMERICAN.—*Jan.* 1.—SONNTAG, AUGUST, an astronomer of Swedish birth, but for some years resident in the United States. He accompanied Dr. Hayes in his Arctic expedition, and while on a journey to endeavor to obtain dogs for the sledges of the expedition, he fell through the ice, and though rescued from drowning, perished from cold in a few hours.

Jan. 4.—KENT, WILLIAM, an American jurist, son of the distinguished Chancellor Kent, born in 1802. He was for many years an eminent lawyer in New York City, and was appointed Judge of the Circuit Court of New York by Gov. Seward. After some years' service he resigned, and accepted the professorship of law in Harvard University, which he did not long hold, but returned to New York, where he was constantly employed as a referee. His residence for some years past has been at Fishkill, where he died.

Jan. 5.—ANTHON, HENRY, D. D., died in New York, aged 69 years. He was a native of New York, and son of G. C. Anthon, Esq., who was a native of Germany, but emigrated early to this country; brother of Charles Anthon, eminent as a classical scholar, and of John Anthon, distinguished as a lawyer. He entered the ministry in the Protestant Episcopal Church at an early age, and was distinguished for his evangelical sentiments and for his amiable and genial character.

Jan. 5.—WHITE, JOSEPH L., a prominent and enterprising business man, formerly a member of Congress from Indiana, but of late years a resident of New York City, and connected with the enterprise of the Nicaragua Transit Co. He was shot at Nicaragua by an American named Gavitt, and subsequently died of his wounds.

Jan. 10.—HACKLEY, Rev. CHARLES W. (*See* HACKLEY.)

Jan. 17.—CHURCH, PHILIP, died at Belvidere, Alleghany Co., N. Y., aged 83. He was a grandson of Gen. Schuyler, and a nephew of

* The Federal gunboats fired upon the Confederate force on shore.
† Shots exchanged with Confederate steamer.
‡ Three vessels destroyed.

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Alex. Hamilton. He took a deep interest in all public improvements, and was the projector of the Erie Railroad.

Feb. 4.—Murray, Rev. Nicholas, D. D. (*See* Murray.)

Feb. 8.—Francis, John Wakefield, M. D. (*See* Francis.)

Feb. 11.—Rockwell, John Arnold, died at Washington, (D. C.,) aged 59. He graduated at Yale College in 1822, and in 1837 represented his native State, Connecticut, in Congress. In the recent presidential campaign he was an active friend of Bell and Everett. Of late years he has practised law in Washington, and was employed in the New Almaden Quicksilver Mine cases.

Feb. 13.—Wright, John C. He was a resident of Ohio, and had been a member of Congress from 1823 to 1829. He was selected by Gov. Dennison as one of the commissioners from Ohio to the Peace Congress in Washington in Feb. 1861, and though in his 78th year, accepted the appointment, but was taken sick soon after his arrival in that city and died in about a week. He was much respected and beloved in Ohio.

Feb. 15.—Adams Charles, died at Burlington, Vt., aged 74 years. He was the historian of the "Patriot War."

Feb. 20.—Lawrence, Cornelius Van Wyck, a prominent citizen of New York, born at Flushing, Feb. 28, 1791. He was a Representative in Congress from 1832 to 1834, Mayor of New York from 1834 to 1836, President of the Electoral College in 1836, and for 20 years President of the Bank of the State of New York. In 1856 he retired to his estate in Flushing, where he died.

March 21.—Iturbide, Madame Hecate de. (*See* Iturbide.)

March 21.—Whittemore, Rev. Thomas. (*See* Whittemore.)

March 25.—Gibbs, Prof. Josiah Willard. (*See* Gibbs.)

March 26.—Robbins, Rev. Royal, D. D., a native of Connecticut, born in 1788, educated at Yale College, and settled as a Congregational clergyman for nearly 50 years in Kensington parish, in the town of Berlin in that State. Dr. Robbins was a man of high intellectual culture, and was the author of several works of high reputation. His "World Displayed" was a very successful attempt at popularizing the general facts of history, and his "Outlines of History" has long been a popular text-book.

March. 30.—Shaw, Lemuel, Chief-Justice of Massachusetts. (*See* Shaw.)

March 30.—White, Daniel Appleton, LL. D., was born at Methuen, Mass., Jan. 7, 1776, and graduated at Harvard in 1797. He commenced the practice of law in Salem, Mass., and was for many years Judge of Probate for Essex Co., and for a term a Representative of that county in Congress. He died in Salem.

April 10.—Buckingham, Hon. Joseph T., a distinguished printer, editor, and antiquarian, born at Mansfield, Conn., Dec. 21, 1779. He learned the printing business at Walpole, N. H., and went to Boston in 1800, where he published successively "The Polyanthos," "Ordeal," "New England Galaxy," and "Boston Courier," editing the last from 1821 to 1848. During this period he also published the "New England Magazine." He published two volumes of "Reminiscences" of his own life and times. He was a member, at different times, of both Houses of the State Legislature, and one of the most eminent laborers for the completion of the Bunker Hill monument.

April 13.—Humphrey, Heman, D. D., late president of Amherst College, born at Simsbury, Conn., March 26, 1779. He graduated at Yale College in 1805; was pastor of Cong. church in Fairfield, Conn., 1807–17, pastor of Cong. church Pittsfield, Mass., 1817–23; president Amherst College, 1823–45; and resigned and returned to Pittsfield the latter year, where he resided till his death. He was the author of "Tour in France, &c.," 2 vols., "Domestic Education," "Letters to a Son in the Ministry," "Life and Writings of Prof. W. Fiske," "Life, &c., of T. H. Gallaudet," and "Sketches of the History of Revivals."

April 13.—Evans, Dr. John. (*See* Evans.)

April 14.—McLean, Hon. John. (*See* McLean.)

April 30.—Onderdonk, Benjamin Treadwell, D. D. (*See* Onderdonk.)

May 24.—Ellsworth, Col. E. E. (*See* Ellsworth.)

May 27.—Ballou, Rev. Hosea, 2d, D. D. He was a native of Massachusetts and a relative of the Rev. Hosea Ballou, distinguished as one of the fathers of Universalism in this country. He was educated at Brown University, and subsequently entered the ministry in the Universalist Church. He early distinguished himself as a preacher and writer, and in 1844 received the honorary degree of D. D. from Harvard University. He was active in the establishment of Tufts College, at Medford, Mass., the principal collegiate institution of his denomination, and in 1853, a year after its organization, was elected its President, which office he filled with decided ability till his death. He edited for several years the "Universalist Quarterly Review."

June 3.—Douglas, Stephen Arnold. (*See* Douglas, S. A.)

June 5.—Garland, Gen. John. (*See* Garland, John.)

June 10.—Greble, John T. (*See* Greble.)

June 10.—Winthrop, Theodore. (*See* Winthrop.)

June 14.—Strong, Rev. Dr., a clergyman of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church.

June —.—Roorbach, Orville A., a publisher and bookseller for many years in New York and Charleston. In 1852, he published the Bibliotheca Americana, a work intended to give the title, and, so far as known, the author, publisher, price, and date of publication of every American work published from 1820 to 1852.

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June 25.—Storrs, William Lucius, Chief-Justice of Connecticut. (*See* Storrs.)

June 26.—Prentiss, Col. John H., formerly a prominent democratic editor in the State of New York, died at his residence in Cooperstown, aged 77 years. He represented his district in Congress from 1837 to 1841. He was a man of extensive influence, and highly esteemed by the community in which he lived.

June 27.—Ward, Com. James Harman. (*See* Ward.)

July 14.—Appleton, Nathan. (*See* Appleton.)

July 15.—Garnett, Gen. Robert T. (*See* Garnett.)

July 16.—Rawlings, T. Edward, an artist and reporter for one of the illustrated papers of New York, and a writer of decided ability. He was killed by a party of Confederate soldiers in ambush, near Newport News.

July 21.—Bee, Gen. Bernard E., a brigadier-general of the Confederate army from South Carolina, killed at the battle of Bull Run.

July 21.—Bartow, Gen., a brigadier-general of the Confederate army from Georgia, killed at the battle of Bull Run.

July 21.—Cameron, Col. James, born at Maytown, Lancaster Co., Penn., March 1, 1801. In youth he engaged in various occupations, and at 19 years of age entered the printing office of his brother Simon, at Harrisburg. In 1827 he removed to Lancaster and assumed the editorship of the "Political Sentinel," studying law in the mean time in the office of the late President, James Buchanan. During the Mexican war, he accompanied the volunteers of his State as sutler, in January, 1847. When the present war broke out he was living in retirement upon his estate on the banks of the Susquehanna, but upon urgent entreaty accepted the appointment of colonel of the Seventy-ninth Highland Regiment of the New York State militia, and from his election devoted himself assiduously to the duties of his position. In the battle of Bull Run, when his regiment was driven back before the terrible fire of the enemy, he would lead them up again and again with the shout, "Scots, follow me!" until he fell in the deadly charge.

July 21.—Slocum, Col. John S., born in the town of Richmond, R. I., Nov. 1, 1824. At the commencement of the Mexican war he obtained a commission in the army, and at Contreras received the brevet rank of captain for meritorious conduct. At the beginning of the present war Gov. Sprague appointed him colonel, and authorized him to raise a second regiment, which he speedily accomplished and again marched to the seat of war. At the battle of Bull Run his regiment led the advance of the division which crossed Cob Run and reached Bull Run at Sudley's Ford, on the extreme left of the enemy's line. Here he bravely led on his regiment through the woods, and opened that terrible engagement, but fell almost in the beginning of the action.

July 21.—Ballou, Major Sullivan, of the Second Rhode Island Regiment of Volunteers, killed at the battle of Bull Run. He was born at Smithfield, R. I., March 28, 1829. In 1846 he entered Phillips' Academy at Andover, Mass., and subsequently Brown University. After remaining two years at the latter, he proceeded to the National Law School at Ballston, N. Y. In 1853 he was admitted to the Rhode Island bar, and practised his profession with little interruption in Smithfield and Providence until he left with his regiment for the seat of war. He was clerk of the House of Representatives of Rhode Island during the years 1854, 1855, and 1856, and the following year was Speaker of the House. In 1861 he held the office of Judge Advocate of the Rhode Island militia. He joined the army from a patriotic sense of duty, and his military career, though short, won him distinguished honor.

July 21.—Tower, Capt. Levi, killed at the battle of Bull Run. Born in the village of Blackstone, Mass., August 18, 1835. He took a thorough classical course in the University Grammar School in Providence, and in due time entered Brown University, which he was subsequently compelled to leave in consequence of ill health. He was a member of the Pawtucket Light Guard, and with it joined the First Regiment of Rhode Island Volunteers.

July 21.—Tillinghast, Capt. Otis H., born at Homer, Cortland Co., N. Y., March 6, 1823. In 1847 he graduated with honor at the military academy at West Point, and was immediately appointed brevet second lieutenant in the Third Artillery, and joined Sherman's Battery, under Gen. Taylor, at Saltillo, Mexico. In 1848 he was associated with the Mexican Boundary Commission, and in 1856 was appointed regimental quartermaster, and stationed in Florida. Soon after he was ordered to Fort Moultrie, where he remained until about the time of the insurrection. In July, 1861, Lieut. Tillinghast was appointed chief-quartermaster to Gen. McDowell's army, and attached himself to the division commanded by Col. Porter. Though his duties did not require him to take part in the battle, he entered with alacrity into the field, and fell early in the engagement, mortally wounded.

July 22.—Kennedy, Col. William D., commander of the "Tammany" Regiment of N. Y. Volunteers. He was a prominent democrat of New York City, and a man of great energy and ability. He died at Washington of congestion of the brain.

Aug. 4.—Trumbull, Joseph, ex-Governor of Connecticut, died at Hartford, aged 78 years. He was born in Lebanon, Conn., December 7, 1782, graduated at Yale College in 1801, and was admitted to the bar in Windham in 1803. He settled in Hartford in 1804, and in 1827 retired from the practice of law and

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became the President of the Hartford Bank. He represented the town of Hartford repeatedly in the Legislature, was a member of Congress for two terms, from 1838 to 1842, and was elected Governor of the State in 1849.

Aug. 10.—LYON, Gen. NATHANIEL. (*See* LYON.)

Aug. 14.—MANGUM, WILLIE PERSON. (*See* MANGUM.)

Aug. 14.—FARNHAM, Col. NOAH L., born at Haddam, Conn., June 6, 1829. At 18 years of age he became a member of the New York "City Guard," and was on active duty at the time of the "Astor Place Riot." In 1857 he was elected second sergeant in the "Seventh Regiment," in which he was a recruit. When the "Seventh" left for Washington, Farnham was acting as first lieutenant, but upon Ellsworth's arrival at Washington with his regiment, he prevailed upon Farnham to accept the office of lieutenant-colonel of the Zouaves, and upon the death of Ellsworth he became colonel. When his regiment received orders to move on to Manassas he was confined to a sick bed, but rose, and, placing himself at the head of his men, hastened to the scene of action. Col. F. fought gallantly, but early in the engagement received a wound in his head, which, in his exhausted state, soon terminated fatally.

Sept. 10.—LOWE, Col. JOHN WILLIAMSON, of the Ohio Volunteers, killed at Carnifex Ferry. He was born in New Brunswick, N. J., Nov. 15, 1809. When the Mexican war broke out, having some military knowledge, and feeling that his country needed his services, he accepted the command of the Fourth Ohio Regiment and went to the seat of war, serving until it was disbanded in 1848. When the rebellion began, he once more offered himself to his country. The Twelfth Regiment was organized and he was unanimously chosen its colonel, and, united to the Cox Brigade, they advanced up the Kanawha River. The only battle necessary to clear the Kanawha valley of the rebels was fought by the Twelfth, under Col. Lowe's command.

Sept. 12.—BRIGGS, GEORGE NIXON. (*See* BRIGGS.)

Sept. 15.—WASHINGTON, JOHN A., colonel in the Confederate army, shot in a skirmish. He was a collateral descendant of the Washington family, and had been the proprietor of Mount Vernon, but sold it for $200,000 to the Mount Vernon Association.

Sept. 17.—JOHNSTON, Col., an officer of the Confederate army, killed in battle in Missouri.

Sept. 28.—BROWNELL, J. SHERMAN, a prominent leading politician of New York City, and for some years a judge of the Police Court.

Oct. 5.—BINGHAM, KINSLEY S. (*See* BINGHAM.)

Oct. 8.—HOUSTON, SAM., Governor of Texas. (*See* HOUSTON.)

Oct. 8.—IVES, ELI, M. D., an American physician born in New Haven, Feb. 7, 1779. He graduated at Yale College in 1799, was rector of the Hopkins Grammar School for the next two years, studying his profession meanwhile with his father, who was a physician, and Dr. Eneas Monson, and in 1801 commenced practice with his father. Two or three years later he attended medical lectures at Philadelphia, and received the private instruction of Drs. Rush and Wooster, of that city. His intimacy with Dr. Monson, as well as his own tastes, led him to cultivate the study of medical botany, and he early became more thoroughly familiar with the *Materia Medica*, and especially with our native vegetable remedies, than any physician of the time. In every department of medical study and practice he was a hard student and a keen and careful observer. At an early age he was more extensively called in consulting practice than any physician of his native city, and in the constantly widening circle of his practice, he had the reputation of a remarkably skilful and successful practitioner. In 1813, in connection with Prof. Silliman, he secured the establishment of the medical department of Yale College, and upon its organization became Professor of Materia Medica. He filled this chair from 1813 to 1829, when, on the death of Prof. Nathan Smith, he was chosen professor of the theory and practice of medicine, and discharged the duties of that professorship till 1852, when he resigned on account of his advanced age. During the lecture session of 1841-'2, after the resignation of Dr. Tully, he delivered the lectures on theory and practice, and also those on Materia Medica. Dr. Ives was greatly honored and esteemed by the members of the medical profession throughout this country and Europe. He was President of the State Medical Society and of the National Medical Association, and received diplomas in abundance from foreign medical and scientific societies. He was active, also, in his advocacy of temperance, education, emancipation, and other causes of active benevolence. He was extremely fond of horticulture, and not only did he have an almost infinite variety of plants and fruits in his own garden, but encouraged others to cultivate fruits and plants. He was the founder and for many years the president of both the Horticultural and Pomological Societies. Rare as his attainments were, he published very little, less than his friends desired. A few essays and pamphlets were all the printed records he left behind him.

Oct. 15.—DUGGAN, PETER PAUL, an American artist born in New York. He early developed a taste for high art, and qualified himself, though very young, for an art professorship in the New York Free Academy soon after its opening. For ten years before his death he had been an invalid, suffering from hemorrhage of the lungs, and had resided for some years in the vicinity of London. In May, 1861, he removed to Paris, and was for a time in better health, but was attacked by an inflammation of the lungs early in October, which soon proved fatal.

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Oct. 19.—WILDEY, THOMAS, the founder of the order of Odd Fellows in this country, died at his residence in Baltimore. He was a native of England, but came to this country at an early age. He was the first Grand Sire of the Grand Lodge of the United States, serving in that capacity from 1825 to 1833, and received every honor it was in the power of its members to bestow. His funeral, which took place on the 22d, was attended by delegations of the order from all sections of the country which could reach Baltimore in season to participate in the services.

Oct. 20.—WOODBRIDGE, WILLIAM, ex-Governor of Michigan, died at his residence in Detroit aged 84. He was a native of Connecticut, but had resided in Michigan about 50 years. He was elected Governor of the State in 1840, and in 1842 United States Senator for 6 years. At the close of his senatorial term he returned to his home in Detroit, where he subsequently lived in quiet and retirement. He was a man of many estimable qualities.

Oct. 21.—BAKER, General EDWARD D. (*See* BAKER.)

Oct. 22.—PUTNAM, WILLIAM LOWELL, a lieutenant of volunteers in the United States army, born in Boston, July 9, 1840, the grandson of Rev. Dr. Charles Lowell and Judge Samuel Putnam, educated partly in France, where he resided from 1851 to 1858, and subsequently trained in law and science in Harvard University; entered the Twentieth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers in 1861; was called to the field in Sept., and on the 21st of Oct., at the disastrous battle of Ball's Bluff, received a mortal wound while leading on his battalion to the rescue of a wounded officer. When borne to the hospital tent he declined the surgeon's assistance, bidding him go to those whom his services could benefit, as his life could not be saved. He died from his wound the next day. He was a young man of extraordinary genius, and of most lovely and blameless life, and the vast assembly who gathered in Boston to do honor to his last remains, responded most feelingly to the eloquent and touching portrayal of his character by his pastor, Rev. Dr. Bartol, and Rev. James Freeman Clarke.

Oct. 23.—DICKENS, ASBURY, aged 83, for many years Secretary of the Senate of the United States.

Nov. 18.—CHETWOOD, JOHN J., an eminent lawyer of New Jersey, born at Elizabeth, N. J., Jan. 18, 1800. He was a descendant of Judge Chetwood, one of the early judges of the N. J. Supreme Court, and was for 14 years surrogate of Essex Co., the first prosecutor of Union Co., and a member of the Council before the adoption of the present Constitution of the State. He was identified with the great railroad enterprises of New Jersey, and active in the promotion of education and in the support of religious institutions. He was a man of generous and genial disposition. He died at Elizabeth.

Nov. 18.—SNYDER, Capt. GEORGE W., died at Washington, D. C., aged 28 years. He was born in 1836, in New York. In 1852 he was appointed from the State of New York a cadet in the Military Academy at West Point, where he graduated with high honor, holding the rank of first captain. On leaving the academy he was appointed a second lieutenant of engineers, the highest promotion accessible to a recent graduate. He was attached in 1859 to the board of engineers under the presidency of Col. Thayer, of Boston. In the following year he was acting assistant professor of military and civil engineering at West Point. When trouble was anticipated at Charleston he was sent to that station as first engineer, assistant to Capt. Foster, and through the hardships consequent upon the siege of Fort Sumter, contracted the disease which ultimately proved fatal.

Dec. 10.—JACKSON, JOHN P., Vice-President and Superintendent of the New Jersey Railroad and Transportation Company, died at Newark, N. J., aged 56. Mr. Jackson was connected with that company from its organization to the time of his death. He was educated for the bar and held a high position in the legal profession; was twice elected to the Legislature of the State, and twice elected clerk of the county of Essex, a very lucrative office.

After his connection with the company, he abandoned active participation in the pursuits of political life, and devoted all his energies and talents to its service. He was distinguished for his benevolence and charity, as well as for integrity and honesty of purpose.

Dec. —.—WILLIAMS, THOMAS SCOTT. (*See* WILLIAMS.)

Dec. 13.—WENDELL, JOHN L., died at Hartford, Conn. He was a native of New York, born in 1784, and for many years a resident of Albany, and a member of the Albany bar. He was for a long time the reporter of the Supreme Court, and the author of the long series of law reports bearing his name.

Dec. 14.—WILKINSON, Commodore JESSE, United States navy, died at his family residence near Norfolk, Va., aged 77 years. He was a native of Virginia, and entered the navy July 10, 1805. He was in the service of the Government fifty-four years and five months.

Dec. 17.—RUFFNER, Rev. HENRY, D.D., LL.D., died at his residence in Kanawha, Va., in the 73d year of his age. He was for many years President of Lexington College, Va., and was distinguished for his learning and logical ability. His last published work was a pamphlet issued from the press last autumn, arguing against the continuance of slavery in Virginia.

Dec. 21.—TURNER, Rev. SAMUEL H., D. D., an American clergyman and professor, born in Philadelphia, Jan. 23, 1791. He graduated at the University of Pennsylvania in 1807, studied theology under Bishop White, ordained deacon in 1811, became rector of the Episcopal church at Chestertown, Md., in 1812, left Maryland on account of his health in 1817, and in 1818 was appointed professor of historic theology in the

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General Theological Seminary at New York. In 1821 he was appointed professor of Biblical Learning and Interpretation of the Scriptures in the same seminary, and continued to fulfil the duties of these professorships, and, since 1831, the added labors of professor of Hebrew in Columbia College, until his death. He was also the author of a number of commentaries and other works illustrative of the subjects of his instructions, which were highly esteemed for their critical scholarship and their catholic spirit.

Dec. 22.—Scott, Rev. William M., D. D., professor in the N. W. Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church at Chicago, died at Princeton, N. J. He was born in Ohio in 1817, graduated at Jefferson College, Penn., studied law in Kentucky for a year, and then entered Princeton Theological Seminary, where he graduated in 1846. In 1847 he was elected professor of languages in Centre College, Danville, Ky., and subsequently pastor of the First Presbyterian church in that place. In 1856 he was called to the pastorate of the Seventh Presbyterian church in Cincinnati, and on the organization of the new Theological Seminary in the Northwest in 1859, was chosen by the General Assembly one of its professors.

Dec. 26.—Cocke, Gen. Philip St. George, an officer of the Confederate army, died in Richmond, Va., aged 53 years. Holding the State rights views of some of the leading men of Virginia, at the commencement of the present war he volunteered his services in the Confederate army of the Upper Potomac, and served as captain, colonel, and general. Upon the field of Bull Run he was commander of the Fifth Confederate Brigade. After a campaign of eight months he returned to his home, shattered both in mind and body, and in a paroxysm of insanity put an end to his life.

Dec. 26.—Van Wyck, Theodore C., an eminent New York physician, died at his residence in Bloomingburgh, N. Y., aged 74 years.

Dec. 27.—McClure, William B., a distinguished Pennsylvanian jurist, born at Carlisle, but removed to Pittsburgh, where he died. For ten years past he had been President Judge of the Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions of Alleghany Co., Penn. Few men in the State were more widely known or respected.

Dec. 28.—Legrand, John C., late Chief-Justice of Maryland, died in Baltimore.

——. Russell, David, a native of Massachusetts, died at his residence in Salem, Washington County, N. Y., in the 81st year of his age. He was appointed District Attorney of the northern district of the State in 1814, and was elected to the Assembly the next year, and subsequently reëlected. He was a member of the Twenty-fourth, Twenty-fifth, and Twenty-sixth Congresses, where, during several sessions, he was Chairman of the Committee of Claims, and has fulfilled many other important public trusts.

——. Scranton, George W., died at his residence in Scranton, Luzerne County, Penn., aged about 50. He was a native of Madison, Connecticut, but removed to New Jersey and afterwards to Pennsylvania, engaging in his business of iron manufacturer in the heart of the coal and iron region, where a large town has grown up which will perpetuate his name. In 1858 he was elected to Congress by a large majority, and being reëlected in 1860, served until his death.

——. Watmough, John G., died at his residence in Philadelphia. He was born in Delaware Dec 6, 1793, and educated at the University of Pennsylvania. He served in the army as a lieutenant of artillery in the war of 1812–14, and was wounded at the battle of Erie. He afterwards served as aid to General Gaines, whom he accompanied to the Southern frontier. In 1830 he was elected to Congress, and served for two terms as the representative of the then third district of Pennsylvania. He was subsequently high sheriff of Philadelphia City and County, and surveyor of the port in 1841.

——. Tilton, Commander Edward G., of the United States navy, died in Washington. He entered the service in 1822 as a midshipman, and was commissioned as a commander in 1853. His last cruise was in command of the sloop-of-war Saratoga, in the home squadron, from which he returned in April, 1857. Subsequently, he was assigned to duty as a member of the Light-house Board, in which capacity he was engaged at the time of his death.

——. May, William, commander of the United States navy, died at his home in Maryland, aged 46 years. He was a native of Washington, D. C. In May, 1831, he entered the navy. He was an officer of the exploring expedition to the South Sea, and was wrecked at the Navigator Islands while surveying its dangerous reefs, narrowly escaping with his life. Com. May was engaged in the battle with the Fiji Islanders after the murder of our seamen and navy officers. He was the executive officer of the brig Porpoise during the Mexican war, and saved the vessel, when thrown upon its beam ends by a violent storm off Vera Crùz. He was at the capture of Tobasco by Com. Perry in the Mexican war, and from his wounds, received at that time, never entirely recovered. His last cruise was as first lieutenant of the frigate Congress, and through his arduous duties in midwinter he contracted a fatal disease of the lungs.

——. Condict, Silas, died in Newark, N. J., aged 84. He held, during the course of his life, numerous offices of importance, having been a member of the State Legislature, a Representative in Congress from 1831 to 1833, and a member of the Convention which formed the present Constitution of New Jersey, and an elector on the Fillmore ticket in 1856. He was a man of unblemished private character.

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OBITUARIES, FOREIGN.—*Jan.* 1.—FREDERICK WILLIAM IV. (*See* FREDERICK WILLIAM IV.)

Jan. 3, BERTHOLD, ARNOLD ADOLPH, a German naturalist, born Feb. 26, 1803, at Soest, in Westphalia. He was professor at Göttingen, councillor royal of the Court of Hanover, and author of numerous works on natural history.

Jan. 4.—BAUR, FERD. CHRISTIAN. (*See* BAUR, F. C.)

Jan 4.—FAIRBAIRN, SIR PETER, C. E., born at Kelso, Scotland, in 1799; was a distinguished civil engineer, a magistrate for Leeds, and mayor for that city in 1858–'9, during the queen's visit, on which occasion he was knighted.

Jan. 6.—PYPER, Dr. W, a distinguished professor in the University of St. Andrews, Scotland.

Jan. 13.—COUNT MONTEMOLIN, DON CARLOS LUIS MARIA FERNANDO DE BOURBON, prince of Asturia, born Jan. 31, 1818, at Madrid, son of Don Carlos and the Portuguese Princess Maria Francesca d'Assis. He attempted, but unsuccessfully, in April, 1860, to overthrow the Government of Spain, to the throne of which he pretended, on the ground of his father's claims. Defeated in this effort, and compelled to leave Spain, he and his brother, who had been associated with him, made a public retraction at Cologne, in June, 1860. The count and his countess died at Trieste, within two days of each other.

Jan. 13.—JOHN ELPHINSTONE FLEMING, Baron Elphinstone, of the county of Stirling, Scotland, a lieutenant-colonel in the English army, born Dec. 11, 1819, succeeded his first cousin, Baron Elphinstone of Elphinstone, in the peerage of Scotland, July 19, 1860.

Jan. 14.—JODRELL, SIR RICHARD PAUL, born in Marylebone, 1781, graduated at Magdalen College, Oxford, 1804; was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1803; was deputy-lieutenant of Derbyshire and of Norfolk.

Jan. 14.—MONTEZ, LOLA, MARIA DOLORES PORRIS Y MONTEZ, Countess of Landsfeld, a woman of remarkable career and adventures, born in Limerick, Ireland, in 1824, died in New York. She was partially educated in England; when very young married an officer named James, who took her to India, but, treating her cruelly, she left him and returned to England. In 1840 she appeared as a dancer at a theatre in Paris, became the mistress of Dujarrier, editor of the *Presse*, and, after his death in a duel, appeared as a witness in the trial which ensued; found her way to Munich; appeared as a *danseuse*, and fascinated King Louis, over whom she exerted a powerful influence, occasioning the overthrow of his ministry. The king, in 1846, made her Countess of Landsfeld, but she soon became involved in difficulties, and was obliged to leave the country. She next went to England and married an Englishman by the name of Heald, but her first husband being alive, she was prosecuted for bigamy, and escaped to Spain. In 1850, James and Heald having both deceased, she was freed from the danger of prosecution. In 1852 she came to the United States, and performed in the Eastern States, and subsequently in California and Australia, as a dancer, and on her return to the United States and England, lectured on a variety of subjects. In 1859 she came again to New York, and soon after was affected with partial paralysis. She was the author of three works of no great ability.

Jan. 17.—EXETER, Very Rev. THOMAS HENRY LOWE, Dean of, born Dec. 21, 1781, graduated at Oxford, appointed Dean of Exeter in 1839.

Jan. 17.—SCOVELL, Gen. SIR GEORGE, born in London, 1774; entered the army in 1798; received a cross and clasp for his services at Vittoria, Pyrenees, Nivelle, Nive, and Toulouse; was at Waterloo, for his services at which battle he received the order of St. Wladimir, 4th class; was appointed Governor of the Military College at Sandhurst, 1837, resigned in 1856; was colonel of the Fourth Dragoons from 1848 to his death; received the rank of general in 1854.

Jan. 20.—PARSONS, Rear-Admiral ROBERT W., born in 1783.

Jan. 21.—HALL, SIR JOHN, born at Stannington, Yorkshire, 1779; was appointed, in 1807, consul and agent for the maritime seigniory of Papenburgh and East Friesland. In 1809 was made chairman for regulating convoys, and for the protection of British commerce and navigation to and from the ports between the Elbe and Calais; in 1816 appointed consul-general for Hanover in the United Kingdom; in 1817 was high sheriff of Essex; was a deputy-lieutenant and magistrate of Middlesex and of Essex; honorary treasurer and secretary of the Society of London Merchants, and secretary to the St. Katharine's Dock Company.

Jan. 21.—PLAYFAIR, SIR HUGH LYON, born at Meigle, Angusshire, 1786; educated at the Dundee Grammar School, University of St. Andrews, and at Woolwich; served for several years as an officer of the Bengal Artillery, which corps he entered in 1805; retired from the service in 1834; was provost of St. Andrews from 1842 until his death.

Jan. 21.—RADFORD, Rear-Admiral SAMUEL, born in 1784.

Jan. 21.—CHAPPELL, Rear-Admiral SIR EDWARD, born August 10, 1792.

Jan. 22.—TIEDEMANN, FRIEDRICH, an eminent German physiologist and anatomist, born in Hesse Cassel, Aug. 23, 1781, died at Munich.

Jan. 23.—LINDSAY, THOMAS, an English landscape painter in water colors, born in 1793.

Jan. 24.—MÜLLER, HIERONYMUS, a German classical scholar and writer on education, born June 7, 1785.

Jan. 24.—WELSH, Gen. JAMES, an officer of the Indian army, born in 1774, promoted general in 1854.

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Jan. 25.—Le Bas, Rev. C. W., formerly principal of Haileybury College.

Jan. 29.—Gore, Mrs. Catharine Grace, (Francis,) an English authoress, born in 1799 in Nottinghamshire. She received a superior education, but did not commence her career as writer till 1822, the year of her marriage to Capt. Charles Gore. Her first work, "Therese Marchmont, or the Maid of Honor," is said to have been written in a week. In 1824 this was followed by "The Bond," in 1827 by the "Lettre de Cachet," in 1828 by the "Hungarian Tales," and in 1830 by "Women as they are," and "Mothers and Daughters." Within the following thirty years she published more than fifty distinct works, all, with four or five exceptions, either novels or dramas, and most of them possessing superior merit. The best of her works are "Women as they are," "Mrs. Armytage, or Female Domination," "The Woman of the World," "Cecil, or the Adventures of a Coxcomb," "Greville, or a Season in Paris," "The Banker's Wife," "Self," and "The Queen of Denmark."

Jan. 29.—Guilford, Rev. Francis North, Earl of, born 1772; educated at St. Mary Hall, Oxford, where he graduated 1797; was rector of Alresford and St. Mary's, Southampton; was master of St. Cross hospital, Winchester, from 1808 to the time of his death.

Jan. 30.—Burford, Robert, an English painter, the introducer of panoramas, born 1792.

Jan. 30.—Pickersgill, H. W., R. A., an eminent English portrait painter.

Feb. 5.—De La Motte, Gen. Peter, C. B., born 1781, made Companion of the Bath, 1831; general in the Indian army, 1860.

Feb. 6.—Owen, Sir John, born at Pembroke about 1776; was called to the bar at the Inner Temple, 1800; was lord-lieutenant of Pembroke, and governor of Milford Haven; was M. P. for Pembrokeshire from 1806 to 1841, and sat for the Pembroke district from 1841 to the time of his death.

Feb. 9.—Mundy, Admiral Sir George, born at Shipley Hall, in the parish of Heanor, Derbyshire, 1777; became admiral of the red in 1857; served at the taking of Corsica, and distinguished himself in the battles of St. Vincent, the Nile, &c.; represented Boroughbridge in parliament from 1819 to 1831.

Feb. 9.—Danby, Francis, A. R. A., an eminent English historical painter, born near Wexford, Nov. 16, 1793. His paintings rank among the best in their class of the painters of our time. He died at Exmouth.

Feb. 10—Donaldson, John William, D. D., an English philologist born in 1811; was for many years head master of the Grammar School of Bury St. Edmunds, and subsequently removed to Cambridge, where he acted as private tutor. He was the author of "The New Cratylus," "Varronianus," &c.

Feb. 12.—Leslie, Lieutenant-General John, an English army officer, born in 1790; attained the rank of lieutenant-general, 1858.

Feb. 13.—Atchinson, Vice-Admiral Robert, an English navy officer born in 1797.

Feb. 16.—Clerke, Sir William Henry, born in London, 1793; high sheriff of Flintshire, 1848; entered the army in 1811; served with the Fifty-second in the Peninsula, and was also at Waterloo; retired from the army with the brevet of major in 1858.

Feb. 16.—Burnett, Sir William, M. D., K. C. B., K. C. H., born at Montrose, Scotland, in 1779; entered the navy as assistant-surgeon in 1795; was promoted to the rank of surgeon in 1799; appointed physician and inspector of hospitals to the Mediterranean fleet in 1810; became medical commissioner of the navy in 1822, and in 1832 was appointed director-general of the medical department of the navy, which post he held till his death. He was physician in ordinary to William IV. He served in the Goliath, 74, in the battles of Cape St. Vincent and the Nile; and in the Defiance in the action off Ferrol and in the battle of Trafalgar, and received four war medals for his meritorious conduct in these battles.

Feb. 18.—Mügge, Theodore, a German novelist and editor, born at Berlin, Nov. 8, 1806. He was the founder and for 12 years editor of the *National Zeitung* or Gazette. He was the author of twenty-four or five novels, one of which, *Afraja*, was well known in this country.

Feb. 20.—Dyson, Gen. Jerry F., an officer of the East Indian army.

Feb. 20.—Ogilvy, Sir William, born 1810; claimed the baronetcy of Banff, a Scotch peerage created in 1642, and dormant since the death of William, eighth baron, in 1803.

Feb. 20.—Scribe, Eugène. (*See* Scribe, Eugène.)

Feb. 21.—Heidegger, Karl Wilhelm, a distinguished Bavarian general, died at Munich at the age of 73 years.

Feb. 21.—Modena, Gustavo, an Italian sculptor, died at Turin, aged 58 years.

Feb. 22.—Braybrooke, Richard Cornwallis Neville, fourth Baron of, born March 17, 1820, educated at Cambridge, and prosecuted with great zeal archæological investigations, for which he inherited a strong predilection from his father. He was hereditary visitor of Magdalene College, Cambridge, and high steward of Wokingham.

Feb. 27.—Arenberg, Prosper Ludwig, Duke of, born at Schlosser, in Hennegau, April 28, 1785, died at Brussels.

Feb. 27.—Rietschel, Ernst, an eminent German sculptor, born in Pulsnitz, Saxony, Dec. 15, 1804. He entered the Academy of Arts in Dresden in 1820, and after a brief course of study executed a statue of Neptune, which was reproduced in iron and excited general admiration. In 1826 he repaired to Berlin and became a student under Rauch, and in 1827 the Saxon Government furnished him the means of visiting Italy. After a year's sojourn there, he returned to Dresden and executed a colossal statue of Frederic Augustus II.,

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king of Saxony. In 1832 he was appointed professor in the Dresden Academy. Since that time he has produced numerous statues and groups of high merit, and has received titles and orders in abundance from most of the crowned heads of Europe. His "Mary weeping over the body of Christ," "Love taming a Panther," "Love borne by a Panther," and "The Four Hours of the Day," are his most celebrated works.

Feb. 28.—Cross, John, an English historical painter.

Feb. 28.—Couper, Sir George, born 1788; was principal equerry and comptroller of the household to the Duchess of Kent; accompanied the Earl of Durham to Canada in 1838; attained the rank of colonel in the army in 1837.

Feb. 28.—Sutherland, George Granville Sutherland Leveson Gower, Duke of, born Aug. 8, 1786, in London. The duke was from one of the oldest families of Scotland, which had been raised to the peerage in 1703, under the title of the barons of Gower. In his youth he was known as Lord Gower Stafford, and under that title was educated at Oxford, from which university he received, in 1841, the honorary degree of D. C. L. From 1815 to 1820 he held a seat in the House of Commons, and in 1826, during the lifetime of his father, was called to the House of Lords as Baron Gower, and succeeded his father in the dukedom in 1833, and his mother in the titles of Earl Gower and Baron Strathnaver in 1839. He was lord-lieutenant and keeper of the rolls of Shropshire till 1845, when he resigned; lord-lieutenant of Sutherlandshire till his death. He was a liberal patron of science and literature, and President of the British Institution and of Kings College Hospital for many years. In 1841 he was created Chevalier of the Garter. On his vast estates in Scotland he had introduced all the improvements of the age in agriculture, and was especially distinguished among agriculturists for his efforts to improve the breeds of his cattle and sheep.

March 3.—Bischoff, Christian Henry Ernst, a German medical professor and author, born at Hanover, Sept. 14, 1781, died at Bonn.

March 4.—Chrzanowski, Adalbert, an exiled Polish general, died at Paris aged 72 years; born in the palatinate of Cracow, was educated in the military school at Warsaw, and served as an artillery officer of the French army in most of Napoleon's great battles. On his return to his own country he was appointed lieutenant in the new Polish army, and attached for eight years to the staff of the Russian General d'Auveray. In 1828 he was on the staff of Gen. Diebitsch in the Turkish campaign of that and the following year; distinguished himself at Varna, and was sent to announce the peace to the Grand Duke Constantine at Warsaw. In 1830 he joined in the revolutionary movement, commanded the fortress of Mödlin, and was afterwards made chief of the general staff by Skryznecki, the Polish generalissimo. He defended the passes of Wieprz against the Russians; defeated Gen. Thieman at Kotz; checked the advance of Rudiger in Podalia; won the battle of Minsk, July 14, 1831, and made a masterly retreat from Zamosk to Warsaw. For his services he was made general of division, but having lost his confidence in the success of the revolution, he was suspected of sympathy with the Russians, and while Governor of Warsaw took such measures as paralyzed the defence of the city by the Poles. After the entry of the Russians into Warsaw he continued to reside there unmolested for several months, and finally went to Paris, where he was received with disfavor by the Polish emigrants. He lived in obscurity until 1849, when he was called to Italy by Charles Albert and intrusted with the re-organization of the Piedmontese army, but was again suspected of treason, though not punished, for the defeat at Novara, which was believed to have been partially caused by his misconduct. In May, 1850, he left Turin and remained the rest of his life in Paris.

March 4.—Madras, Right Rev. Thomas Dealtry, third Bishop of; born at Knottingley, near Pontefract, 1795; graduated at Catharine Hall, Cambridge, in 1828; created archdeacon of Calcutta in 1835; and held that office until consecrated Bishop of Madras, 1849; had published sermons on various occasions.

March 9.—Maclaine, Sir Archibald, born 1783; entered the army in 1795; served in several important battles and at the capture of Seville; was knighted for his defence of Fort Matagorda for 55 days with only 155 men against Marshal Soult, who had a force of 8,000 men under his command; received the Order of Charles III. of Spain in 1816; became general in the army in 1855.

March 11.—Lovell, Gen. Sir Lovell Benjamin, entered the army in 1805; attained the rank of major-general in 1854; was appointed colonel of the Twelfth Dragoons 1856; served at the taking of Monte Video, and subsequently in the peninsula, including ten general actions, forty minor affairs, and seven sieges.

March 14.—Procter, Admiral Sir William Beauchamp, an officer of the British navy, born at Langley Park, Eng., Oct. 14, 1781; succeeded his father as baronet in 1827; served in the expedition to Egypt; was at the bombardment of Havre in 1804; in the naval campaign of 1808 in the East Indies, and attained the rank of admiral in 1857.

March 15.—Lilford, Thomas Atherton Powys, third Baron of, born Dec. 2, 1801; succeeded his father in 1825; educated at Christ Church, Oxford; was a lord in waiting to the queen; resigned Sept. 1841.

March 16.—Kent, Duchess of. (*See* Kent.)

March 19.—Hay, Sir James Dalrymple, born at Dunragit, Scotland, 1789; was a deputy-lieutenant of Wigtonshire.

March 19.—Pym, Sir William, born at Pinley, Warwickshire, 1776; served in the Thirty-

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fifth and Seventieth regiments and in a light infantry battalion in the West Indies during the expedition under Sir Charles Grey, and on the staff in Gibraltar, Malta, and Sicily; was appointed inspector-general of army hospitals in 1816; was knighted by William IV. on his return from Gibraltar in 1823, where he had volunteered his services during the prevalence of a destructive fever; was the author of a treatise on yellow fever.

March 22.—Vernon, Gen. Henry Charles Edward, an English officer of engineers, born Sept. 28, 1779; made Companion of the Order of the Bath in 1831, and attained the rank of general in 1859.

March 28.—Staudigl, Joseph, eminent as a bass singer, born in 1807. He had also distinguished himself as a painter and chemist. He died in the lunatic asylum in Vienna.

March 31.—Barrington, Sir Matthew, an Irish baronet, born in Limerick, Ireland, May 21, 1788; was crown solicitor for the province of Munster from 1832 to the time of his death.

March 31.—Bury, Lady Charlotte, an English authoress, born in 1775. She was the daughter of the fifth Duke of Argyle. Her first husband was Colonel John Campbell, to whom she was united in 1796, and who died in 1809. In 1818 she married Rev. Edward John Bury, who died in 1832. It was not until her second widowhood that she commenced writing to any considerable extent for the press. Her principal works, all of which have met with remarkable success, and have mostly been translated into French and German, are: "Marriage in High Life," 1836; "Memoirs of a Peeress, or the Days of Fox," 1837; "The Divorced," 1837; "Love," 1838; "Family Records," 1841, &c., &c.

April 2.—Taylor, J. J., an English civil engineer, born in 1804.

April 4.—Anderson, Sir James Caleb, born in Waterford, Ireland, July 21, 1792.

April 4.—Kolowrat, Liebstensky, Franz Anton, Duke of, an Austrian statesman, born in Prague, Jan. 31, 1778. In the early part of this century he was a prominent nobleman and officer of the Government in Bohemia, and founded, in 1818, the Bohemian National Museum at Prague. In 1826 he was called to Vienna, where he became a Minister in the Metternich Cabinet, and was active in the promotion of education in the empire for many years. His library of 40,000 volumes he bequeathed to the Bohemian National Museum with an endowment for its preservation and increase.

April 4.—Robertson, Rear-Admiral William, an officer of the English navy born in 1786, entered the service in 1803; attained the rank of rear-admiral in 1857.

April 10.—Vicat, Louis Joseph. (*See* Vicat, L. J.)

April 12.—Berwick, Richard Noel, Noel Hill, fifth baron, born at Betton, Salop, Eng., Nov. 21, 1800; educated at Rugby.

April 14.—Aplin, Vice-Admiral John G., an officer of the English navy, born 23d April, 1790, entered the service in 1801; attained the rank of vice-admiral in 1860.

April 19.—Pasley, Gen. Sir Charles William, born 1780; entered the army as second-lieutenant in the artillery, 1797; changed to the engineers, 1798; served at the defence of Gaeta, 1806; at the battle of Maida, at the siege of Copenhagen, and at Corunna; was twice wounded before Flushing, in 1809; was chief engineer in the Marquis of Huntly's division; became a lieutenant-general in 1851, and colonel commandant of royal engineers, Dec. 1853; created D. C. L., Oxford, 1844; received the peninsular medal; was inspector-general of railways; invented some improvements in pontoon bridges, and was the author of a treatise on "Military Instruction," and "An Essay on the Military Policy and Institutions of the British Empire."

April 19.—Repington, Gen. Charles A. A. Court, C. B., an officer of the British army, born 17th June, 1785; entered the service in 1801; made Companion of the Order of the Bath in 1831; obtained the rank of general in 1856.

April 22.—Baker, Miss Anne Elizabeth, an English topographer and archæologist, born in 1787.

April 23.—Curzon, Lieutenant-General Sir Mark, an officer in the East India Company's service; created knight in 1856; was lieutenant-general in the Indian army, and commissioner for the government of the Mysore.

April 24.—Williamson, Sir Hedworth, born at Whitburn, Nov. 1, 1797; succeeded his father as baronet in 1810; was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he graduated M. A.; in 1819 was deputy-lieutenant of Durham; was elected mayor of Sunderland for 1841-'2, and again for 1847-'8, and member of parliament for Sunderland from 1847 to 1852.

April 28.—Shaw, Lieut.-Gen. Samuel, an officer of the East Indian army, born in 1786; entered the service in 1804 in the presidency of Bengal; obtained the rank of lieutenant-general in 1859.

May 2.—Jackson, Sir George, born in 1785; was attached to the mission at Berlin in 1802; made secretary of legation there, 1806; secretary to special mission to Spain, 1808; secretary of legation at Berlin, 1813; commissioner at Washington, 1823; commissary judge at Sierra Leone, 1828; and subsequently in the same capacity at Rio de Janeiro, Surinam, and Loanda.

May 6.—Brett, Major-General Richard R. W., an officer in the British army, born in 1798; entered the service in 1813; became major-general in 1858.

May 8.—Scott, Rear-Admiral Edward H., an officer in the British navy, born in 1788; entered the service in 1798; attained the rank of rear-admiral in 1857.

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May 8.—Teleki Count Ladislas, or László, a Hungarian patriot, born in Pesth, Feb. 11, 1811, committed suicide in the same city at the above date. He was educated at Pesth and Patak, and gained a high reputation as a writer and scholar. In 1843 he commenced his political career, and soon took strong ground for Hungarian independence. In 1848 he was sent as envoy of the Hungarian Government to Paris to urge the recognition of the Hungarian nationality. The close of the war found him an exile, under sentence of death. He resided abroad for 11 years, but visiting Dresden in 1860, he was arrested by the Saxon police and delivered to the Austrian Government, but conditionally pardoned by the emperor, Franz Joseph. He entered the Hungarian Diet in April, 1861, and commenced his opposition to the emperor anew, but probably his scruples of honor concerning his pledged word of honor to the emperor induced his suicide.

May 9.—Hunter, Rev. Joseph, an English archæologist, born in 1783.

May. 14.—Bedford, Francis Russell, seventh Duke of, born May 13, 1788; succeeded his father in 1839; graduated at Trinity College, Cambridge, 1808; was summoned to the House of Lords as Baron of Howland in 1832; was previously a member of the House of Commons; appointed special deputy-warden of the stannaries, 1852; was elder brother of Earl Russell, late Lord John.

May 16.—Henslow, Rev. J. S., professor of botany in Cambridge University, born in 1796.

May 18.—Ammen, Friedrich August von, physician in chief to the king of Saxony, and a distinguished medical writer, born at Göttingen, Sept. 20, 1799, died at Dresden.

May 21.—Orloff, Prince Alexis Feodorowitsch. (*See* Orloff.)

May 23.—Cardwell, Edward, principal of St. Alban's Hall, Oxford, and Camden professor of ancient history in that university, born in 1788.

May 26.—Moorsom, Vice-Admiral Constantine R., an officer of the British navy, born Sept. 22, 1792; entered the service in 1809; attained the rank of vice-admiral in 1857.

May 29.—Maclean, Sir George, born at Dysart, Fifeshire, Scotland, 1795; educated at Edinburgh; entered the commissariat service, 1812, serving in the Peninsula and south of France until the close of the campaigns of 1813 to '14; was subsequently employed in Canada, the West Indies, and Africa; was made a commissary-general in 1849; served in that capacity during the Kaffir war of 1852, and subsequently at Constantinople and in the Crimea, for which services he was created K. C. B., and Commander of the Sardinian order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus.

May 30.—Gortchakoff, Prince Mihail. (*See* Gortchakoff.)

June 3.—Dundas, Hon. Sir Richard Saunders, an English vice-admiral, born at Melville Castle, April 11, 1802; educated at Harrow, and at the royal naval college, Portsmouth; entered the navy in 1815; became vice-admiral of the blue in 1858; was private secretary to his father, Viscount Melville, when first lord of the admiralty in 1828–30, and to the Earl of Haddington when in the same office, 1845–'6; was engaged in the early part of the Chinese war in 1841, and was created C. B. for his services; was superintendent of Deptford dockyard in 1851–'2; lord of the admiralty for 1852 to 1855, when he was appointed commander-in-chief of the Baltic fleet, and in that capacity attacked and captured Sweaborg; lord of the admiralty in 1857; created K. C. B. after the close of the Russian war, and received the honorary degree of D. C. L. from Oxford, and the grand cross of the Legion of Honor from the French emperor.

June 3.—Stewart, Admiral James P., an officer of the British army, born about 1786; entered the navy in 1797; made C. B. in 1815; attained the rank of rear-admiral in 1860—admiral in 1861.

June 12.—Larpent, Sir Albert John de Hochepied, born at East Sheen, Surrey, March 18, 1816; succeeded his father in 1855.

June 14.—Bishop, George, an English astronomer, born in 1784.

June 14.—Cavour, Count. (*See* Cavour.)

June 17.—Conrady, Johann Wilhelm Heinrich, professor of medicine at Göttingen, born at Marburg, Sept. 22, 1780, died at Göttingen.

June 18.—Hodgkinson, Eaton, an eminent English civil engineer, born in 1789.

June 19.—De Ros, Rear-Admiral John Frederick Fitz-Gerald, born March 6, 1804; became a rear-admiral in 1857; published a volume of "Travels in the United States."

June 19.—Leigh, Samuel Sotheby, an English antiquarian, virtuoso, and author, born in 1806. He published, just before his death, "Rambles in Elucidation of the Autograph of John Milton."

June 21.—Pelham, Rear-Admiral Frederick Thomas, born 1808; was private secretary to the first lord of the admiralty in 1852; commanded the Blenheim, 60 guns, in the expedition to the Baltic, 1854; was naval aide-de-camp to the queen from 1856 to 1858; a lord of the admiralty from Nov. 1857 to March 1858; became rear-admiral of the blue in 1858.

June 21.—Preller, Ludwig, a German archæologist and classical critic born at Hamburg, Sept. 15, 1809; died at Weimar.

June 23.—Campbell, John Lord. (*See* Campbell.)

June 24.—Abinger, Robert Campbell Scarlett, second baron, born at Abinger Hall, county of Surrey, Eng., Sept. 5, 1794; studied and practised law; in 1844 succeeded his father, Sir James Scarlett, Baron of the Exchequer, and first Lord Abinger. In Dec., 1858, was appointed British Minister at Florence, but

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on the annexation of Tuscany to the kingdom of Italy, in 1861; returned to England. He has been succeeded by his son William Frederick Scarlett.

June 25.—Abdul Medjid Khan. (*See* Abdul Medjid.)

June 28.—Patterson, Right Hon. Sir John, born at Coney-Weston, Suffolk, 1790; was educated at King's College, Cambridge; graduated 1813; called to the bar at the Middle Temple, 1821; was one of the Judges of the Court of King's Bench from 1830 to 1852; was knighted on his appointment, and made a privy councillor on resigning.

June 29.—Browning, Elizabeth Barrett. (*See* Browning, E. B.)

July 4.—Grainger, Richard, an English architect; born in 1798.

July 6.—Palgrave, Sir Francis, born in London in 1788; was called to the bar at the Inner Temple, 1827; was deputy-keeper of Her Majesty's records, and was one of the municipal corporation commissioners; received the honor of knighthood for his general services, and his attention to constitutional and parliamentary literature. He was originally a Jew, and bore the name of Cohen, but on becoming a Christian, he petitioned for and received liberty to change his name to Palgrave.

July 6.—Ibbetson, Sir Charles Henry, born July 14, 1814; was a cornet in the Yorkshire Hussars; was appointed captain of the Fifth West York militia in 1834.

July 13.—Thomas, Sir Godfrey John, an English baronet, born June 16, 1824, at Bodiam, Sussex; succeeded to the baronetcy in 1852.

July 15.—Wills, Mrs., an English female painter of celebrity.

July 15.—Czartoryski, Prince Adam. (*See* Czartoryski.)

July 20.—Nitzsch, Gregory Wilhelm, a German philologist born in Wittenberg, Nov. 22, 1790; died at Leipsic.

July 21.—D'Eyncourt, Right Hon. Charles Tennyson, born July 20, 1784. He was a member of the queen's privy council from 1832.

July 22.—Harris, Lieut.-Gen. Joseph, an officer of the East Indian army, born in 1780; entered the service in 1803; attained the rank of lieutenant-general in 1859.

July 23.—Melville, Sir James Cosmo, K. C. B., an English baronet born at Guernsey, June 8, 1792; entered the civil service of the East India Company in Feb. 1808; appointed auditor of India accounts in 1824; financial secretary to the East India Company, 1834, and secretary to that body in 1836; retired in 1858; received the Order of the Bath for his services; was made commissioner of lieutenancy for the city of London in 1849.

July 26.—Peney, Dr., an African explorer, died of fever in E. Central Africa about the latitude of 3° 40′ N., while endeavoring to find the sources of the White Nile.

July 27.—Barker, Col. Sir George R., K. C. B., an English baronet born in 1817, received the order of Knight Commander of the Bath in 1859.

July 28—Pellew, Admiral Sir Fleetwood Broughton Reynolds, born Dec 13, 1789; entered the navy when very young; was engaged at the destruction of the Dutch naval force in the Indian seas; continued on the East Indian station till the reduction of Java, in 1811, and especially distinguished himself at Semanap, in the Batavia roads, and near Samarang; assisted at the capture of a French convoy in Port d'Auzo in 1813; served on the Mediterranean station from 1818 to 1822; appointed to command the Indian station in 1852; was recalled in 1854; and became an admiral of the blue in 1858.

July 29.—Buckingham and Chandos, Richard Plantagenet Temple, Nugent Brydges Chandos Grenville, second Duke of, born in Pall Mall, Feb. 11, 1797. He was educated at Oxford, and succeeded his father as duke in 1839; he sat in parliament as representative of the county of Bucks from 1826 to 1839; was lord privy seal from Sept. 1841 to Feb. 1842. He is the author of "Memoirs of the Court and Cabinets of George III." He has been succeeded by his son Richard Plantagenet Campbell, Marquis of Chandos.

Aug. 2.—Traquair, Charles Stuart, eighth Earl of; born in Peebleshire, Scotland, Jan. 31, 1781; succeeded his father in 1827.

Aug. 2.—Herbert, Sidney, Baron Herbert of Lea. (*See* Herbert, Sidney.)

Aug. 3.—Hosking, William, an English architect, born in 1800.

Aug. 3.—Reynolds, Admiral Sir Barrington, born at Penair, near Truro, Eng., in 1785; entered the navy in 1795; served in the action in Queberon Bay in 1800, and accompanied the expedition against Ferrol; was promoted to a lieutenancy for his conduct at the cutting out of a privateer; assisted in the expedition against Java in 1811; served at the bombardment of Beyrout in 1840; was commander-in-chief on the Cape and Brazil station from 1848–52; appointed vice-admiral of the red 1857, and was deputy-lieutenant for Cornwall.

Aug. 4.—Herbert, Vice-Admiral Sir Thomas, born at Cahirnane, Co. Kerry, Ireland, in 1793; entered the navy in 1803; became vice-admiral of the blue in 1857; was senior lieutenant of the Euryalus in 1813; was nominated a Knight Commander of the Bath for his services as senior captain in command at the destruction of the Chinese forts in 1841; appointed commodore on the southeast coast of America in 1846; was high sheriff of Kerry in 1829; was lord of the admiralty in 1852, and M. P. for Dartmouth from 1852 to 1857.

Aug. 7.—Hinrichs, Hermann Friedrich Wilhelm, a German philosopher and political writer, born at Karlseck, in the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg, April 22, 1794, died at Fried-

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richsrode in Thuringia. He graduated at the University of Strasburg in 1812; was appointed assistant professor of philosophy at Breslau, and in 1824 professor *ordinarius* of philosophy at Halle.

Aug. 8.—Forbes, Major-General John, a British officer, entered the service in 1811; attained the rank of major-general in 1860.

Aug. 9.—Durham, Right Rev. Charles Thomas Longley, D. D., Bishop of, born at Boley Hill, Rochester, in Kent, 1794; was educated at Westminster school, and elected to Christ Church, Oxford, as a student in 1812; was public tutor of Christ Church, Oxford, from 1818 to 1828; rector of West Tytherly, Hants, from 1827 till 1829; head master of Harrow School from 1829 to 1836, when he was appointed the first Bishop of Ripon; translated to this see on the resignation of Bishop Maltby in 1856.

Aug. 9.—Novello, Vincent, an eminent English musical composer, born in 1781, resided most of his life in London.

Aug. 11.—Passavant, Johann David, a German writer on art, born in 1787 at Frankfort-am-Main; studied painting at Paris under David and Gros, and afterwards spent much time in art studies in Italy and other cities of Europe, and on his return to Frankfort was appointed inspector of the gallery of the Staedel Institute. M. Passavant is the author of "Essays upon the Fine Arts," 1820; "Artistic Voyage to England and Belgium," 1833; "Raphael of Urbino," 1839; "Christian Art in Spain," 1853; &c., &c. He also obtained considerable distinction as a painter.

Aug. 11.—Hayes, Catharine, an Irish cantatrice, born at Limerick about 1820. She early manifested a decided taste for music, and, under the care of the Bishop of Dublin, was put under the instruction of Professor Sapio, of Dublin. After obtaining some reputation as a concert singer, she became a pupil of Garcia at Paris, and subsequently of Ronconi in Milan. She first appeared at Marseilles in the opera of The Puritans, in 1845, and subsequently sung with great success in the principal cities of Europe, visited the United States in 1851, California in 1852–'3, and the Sandwich Islands in 1854, and Australia and India the same year. Returning to England she was engaged in 1855–'6 at Covent Garden, and from thence returned, in 1857, to America, and spent some years in California; but in 1860 made her residence in Sydenham, England, where she died.

Aug. 15.—Atkinson, Thomas Witlam. (*See* Atkinson, T. W.)

Aug. 20.—Quekett, John, F. R. S., F. L. S., professor of histology at the Royal College of Surgeons of England, and conservator of the Hunterian Museum. He was born in 1815. He was esteemed the ablest of English microscopists, and had published two treatises of high reputation: "Lectures on Histology," in 2 vols. 8vo., and "Practical Treatise on the Use of the Microscope," 8vo. He died at Pangborne, Berks, whither he had gone for the benefit of his health.

Aug. 22.—Oastler, Richard, an English political writer, born in 1789.

Aug. 22.—Moore, Gen. Francis, an officer of the English army, born in 1768; entered the service in 1787; obtained the rank of general in 1830.

Aug. 26.—McKenzie, William Lyon. (*See* McKenzie, W. L.)

Aug. 30.—Francis, John, an English sculptor, born in 1780.

Sept. 1.—Todd, Gen. Suetonius H., an officer of the East Indian army; entered the service in 1798; became lieutenant-general in 1851, and general in 1860.

Sept. 3.—Mount Edgecombe, Ernest Augustus Edgecombe, Earl of, born at Richmond Hill, 1797; was aide-de-camp to the queen; was colonel of the First Cornwall Rifle Militia, but resigned 1857; has published extracts from journals kept during the Revolution at Rome and Palermo 1849; appointed special deputy-warden of the stannaries, 1852.

Sept. 4.—Cuningham, Major-General David, an officer of the East Indian army, stationed in Borneo, born in 1802; entered the service in 1816; became major-general in 1854.

Sept. 14.—Fortescue, Hugh, second earl, born in London, 1783; died at his residence in London, Sept. 14, 1861. His family were elevated to the hereditary peerage as Barons of Fortescue in 1746, and his father was created Earl Fortescue and Viscount Ebrington in 1789. The late earl was educated at Brasennose College, Oxford, where he graduated B. A. in 1803, and M. A. in 1810. He entered the House of Commons as member for Barnstaple in 1804, and continued to represent that borough till 1807. In 1820 he was elected for Tavistock, which he represented till 1831, and North Devon from 1831 to 1839, when he was called to the House of Peers as Baron Fortescue. In 1841 he succeeded his father in the earldom. Under Lord Melbourne's Administration in 1839 he was made lord-lieutenant of Ireland, which office he held till Sept. 1841. Since 1839 he has been one of the privy council, and was lord steward of the queen's household from 1846 to 1850. He was also lord-lieutenant and vice-admiral of Dover; lord high steward of Barnstaple and South Molton. He published, some years ago, a collection of the speeches and writings of Lord King, with a memoir.

Sept. 19.—Herbert, Gen. Dennis, an officer of the English army, born in April, 1771; entered the service in 1794; attained the rank of general in 1854.

Sept. 20.—Niccolini, Giovanni Battista, an Italian sculptor, born near Pisa, Oct. 31, 1782. His statues possess high merit. Those best known are, "Arnold of Brescia," "Ludovicus the Moor," "Rosa Munda," and "Filippo Strozzi."

Sept. 22.—Chéri, Rose Maria Cízos, usually

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called simply Rose, a French actress born at Etampés about 1824. She was the daughter of an actor who had assumed the name of *Chéri*, (dear.) She commenced her career as an actress at the age of six years, performing the child parts of some favorite dramas. In 1842 she was called to act as a substitute for Nathalie, then a popular actress, and acquitted herself so well as to obtain immediately a lucrative engagement. Her success from this time was uninterrupted. She played the principal part in all the best dramas of the French stage, and was without a rival in most of them. In 1845 she married M. Lemoigne Montigny, at that time director of the Gymnasium Theatre in Paris.

Sept. 22.—Dashwood, Sir George, born at Kirtlington Park, Sept. 17, 1786; succeeded his father in 1828; was a deputy-lieutenant of Oxfordshire.

Sept. 22.—Zwirner, Ernst F. (*See* Zwirner.)

Sept. 23.—Legeyt, Admiral George, a British naval officer, born March 20, 1777; entered the service in 1791; was made vice-admiral in 1855, and admiral in 1861.

Sept. 24.—Farren, William, an English actor born in 1787; entered upon an actor's career in 1806 at Dublin, played for many years in leading parts at Covent Garden, Haymarket, and the Olympic theatres in London, and was manager of the two latter. He retired from the stage in 1855.

Sept. 24.—Schlosser, F. C. (*See* Schlosser.)

Sept. 25.—Blaikie, Sir Thomas, born at Aberdeen, Scotland, in 1802; educated at the Aberdeen Grammar School and Marischal College; a merchant; had been elected provost of Aberdeen five times.

Sept. 25.—Cusack, J. W., an eminent English surgeon, born in 1787.

Sept. 25.—Maudslay, Joseph, an English civil engineer, born in 1800.

Sept. 28.—Leigh, Capel Hanbury, lord-lieutenant of Monmouthshire, born Oct. 6, 1776; appointed lord-lieutenant in 1836.

Sept. 28.—Pujol, Abel de, a French painter, born in 1785.

Sept. 28.—Riddell, Sir James, born at Shaw Park, Clackmannanshire, Scotland, June 3, 1787; succeeded his grandfather as baronet in 1797; was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, where he graduated B. A. in 1807; was deputy-lieutenant of Argyleshire.

Sept. 30.—Cunningham, Rev. J W., an English poet and theologian, died at Harrow. He was born in 1780; educated at St. John's College, Cambridge; appointed vicar of Harrow in 1811. He was the author of "A World without Souls," &c.

Oct. 2.—Stanley, Rear-Admiral William P., an officer of the British navy, born 1784; entered the service in 1798; attained the rank of rear-admiral in 1857.

Oct. 2.—Ponsonby, William, third baron, born at Hampstead, Eng., in 1816; succeeded his uncle in the barony in 1855.

Oct. 4.—Vandenhoff, John, a celebrated English actor, born in 1790.

Oct. 4.—Eglinton, Earl. (*See* Eglinton.)

Oct. 9.—Austin, Henry, an English civil engineer.

Oct. 10.—Williams, Sir James Hamlyn, born in Devonshire in 1790; succeeded his father as baronet in 1829; was member of parliament for Cärmarthenshire in 1831, and again from 1835 to 1837; lieutenant-colonel East Dover militia in 1846; high sheriff of Cärmarthenshire in 1848; and deputy-lieutenant of Dover in 1852.

Oct. 12.—Cubitt, Sir William, an English civil engineer, born in Norfolk in 1785, and at an early age he displayed a remarkable genius for mechanical invention. Being apprenticed to a joiner, he soon became a superior workman, and gave attention first to making agricultural implements, then to the construction of millers' machinery, and soon after invented the self-regulating windmill sails now generally used. He became connected, about 1812, with Messrs. Ransome and Son, of Ipswich, in the manufacture of agricultural implements, and after a time engaged in all kinds of engineering work, the construction of gas-works, &c. About this time he invented the treadmill for the use of gaols and houses of correction. In 1826 he removed to London, and found at once abundant employment in the construction of docks, canals, railroads, port, harbor, and river improvements. He superintended the construction of the London Crystal Palace in 1851, and was knighted for his services to the country in connection with it.

Oct. 13.—Sibthorp, Gervase, T W., M. P.

Oct. 16.—Murray, Sir William Keith, born at Ochtertyre, 1801; was appointed a deputy-lieutenant of Perthshire in 1846; was lieutenant-colonel of militia of that county, but resigned in 1846.

Oct. 17.—Crawford, Sharman, an English political writer.

Oct. 21.—Wade, Sir Claude Martine, born in Bengal, 1794; entered the military service of the East India Company in 1809; appointed diplomatic agent at Lodiana, 1823; placed in charge of the British relations with Runjeet Singh, and the States across the Indus; on a special mission to Peshawur in 1838, to join the Sikh army with Shah Zada-Timon, and was the first to force the Khyber pass; became lieutenant-colonel in 1839; was knighted the same year for his services at the Court of Lahore for 17 years; received permission in 1841 to wear the order of the Dooranee Empire, conferred for services in Candahar, Cabul, and at the capture of Ghuznee, and also received the Star of the Punjab; in 1848 was political agent at Malwa, Central India; in 1855 received the local rank of colonel in the East Indies.

Oct 25.—Graham, Sir James R. G. (*See* Graham.)

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Oct. 27.—Siebold, Edward Karl Kaspar Jakob Joseph von, an eminent German physician, and writer on obstetrics, born at Wurzburg, March 19, 1801.

Oct. 29.—Shakespear, Col. Sir Richmond Campbell, born 1809; entered the military service of the East India Company in the Bengal Artillery, 1827; distinguished himself greatly at the attack on Gwalior, in Dec. 1843, in the operations against the Sikhs in 1848–'9, and was wounded at the battle of Goojerat; received the brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army of the East Indies in 1849, and the honor of knighthood for his services at Khiva in reconciling the Khan to the Emperor of Russia, and in putting an end to the slavery of Europeans in that country.

Oct. 29.—Bridges, Sir Henry, born at Ewell, Eng., 1786; received the honor of knighthood from George IV.

Oct. 30.—Miller, Sir William, born in Edinburgh in 1815; was educated at Eton, and was for some years an officer in the Twelfth Lancers; was appointed magistrate for Ayreshire, 1838, and afterwards a deputy-lieutenant; was made a Knight-Commander of the Order of the Temple, Jan. 1846.

Nov. 8.—Butler, Sir Thomas, born at Carlow, Ireland, 1783, was a deputy-lieutenant of Carlow.

Nov. 9.—Douglas, Sir Howard. (*See* Douglas, Sir H.)

Nov. 9.—Hawkins, Sir John Cæsar, born Feb. 9, 1782; was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, where he received the honorary degree of M. A., 1802. He succeeded his brother as third baronet in 1793. He died at the residence of his sister, Frenchay, Gloucestershire.

Nov. 12.—Pedro V., king of Portugal. (*See* Pedro V.)

Nov. 13.—Clough, Arthur Hugh, an English poet and scholar, died at Florence, aged 42 years. At an early age he entered the Rugby School, and gained the only scholarship open for literary competition. He was afterwards elected a fellow of Baliol College, Oxford, and filled the place with dignity and fidelity. While engaged in his duties here, he wrote the poem entitled "Bothie of Topee na Fuosich," which excited much attention; and, in 1849, published a little volume of great merit, entitled "Ambarvalia." In 1848–'9 he visited Italy, and soon after came to the United States, with the intention of making this a permanent home, and was warmly received in the literary circles of Boston and Cambridge. In 1852 he engaged in the arduous task of translating anew "Plutarch's Lives." In 1853 he was recalled to England by an appointment to the educational branch of the privy council, which important post he held until his death. To his many duties he added those of private secretary to Florence Nightingale, and there is little doubt that in the multitude of his labors he overtasked himself, and thus hastened his death.

Nov. 13.—Dunscombe, Thomas Slingsby, a member of the British House of Commons, died at Lancing, Sussex.

Nov. 13.—Forbes, Sir John, M. D., born at Cuttelbrae, Scotland, 1787; received his medical education at the University of Edinburgh, where he graduated in 1817; was a fellow of the Royal College of Physicians; served several years in the medical department of the navy; was flag-surgeon to the commander-in-chief in the West Indies, 1814–15; physician in ordinary to the late Duke of Cambridge, 1830; physician extraordinary to the Prince Consort, 1840; physician to the queen's household, 1816; was an honorary member of the principal medical societies of Europe and America. In 1821 he introduced to English practitioners the great discovery of auscultation by translating Laennec's treatise, following up the subject by an original work of his own in 1824; was one of the editors of the "Cyclopedia of Practical Medicine;" proprietor of the "British and Foreign Medical Review" from 1836 to 1847; and author of several other valuable works.

Nov. 14.—Schoedde, Sir James Holmes, born Oct. 27, 1787; served in the Egyptian campaign of 1801, and in the Peninsula from 1808 to the end of the war; received a medal for his conduct at Neville; was created a K. C. B. for his services in the first Chinese war; was appointed aide-de-camp to Her Majesty, and received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament; became a major-general in 1854, and colonel of the Fifty-fifth Foot in 1857.

Nov. 25.—Finch, Lieut.-Gen. John, an English army officer, son of the fourth earl of Aylesford, born 13th March, 1793; entered the army in 1809; was military secretary to Lord Combermere in India; became lieutenant-general in 1855; colonel Twenty-fourth Foot in 1856.

Nov. 26.—Mundt, Dr. Theodore, a German writer, one of the chiefs of the "Young Germany" school, born Sept. 9, 1808, at Potsdam; educated at the University of Berlin, and resided in that city till his death, except in 1848–50, when he was professor at Breslau. He was librarian of the University of Berlin from 1850 till his death. His works, which were very numerous, were almost equally divided between fiction, history, and biography, and political topics. Few or none of them have been republished in this country.

Dec. 10.—Smith, Thomas Southwood, M. D., an English medical writer and philanthropist, born in 1790. Besides numerous works on medicine, and several on theological topics, he devoted much attention to the subject of sanitary science, and was employed by the Government on the "Health of Towns Commission." His writings on this subject have had the effect to modify beneficially the systems of drainage, sewerage, and ventilation, and an eminent authority declared, before his death, that Dr. Smith's labors had been the means of saving more than a million of lives. He died at Florence.

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Dec. 14.—ALBERT, PRINCE. (*See* ALBERT.)

Dec. —.—LACORDAIRE, JEAN BAPTISTE HENRI. (*See* LACORDAIRE.)

Dec. —.—KILLALOE, Right Rev. LUDLOW TONSON, D. D., Bishop of, born at Lisnegar, Rathcormac, 1784; graduated at Trinity College, Cambridge, 1805; consecrated 1837; in 1848, succeeded his elder brother in the barony of Riversdale, an Irish peerage originally conferred on William Tonson, M. P.

OHIO. One of the Western States, formed out of the northwestern territory ceded by Virginia, was admitted to the Union in 1802, is bounded on the north by Michigan and Lake Erie, on the east by Pennsylvania and Virginia, south by Virginia and Kentucky, from which it is separated by the Ohio River, and west by Indiana. It is about two hundred miles in length from north to south, and one hundred and ninety-five in extreme width from east to west. The population in 1860 was, 2,303,374 whites, and 36,225 free colored. The ratio of increase during the previous ten years had been 17.82 white and 43.30 colored. The vote for President in 1860 was for Lincoln 231,610; Douglas, 187,232; Breckinridge 11,405; Bell 12,194. The Governor of the State is elected for two years. The Senate consists of thirty-five members, and the House of one hundred, each elected for two years. The Legislature meets biennially, at Columbus, 1862, 1864, &c., on the first Monday of January. The composition of the last Legislature was: Senate, 25 Republicans, 10 Democrats; House, 58 Republicans, 46 Democrats, 1 Independent. The United States Senators are Benjamin Wade, a native of Massachusetts, whose term expires March 4, 1863, and John Sherman, elected in place of Mr. Chase, who became Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Sherman's term expires March 4, 1867.

Gov. Tod succeeded Gov. Dennison, whose term expired Jan. 1862. The Legislature met on the first Monday of Jan. 1861, amidst the generally pervading excitement growing out of the state of the Union. The Message of Gov. Dennison explained, at some length, the course he had pursued in refusing to surrender, on the requisition of the Governors of Kentucky and Tennessee, the persons accused of aiding the escape of fugitive slaves. He denied the right of secession as a general principle, and affirmed the loyalty of Ohio to the Union. He suggested the repeal of the obnoxious features of the fugitive slave law, and that the repeal of any personal liberty bills subversive of the fugitive law would thus be secured; but, at the same time, he said "the Southern States should repeal their laws in contravention of the constitutional rights of citizens of free States, who cannot be satisfied with less, and who will insist upon their constitutional rights in every State and Territory of this Confederacy. These they cheerfully accord to citizens of the Southern States. Determined to do no wrong, they will not contentedly submit to any wrong. They demand the employment of all the constitutional powers of the Federal Government to maintain and preserve the Union."

The allusion to the "constitutional rights of citizens of free States" meant that the South should recognize "free blacks" as citizens of the United States, although, according to the Constitution, as expounded by the Supreme Court, and the practice of the Government since its formation, colored persons are not citizens of the United States. The State of Ohio itself had uniformly acted on the same principle. At the formation of the State Government, laws were enacted forbidding blacks to come into the State, and imposing fines and penalties upon their introduction. These laws were only repealed in 1849. Indiana and Illinois still have such laws, and in 1854 the U. S. Court decided that blacks are not citizens of the United States. The Ohio laws do not now recognize them as citizens, since the militia and other laws passed at the last session, all apply to white males only.

The Legislature, on Jan. 12, 1861, passed a series of joint resolutions, of which the following is a synopsis:

1st. The people of Ohio believe that the preservation of this Government is essential to the peace, prosperity, and safety of the American people.

2d. The General Government cannot permit the secession of any State without violating the bond and compact of Union.

3d. The power of the National Government must be maintained, and the laws of Congress enforced in the States and Territories, until their repeal by Congress, or they are adjudged to be unconstitutional by the proper tribunal. All attempts by State authority to nullify the Constitution and laws of Congress, or resist their execution, are destructive of the wisest government in the world.

4th. The people of Ohio are opposed to meddling with the internal affairs of other States.

5th. The people of Ohio will fulfil in good faith all their obligations under the Constitution of the United States, according to their spirit.

6th. Certain offensive laws in some of the States are rendered inefficient by the Constitution and laws of the Federal Government, which guarantee to the citizens of each State the privileges and immunities of the several States. The several State Governments should repeal these offensive laws, and thus restore confidence between the States.

7th. All Union men condemn the secession ordinances.

8th. The power and resources of Ohio are pledged to the maintenance of the civil authority, Constitution, and laws of the General Government.

9th. Copies of these resolutions shall be furnished to the Senators and Representatives of both Houses of Congress.

On the 14th the Legislature passed the following:

Resolved, That we hail with joy the firm, dignified, and patriotic Message of the President, and pledge the entire power and resources of the State for a strict maintenance of the Constitution and laws by the General Government, by whomsoever administered.

On March 21st a resolution, requesting Congress to call a National Convention, passed both Houses of the Legislature.

On April 10th about 30 boxes of arms and accoutrements of various kinds, in transit to

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Fort Smith, Arkansas, and re-shipped at Cincinnati, attracted the notice of the people. A crowd assembled, and insisted on preventing their shipment. For the safety of the arms the Mayor took possession of them. They were not seized, but were held to prevent seizure, and perhaps destruction.

On April 12, an act to enroll the militia of the State became a law. The following is a synopsis:

1st. Assessors to prepare lists of all persons subject to military duty, and file the lists with the auditor, who shall furnish a copy to the adjutant-general, and an abstract shall by him be forwarded annually to the War Department at Washington before Jan. 1 in each year. There shall also be a militia of the reserve; when 40 or more persons enroll themselves, the adjutant may issue commissions. When public service requires more force than "the active militia," this "militia of the reserve" shall be called into service.

On the same day was passed an act to secure the safe keeping of arms in the hands of volunteer companies.

SEC. 1. Provides that each man shall receive $5.
SEC. 2. The commanders to report lists of members.
SEC. 3. The commanders to report all delinquencies in the company.
SEC. 4. The delinquents to be marked off by the adjutant-general, and the delinquents not to receive the $5.
SEC. 5. The aggregate not to exceed 6,000 men.

On the 13th the following law was passed to amend the militia law of 1859. It provided for carrying into effect the new military division of the State.

SECT. 5. That the commander-in-chief may, if he shall deem the same advisable, order a camp of instruction to be held, once a year, for four days, during the period of legal encampments, at which time the officers of the volunteer militia, or the officers and all other members of said militia, shall be drilled in the school of the soldier and the details of their respective duties, and section 3 of the act entitled "an act for the further discipline of the militia and volunteer militia," passed March 28, 1859, and providing a camp of instruction for officers only, is hereby repealed.

On the 15th of April the requisition of the President had been received for 75,000 men. The Governor issued the following proclamation:

To the People of Ohio:

You are called upon to meet the gravest responsibilities, and it may be sacrifices, to preserve your free institutions and your national independence.

The attempt of your Government to supply a beleaguered garrison with provisions, has been met by open war, and the reduction of the garrison by force of arms. Your national flag has been insulted, and the constitutional authorities of the Union treasonably defied.

At such an hour, rising above all party names and party bias, resolute to maintain the freedom so dearly purchased by our fathers, and to transmit it unimpaired to our posterity, let the people assert their power.

Your voice will be heard; your actions, giving hope to the overawed and oppressed in the rebellious districts, will strengthen the hands and animate the hearts of the loyal thousands in the Border States, and will bring back peace and order to the nation, with a new assurance of the perpetuity of its priceless blessings. The General Assembly, by acts just passed, opens to you the method of testifying your devotion to our beloved State, to the Union as it is, and those free institutions which have been alike the foundation and pledge of our national and individual prosperity.

The general orders issued through the proper department assert that method, and invite your response. Let us all be thankful to Almighty God for past mercies, imploring His pardon for our many shortcomings, and trusting with Him the destinies of our country, forget all but the pressing duty to cast aside the distinctions that have been the basis of transient differences, and demonstrate to the world that we are worthy sons of great ancestors, fit to be intrusted with the liberties we inherit. W. DENNISON.

The Legislature on the same day passed a law regulating the troops to be mustered into the service of the United States; the companies were not to number less than 70 men, cavalry 60 men, artillery 100 men each. The Governor was to organize and officer the brigades.

On the 18th was passed a law to provide for the defence of the State, and for the support of the Federal Government:

SECTION 1. Appropriates $450,000 to arm and equip the militia.
SEC. 2. Appropriates $500,000 to carry into effect any requisition of the President.
SEC. 3. Places a contingent of $50,000 at the control of the Governor.
SEC. 4. Authorizes a loan of $750,000.
SEC. 5. Authorizes the issue of certificates at 6 per cent., five years to run, not subject to any tax.
SEC. 6. Levies a tax of 7-20 of a mill on the dollar of taxable valuation, to meet the interest of the loan.

On May 7th an act was passed, by which a tax of half a mill on the dollar of taxable property was levied, to be applied to the relief of families of volunteers in each county. The relief was to be continued one year after the death of the volunteer, if he died in service.

The Legislature also passed a bill for leasing the public works of the State:

In compliance with the provisions of this "act to provide for leasing the Public Works of the State," passed May 8th, 1861, and after due advertisement, as required by the act, the works, "consisting of the Miami and Erie Canal, Ohio Canal, Walhonding Canal, Hocking Canal," so much of the "Sandy and Beaver Canal," as is owned by the State, "Muskingum Improvement, and Western Reserve and Maumee Road, and all appertaining thereto, and owned by the State, for the purpose of being used in connection therewith, with the right to have additional surplus water," were, by the Governor, Auditor and Treasurer of State, at public auction, in the rotunda of the State House, in the city of Columbus, on the 29th of May, 1861, offered for a term of ten years, to the person or persons, who, in consideration of the tolls, fines, water-rents and revenues to be derived therefrom, should bid to pay the highest annual rent therefor, to be paid in semi-annual payments in advance, in each year during the term of said lease; and were let, to Kent Jarvis, Joseph Cooper, Arnold Medway, Mr. Brown, Thomas Moore, and W. J. Jackson, for the annual rent of $20,075, and they came into possession June, 1861. In 1861, the expenses were $64,362 more than the revenue.

The joint resolution passed by Congress, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, guaranteeing slavery in the States where it now exists, was taken up and passed by the constitutional majority.

A bill defining and punishing treason also became a law.

On the 26th of April was passed "an act to

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provide more effectually for the defence of the State against invasion. The appropriation in this act amounted to $2,000,000; to meet which, the commissioners of the sinking fund were empowered to borrow the amount. The same act authorized the Governor to call out nine regiments of infantry and eight of cavalry:

The Constitution of the State, Sec. 1, Article VIII., limits the power of the State to contract debts to cases of "casual deficits or failures in revenues, or to meet expenses not otherwise provided for, but the aggregate of such debts, direct and contingent, whether contracted by one or more acts of the General Assembly, or at different periods of time, shall never exceed seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars."

Section 2 of the same article provides that "In addition to the above limited power, the State may contract debts to repel invasion, suppress insurrection, defend the State in war, or to redeem the present outstanding indebtedness of the State." The loan authorized by the Act of April 18, 1861, is clearly within the powers granted in the Constitution. That authorized by the Act of April 26, is one of graver character, not only in the amount, but in the circumstances which would bring it within the powers conferred in the Constitution upon the General Assembly, and the Commissioners.

This difficulty was overcome by the Governor, who decided that "Ohio is in danger of invasion," and therefore that the debt is legal. The Constitution does not specify who shall decide on the danger of invasion.

The President, in his proclamation of April 15, had allowed the Confederates twenty days in which to disperse. On the expiration of this notice, the following general order was issued at Columbus, the capital of Ohio. The order explains clearly the manner of proceeding to raise companies for a reserve force of 100,000 men, the number of companies to which each county is entitled, and other matters pertaining to the organization of this immense "Home Army:"

GENERAL HEAD-QUARTERS, ADJ'T-GENERAL'S OFFICE, COLUMBUS, OHIO, *May* 6, 1861.

The twenty days' limit for the dispersion of rebels now in arms against the United States has expired. Whether the struggle for vindication of the imperilled Union shall be brief or protracted, the result is certain. The destinies of all nations are interwoven with that of America, and the issue is made up. Ohio will meet the crisis firmly and fulfil her part. The more decided her action, the sooner will peace succeed war, and loyalty supplant treason.

To give force and system to her action, the following general order is promulgated:

I. The militia is divided into the "active army of operation" and the "militia of the reserve." The nine regiments now encamped, (additional to the thirteen mustered into the United States service,) and such further regiments as the General Assembly shall authorize, will be mustered into the State service, and placed under strict discipline, for immediate service.

II. The enrolled militia, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, exceeds 500,000 men. This force is divided into the First, Second, and Third Reserve Corps.

The able-bodied force of other ages retired from service, but fully competent to meet any demand that the exigencies of the Union may require, exceeds 200,000 men, and will constitute the Fourth and Fifth Reserve Corps.

The First Reserve Corps will be organized forthwith, and be subject to immediate transfer into the "active army of operation." Applications, however, for the organization of militia of the reserve will not be limited to this quota, but the companies composing it will receive the post of honor and the first assignment to active duty in case the country require their service. * * * * *

VI. As a general rule, public arms will not be issued to the militia of the reserve, but a proximate estimate of the number of private rifles in the possession of men expert in their use, shows that, with proper exercises, nearly or quite the entire first contingent of 100,000 men can be armed, and disciplined in hours of leisure, postponing their draft upon the State until they are transferred to the active corps. * * *

H. B. CARRINGTON, Adjutant-General.

By order of the Commander-in-Chief.

The people of Toledo, Dayton, and Zanesville, Ohio, subscribed large sums of money for the support of the volunteers and their families; at the latter place, large property holders agreed to give houses rent free to families of volunteers during their absence.

In September, the Federal Government refunded to the State $900,000 of the amount of $2,100,000 it had expended in forwarding troops, which began speedily to move forward. The First Ohio, McCook, 1,000 men, and the Second Ohio, Wilson, 1,000 men, arrived in Washington May 23d.

The Ohio troops were organized under Geo. B. McClellan, formerly a distinguished army officer, but who was the General Superintendent of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad. He was made major-general of the State forces, and up to June 1st, the following troops had been mustered for three months: 1st Regiment, Colonel McCook; 2d, Wilson; 3d, Marrow; 4th, Andrews; 5th, Dunning; 6th, Buckley; 7th, Tyler; 8th, De Puss; 9th, McCook; 10th, Lytle; 11th, Harrison; 12th, Lowe; 13th, Platt; 14th, Steadman; 15th, Andrews; 16th, Irvine; 17th, Connell; 18th, Stanley; 19th, Beatty; 20th, Morton; 21st, Norton; 22d, Gilmore.

The whole number of troops organized by Ohio for the war was, to December 31st, 1861, as follows:

In camps in the State:	
Thirty-five regiments infantry	26,146
Four regiments cavalry	4,485
Seventeen batteries artillery	1,228
Total	31,679

Amount of Ohio force in three years' service, December 31st, 1861:

Infantry	67,546
Cavalry	7,276
Artillery	3,023
Total	77,844
To which add twenty-two full regiments for three months	22,000
Two companies of cavalry	180
Two sections artillery	80
One battery	120
Grand total	100,224

The expenses paid by Ohio were as follows:

COLUMBUS, OHIO, *August* 1, 1861.

It is hereby certified that the costs, charges, and expenses, properly incurred by the State of Ohio, for enrolling, subsisting, clothing, supplying, arming, equipping, and transporting its troops employed in aiding to

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suppress the present insurrection against the United States, exceed the sum of the following items, viz.:

Enrolment	$20,000
Incidental expenses	30,000
Subsistence	300,000
Clothing	600,000
Barracks, camp equipage, medical supplies, ammunition, &c.	250,000
Arms	400,000
Equipping troops	350,000
Transportation	150,000

Two million one hundred thousand dollars... $2,100,000

W. DENNISON, Governor of Ohio.

R. W. TAYLER, Auditor of State.

In the month of July the troops were transferred to the United States, and the State thus relieved from their payment.

The Ohio Democratic State Convention met at Columbus, August 10, and nominated H. J. Jewett for Governor, and John Scott Harrison for Lieutenant-Governor. A series of resolutions were adopted. The third recommended the legislatures of the States to call a National Convention for settling the present difficulties and restoring and preserving the Union. The sixth resolution condemned the President's attempt to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*.

The public debt of the State of Ohio is $13,685,233; add for war purposes $1,212,037; total, $14,897,273. This is an increase on the year of $647,039—some old debts having been paid off.

The valuation of State property for 1861—number of acres 25,871,275—is, real estate in the country, $494,064,639; in towns and cities, $149,818,913; personal property, $248,966,532. Total, $892,850,084.

Taxes for State purposes, 4.55 mills, $4,056,379; for local purposes, $7,014,748. Total taxes, $11,071,127.

The payments in counties, in 1861, on account of the Common School Fund, were $1,205,107.

The number of horses in the State is 730,427; value, $36,211,355. Cattle, 1,837,938; value, $19,734,330. Mules, 11,155; value, $601,479. Carriages, 299,012; value, $2,931,449. Watches, 84,465; value, $1,571,699. Pianos, 9,264; value, $1,650,798. Value of merchants' stock, $24,724,844; manufactures, $9,385,665. Credits, accounts, &c., $55,545,191.

The number of acres in wheat, 1,844,677; bushels, 23,640,356. In corn, 2,397,639; bushels, 91,588,704. In oats, 830,104; bushels, 25,127,724.

During 1861, there were 22,251 marriages in Ohio, which is 1 in each 105 of population, the highest ratio among civilized nations. The number in 1859 was 420 greater. When Ohio sent 100,000 males, or 20 per cent. of the active male population, into the army, it affected the result.

During 1861, there were 11,233 naturalizations, of whom 5,349 were Germans; 2,108 Irish; the residue English, Welsh, Scotch, French, &c. Of the whole number, 8,970 were naturalized in the Probate Courts, and 2,263 in the Courts of Common Pleas. The number naturalized in 1860 was 10,479. In the last three years, 30,705, or 10,000 a year—indicating a total increase for 1859–60–61, of 30,000 persons. Of the whole number of naturalized persons, 19,159 were Germans.

In times of peace, the commission of crimes is remarkably uniform from year to year. The number of indictments for 1861 was 2,827; convictions, 1,374; of which 724 were crimes against persons, 597 against property. Crimes against society, 1,422.

The number of violent deaths returned for 66 counties in 1861, were 621, 100 more than were returned for 62 counties in 1860—up to July 1st—each year. The number of homicides in 1861 was 12 less than in 1860; of suicides 16 more; and of casualties 94 more. It is remarked that suicide has been increasing of late years, owing to disturbing causes in the commercial world, and the war. Casualties—particularly serious railroad accidents—increased. Homicides have been caused chiefly by intemperance.

The new structures which have been built in Ohio during the last four years, are as follows:

		Value.
In 1858	10,458	$5,012,054
In 1859	7,812	4,972,645
In 1860	8,100	3,685,513
In 1861	9,881	4,468,042
Average	9,060	$4,800,000

Rather more than two-thirds are dwelling-houses and stores. Of the foregoing, 25,000 were of these classes. This would indicate an increase of population of 372,000 in ten years. The increase shown by the census was 360,000.

The total number of paupers of all classes, lunatics, &c., is 35,900; or 1 in 70 in the whole population who belong to the dependent class. A large number in fact, but small relatively compared with other nations.

On the subject of debt, the Commissioner of Statistics assumes that three-fourths of the debts due in this State from any source are known, without doubt—including the State, municipal, bank, record, and judgment debts. The commercial and private unrecorded debts then remain to be ascertained. The latter must be small, because only small sums are loaned without security. All other debts by loan are either in the form of mortgage, judgment liens, or endorsed notes discounted in banks. The commercial debt, however, is large. The debt of importers cannot exceed more than half the imports, and the imports cannot materially exceed the exports. The export value of domestic produce and of manufactures of domestic materials and labor does not vary materially from $60,000,000 per annum. Many sales are made for cash, and credit rarely exceeds six months, and therefore half the value of exports is sufficient to allow for the debts of wholesale merchants. The same amount is sufficient allowance for consumers and retailers. The commercial debt of the State in ordinary times is not over $60,000,000. But in these extraordinary times it will be safe to say

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it does not exceed two-thirds of that amount. The private debts are the only really uncertain debts in the State. Ten millions is a large estimate for them. But the ascertained and estimated debts of the whole State, and of all corporations and persons, &c., will stand thus:

State debt	$14,250,000
Municipal debts	9,650,000
Judgment debt (1861)	8,928,166
Recorded mortgages (1861)	22,754,966
Railroad debt (1861)	56,000,000
Bank debt	15,500,000
Commercial debt	40,000,000
Private debt	10,000,000
Aggregate	$184,063,132

The life of a mortgage is slightly over two years. There will always be outstanding two years of mortgage debts, so that, adding to the above the mortgage debt of 1860—being $28,738,998; also two years' judgment, being $9,903,854 for 1860, it makes a general aggregate debt of $222,705,982.

The following will show the heights, weight, circumference around the chest, complexion, color of the hair and eyes, of 239 native Americans of Athens, Butler, Highland, Montgomery, and Washington counties. The persons were taken indiscriminately. The average height per man is a fraction under five feet ten and a half inches; circumference of chest 38.02. The complexions of 136 were light; 67 were dark; 109 had light, 89 dark hair; 139 light, 76 dark eyes. The average weight was 169 pounds. Highland County showed the tallest and heaviest men. Twenty-one who were weighed averaged 182 pounds. In Athens 119 averaged 154 pounds; 42 in Butler averaged 168 pounds; 33 in Montgomery averaged 165.1 pounds; and 24 in Washington averaged 176 pounds. The average height for the State is 5 feet 10.57 inches. An inch is deducted for boot-heels, so as to reduce the standard to 5 feet 9½ inches, which is regarded as the natural height of the present men of Ohio.

The average height of Belgian men, given by Quetelet, (3,500 men measured,) is 5 feet 5½ inches. Of 979 recruits in the British army, in the London District, 1838–'9, the height was 5 feet 6 9-10. Eleven regiments of Scotch Highlanders measured 5 feet 7 8-10 inches.

It thus appears that the average height of Ohio men in the above table is 4 inches above that of the Belgians, 2½ above that of the English recruits, and 1½ inches above that of the Highlanders.

The maximum heights of men in the above counties, show that there were at and above 6 feet in height:

In Athens County,	of 119	21
Butler "	of 42	11
Highland "	of 21	9
Montgomery "	of 33	8
Washington "	of 24	10

Of the whole number, 59, or one-fourth, were 6 feet and over. More tall men may be found in the Ohio Valley than in any other locality. The comparison of measurement about the chest is as follows:

Men of Ohio	38.02 inches.
English (London recruits)	32.06 "
Scotch Highlanders	39.02 "

The Scotch appear stouter in the chest than Americans, but no other race is.

Fair complexions predominate in Ohio. There are few of olive brunette, or dark complexion. The great majority are light or sanguine. The eyes are light in the proportion of 3 to 2—including blue and gray in the light class, black and hazel in the dark. The hair is the only feature, among Americans, and especially in Ohio, which approaches the characteristics of the dark nations. Even in this, the majority have what may be fairly called light hair—including most of the brown hair. The weight given in the above figures is very heavy—an average of 169 pounds. In making a comparison, ten pounds are allowed for clothing.

Measurements of 238 men, in different villages in Ohio, taken from the Smithsonian Institute, show an average height of 5 feet 9¾ inches, weight, 157 lbs.; average age, 32. Bell Center showed the largest proportions: 24 men, averaging 30 years of age, show an average of 5 feet 11 inches, weighing 168 lbs. In New Lisbon, 24 men, 5 feet 10 inches, weighed 172 lbs.

The proportion of males in Ohio over 18 years of age, is 49 per cent. The whole number of males in the State is 1,169,799. The number of females over 18 years of age, 573,202. The whole number of males capable of bearing arms, according to established rules, is 523,566.

ONDERDONK, Right Rev. Benjamin Treadwell, D. D., LL. D., late bishop of the diocese of Eastern New York, born in New York City in the year 1791, died in the same city April 30, 1861. Bishop Onderdonk graduated at Columbia College and received priest's orders in 1813, and was immediately appointed assistant minister of Trinity Church. He rapidly attained distinction as a preacher and was greatly beloved by his people. On the occurrence of a vacancy in the post of Secretary of the Diocesan Convention, he was elected to that office, and on the death of Bishop Hobart, in 1830, was at once selected as his successor. In this new position he labored indefatigably and with great success for a number of years; the number of churches as well as the revenues of the diocese were greatly increased, and at his request, it was deemed necessary to divide the diocese, and he retained the Eastern section. In 1844, serious charges were made against him affecting his ministerial character and reputation, and causing great scandal. A trial was had before the House of Bishops of the Episcopal Church, and though the worst charges were not proved, yet the Convention deemed him guilty of such indiscretions that they suspended him from the exercise of his episcopal functions, on the 3d of January, 1845. Bishop Onderdonk himself never admitted the truth of the accusations against him, and his numerous friends made strenuous but unsuccessful efforts to have him

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restored to his former position. The Diocesan Convention in 1859 adopted a petition to that effect in 1859, and it was passed by a large vote in the lower house of the General Convention, but failed in the House of Bishops. Since his suspension, Bishop Onderdonk has lived in retirement, and the duties of the episcopate have been performed by a provisional bishop.

ORLOFF, PRINCE (or COUNT) ALEXEI FEODOREWITCH, a Russian general and statesman, an illegitimate son of Duke Feodor Orloff, born in 1787, died on his estate near St. Petersburg, May 21, 1861. He entered the army at an early age, and after participating in the war between Russia and France, became aide-de-camp to Alexander I. and afterwards adjutant on the staff of the Grand Duke Constantine, and finally colonel of a regiment of Horse Guards. At the insurrection of Dec. 1825, at the time of the accession of Nicholas I. to the throne, he saved his imperial master, and quelled the revolt by putting himself at the head of the squadrons which remained faithful, and charging with terrible fury on the insurgents. Nicholas evinced his gratitude for this act of bravery and fidelity by bestowing upon him for thirty years his confidence in a greater degree than he permitted any other subject to enjoy; and Orloff was devoted to his sovereign's interests as no other subject in the Empire could be. In 1828, he fought against the Turks, and in the following year attained a high reputation as a diplomatist by his negotiation of the peace of Adrianople. He was sent immediately after the peace, as Minister Plenipotentiary to Constantinople. In 1830–31, during the Polish Revolution, he was appointed to inspect the conduct of the generals at the siege of Warsaw, and was, as there is now reason to believe, unjustly accused of being privy to, and probably the cause of, the death of Marshal Diebitsch and the Grand Duke Constantine by poison. In 1832, he was sent as ambassador to London to sustain the rights of Holland against Belgium. In 1833, he visited Turkey, as commander of the Russian troops sent to protect the Sultan against Ibrahim Pacha, and signed the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi between Russia and Turkey, which gave to Russia the key of the Dardanelles. On his return, the Czar bestowed upon him the Order of St. Andrew, made him member of the Council of State—bestowed a large estate upon him and appointed him General of Cavalry. He was the companion of the emperor in all his visits to other European courts—and attended the coronation of the Emperor Ferdinand of Austria, as Russian Envoy. In 1844, he was appointed to the charge of the secret police of Russia, which he managed for ten years with extraordinary skill and success. In 1854, at the opening of the war between Russia and the Allies, he was sent to Vienna to secure the support or at least the neutrality of Austria, but failed fully to secure either. In 1856, he represented Russia as first plenipotentiary at the Congress of Paris, and aided in negotiating the treaty of March 18. On the 17th of April, 1856, he was appointed by the Czar Alexander II. president of the Grand Council of the Empire, which position he held to his death. He was also prince of the Empire, and had received almost all the orders of nobility in Europe. Few men of his time possessed a more elegant and yet unpretending address, or more quiet and refined manners.

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PADUCAH is the capital of McCracken County, Kentucky. It is on the Ohio River, below the mouth of the Tennessee River, and 340 miles below Louisville. The name of the town was derived from an Indian chief who once resided in the vicinity. It has been the most important place of business on the Lower Ohio. The town was occupied by Union troops at about eight o'clock on the morning of September 6. The Ninth Illinois regiment, Major Phelps, the Twelfth Illinois, Col. McArthur, with four pieces of artillery, left Cairo for Paducah on the previous evening. Upon their arrival the disembarkation was quickly performed. Every place of business was closed.

At the railroad depot it appeared that all the rolling stock had been sent off. A large quantity of contraband supplies, marked for towns in the Confederate States, was found in the depot, and immediately seized. They were marked for Fort Gibson, Memphis, Union City, and New Orleans. The whole value of the seizure was over twenty thousand dollars. On the next day, part of the Eighth Regiment, the Forty-first Illinois, and the American Zouaves, from Cape Girardeau, poured in, increasing the force to about 5,000 effective men.

By the occupation of Paducah, there were a fleet and two flanking armies to assail the Confederate position in the Southwest. The character of the back country was quite favorable, and the line to the Southwest was shorter, and less exposed than from Missouri. It had been regarded as the proper point for the departure of an expedition down the Mississippi. Gen. Polk, it was supposed, intended to seize Paducah, but was barely anticipated by Gen. Grant. It was necessary for him as a defence for the rear of his positions on the Mississippi. He advanced as far as Mayfield two or three times with a large force, but his prudence caused him to retreat.

Paducah is fifty miles above Cairo, and is connected by railway with all the Southern railroads. By the railroads alone, many car-loads of flour and bacon had daily gone to the South-

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ern States, for some time previously to the Federal occupation of the town. Other military stores, ammunition, equipments and clothing, had been sent over the same route. The place also commands the mouth of the Tennessee River, up which a large commerce had passed to the South. The surface of the country on the south presents no point of any considerable strength. A force could be sent down the line of the railroad, and also up the Tennessee River.

PATENTS. An act changing the patent law in many essential particulars, passed Congress near the close of the session which ended March 4, 1861. Patents granted in future were to remain in force seventeen years, and all extensions are prohibited.

The act provides, where extensions are now applied for, in cases of existing patents, for compulsory process for witnesses, in order to make a thorough investigation of the merits of the case. It gives the Commissioner of Patents a larger salary, as it imposes additional duties and responsibilities. It provides for certain additional examiners. It allows the commissioner to refuse to recognize patent agents who have been guilty of misconduct. It enlarges the right to patent in relation to moulding, casting, electrotyping, &c. It cuts off all patents not prosecuted within two years after filing. It requires labels on patented articles. It enables the commissioner to dispose of models of rejected applications, and to dispense with models when he thinks the design can be sufficiently represented by a drawing. It allows the commissioner to require the printing of papers in certain cases.

The number of patents issued during the year exceeded three thousand. The engrossing nature of the events which transpired during 1861 so occupied public attention, that the vast and most important field of mechanical industry was comparatively overlooked. Many ingenious and valuable inventions were made, which, with suitable illustrations, will find a place in a subsequent volume of this work.

PEACE CONFERENCE. The proposition for a conference or convention of five commissioners from each State on the condition of affairs, was first brought forward and adopted by the Legislature of Virginia. It was her measure, undertaken in good faith, for a settlement of all difficulties and the preservation of the Union. For the resolutions for this purpose, adopted by her, *see* page 178.

The measure was laid before President Buchanan, and by him communicated to Congress with a special Message, expressing his approbation in these words: "I confess I hail this movement on the part of Virginia with great satisfaction. From the past history of this ancient and renowned commonwealth we have the fullest assurance that what she has undertaken she will accomplish, if it can be done by able, enlightened, and persevering efforts."

The plan immediately attracted attention in other States. In North Carolina and New Jersey it was immediately brought before the Legislature; in Massachusetts it was spoken of as justifying "considerable hope that a new turn would be given by it to the troubled state of affairs." It was further said, "Massachusetts can consistently accept such an invitation. Her doing so might have a good effect, as evincing her readiness to confer with her sister States, and her desire to provide for the return of harmony." Private correspondents from South Carolina wrote: "We look with hope to the movement just announced as having been started in the Virginia Legislature. Virginia will be listened to despite all the press can say. Four-fifths of our people will agree to any arrangement that shall guarantee our rights and be acceptable to the other Southern States."

The Convention assembled at Washington on the 4th of February. The delegates appointed from the States respectively were as follows:

Maine.—William P. Fessenden, Lott M. Morrell, Daniel E. Somes, John J. Perry, Ezra B. French, Freeman H. Morse, Stephen Coburn, Stephen C. Foster.

New Hampshire.—Amos Tuck, Levi Chamberlain, Asa Fowler.

Vermont.—Hiland Hall, Levi Underwood, H. Henry Baxter, L. E. Chittenden, B. D. Harris.

Massachusetts.—John Z. Goodrich, Charles Allen, George S. Boutwell, Theophilus P. Chandler, Francis B. Crowninshield, John M. Forbes, Richard P. Waters.

Rhode Island.—Samuel Ames, Alexander Duncan, William W. Hoppin, George H. Browne, Samuel G. Arnold.

Connecticut.—Roger S. Baldwin, Chauncey F. Cleveland, Charles J. McCurdy, James T. Pratt, Robins Battell, Amos S. Treat.

New York.—David Dudley Field, William Curtis Noyes, James S. Wadsworth, James C. Smith, Amaziah B. James, Erastus Corning, Francis Granger, Greene C. Bronson, William E. Dodge, John A. King, John E. Wool.

New Jersey.—Charles S. Olden, Peter D. Vroom, Robert F. Stockton, Benjamin Williamson, Joseph F. Randolph, Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, Rodman M. Price, William C. Alexander, Thomas J. Stryker.

Pennsylvania.—James Pollock, William M. Meredith, David Wilmot, A. W. Loomis, Thomas E. Franklin, William McKennan, Thomas White.

Delaware.—George B. Rodney, Daniel M. Bates, Henry Ridgely, John W. Houston, William Cannon.

Maryland.—John F. Dent, Reverdy Johnson, John W. Crisfield, Augustus W. Bradford, William T. Goldsborough, J. Dixon Roman, Benjamin C. Howard.

Virginia.—John Tyler, William C. Rives, John W. Brockenbrough, George W. Summers, James A. Seddon.

North Carolina.—George Davis, Thomas Ruffin, David S. Reid, D. M. Barringer, J. M. Morehead.

Tennessee.—Samuel Milligan, Josiah M. Anderson, Robert L. Caruthers, Thomas Martin, Isaac R. Hawkins, A. W. O. Totten, R. J. McKinney, Alvin Cullom, William P. Hickerson, George W. Jones, F. K. Zollicoffer, William H. Stephens.

Kentucky.—William O. Butler, James B. Clay, Joshua F. Bell, Charles S. Morehead, James Guthrie, Charles A. Wickliffe.

Missouri.—John D. Coalter, Alexander W. Doniphan, Waldo P. Johnson, Aylett H. Buckner, Harrison Hough.

Ohio.—Salmon P. Chase, William S. Groesbeck, Franklin T. Backus, Reuben Hitchcock, Thomas Ewing, V. B. Horton, C. P. Wolcott.

Indiana.—Caleb B. Smith, Pleasant A. Hackleman, Godlove S. Orth, E. W. H. Ellis, Thomas C. Slaughter.

Illinois.—John Wood, Stephen T. Logan, John M. Palmer, Burton C. Cook, Thomas J. Turner.

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Iowa.—James Harlan, James W. Grimes, Samuel H. Curtis, William Vandever.

Kansas.—Thomas Ewing, jr., J. C. Stone, H. J. Adams, M. F. Conway.

The Convention was organized by the unanimous election of John Tyler, of Virginia, as Chairman, and S. C. Wright, of Ohio, as Secretary. On taking the chair, Mr. Tyler thus eloquently addressed the members:

"GENTLEMEN: I fear you have committed a great error in appointing me to the honorable position you have assigned me. A long separation from all deliberative bodies has rendered the rules of their proceedings unfamiliar to me, while I should find in my own state of health, variable and fickle as it is, sufficient reason to decline the honor of being your presiding officer. But in times like these one has but little option left him. Personal considerations should weigh but lightly in the balance. The country is in danger; it is enough; one must take the place assigned him in the great work of reconciliation and adjustment.

"The voice of Virginia has invited her co-States to meet her in council. In the initiation of this Government that same voice was heard and complied with, and the results of seventy odd years have fully attested the wisdom of the decisions then adopted. Is the urgency of her call now less great than it was then? Our godlike fathers created; we have to preserve. They built up through their wisdom and patriotism monuments which have eternized their names. You have before you, gentlemen, a task equally grand, equally sublime, quite as full of glory and immortality. You have to snatch from ruin a great and glorious Confederation, to preserve the Government, and to renew and invigorate the Constitution. If you reach the height of this great occasion your children's children will rise up and call you blessed. I confess myself to be ambitious of sharing in the glory of accomplishing this grand and magnificent result. To have our names enrolled in the Capitol, to be repeated by future generations with grateful applause, this is an honor higher than the mountains, more enduring than the monumental alabaster.

"Yes, Virginia's voice, as in the olden time, has been heard. Her sister States meet her this day at the council board. Vermont is here, bringing with her the memories of the past, and reviving in the memories of all her Ethan Allen and his demand for the surrender of Ticonderoga in the name of the Great Jehovah and the American Congress. New Hampshire is here, her fame illustrated by memorable annals, and still more lately as the birthplace of him who won for himself the name of Defender of the Constitution, and who wrote that letter to John Taylor which has been enshrined in the hearts of his countrymen. Massachusetts is not here." [Some member said she is coming.] "I hope so," said Mr. Tyler, "and that she will bring with her her daughter Maine. I did not believe it could well be that the voice which in other times was so familiar to her ears had been addressed to her in vain. Connecticut is here, and she comes, I doubt not, in the spirit of Roger Sherman, whose name with our very children has become a household word, and who was in life the embodiment of that sound practical sense which befits the great lawgiver and constructor of governments. Rhode Island, the land of Roger Williams, is here, one of the two last States, in her jealousy of the public liberty, to give in her adhesion to the Constitution and among the earliest to hasten to its rescue. The great Empire State of New York, represented thus far but by one delegate, is expected daily in fuller force to join in the great work of healing the discontents of the times and restoring the reign of fraternal feeling. New Jersey is also here, with the memories of the past covering her all over. Trenton and Princeton live immortal in story, the plains of the last encrimsoned with the heart's blood of Virginia's sons. Among her delegation I rejoice to recognize a gallant son of a signer of the immortal Declaration, which announced to the world that thirteen provinces had become thirteen independent and sovereign States. And here too is Delaware, the land of the Bayards and the Rodneys, whose soil at Brandywine was moistened by the blood of Virginia's youthful Monroe. Here is Maryland, whose massive columns wheeled into line with those of Virginia in the contest for glory, and whose State-House at Annapolis was the theatre of a spectacle of a successful commander, who, after liberating his country, gladly ungirded his sword and laid it down upon the altar of that country. Then comes Pennsylvania, rich in revolutionary lore, bringing with her the deathless names of Franklin and Morris, and I trust ready to renew from the belfry of Independence Hall the chimes of the old bell, which announced freedom and independence in former days. All Hail to North Carolina, with her Mecklenburg Declaration in her hand, standing erect on the ground of her own probity and firmness in the cause of the public liberty, and represented in her attributes by her Macon, and in this assembly by her distinguished sons at no great distance from me. Four daughters of Virginia, also, cluster around the council board on the invitation of their ancient mother—the eldest, Kentucky, whose sons, under that intrepid warrior, Anthony Wayne, gave freedom of settlement to the territory of her sister Ohio. She extends her hand daily and hourly across *la belle rivière*, to grasp the hand of some one of kindred blood of the noble States of Indiana, and Illinois, and Ohio, who have grown up into powerful States, already grand, potent, and almost imperial. Tennessee is not here, but is coming—prevented from being here only by the floods which have swollen her rivers. When she arrives she will wear the badges on her warrior crest of victories won, in company with the great West, on many an ensanguined plain, and standards torn from the hands of the

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conquerors at Waterloo. Missouri and Iowa, and Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota still linger behind, but it may be hoped that their hearts are with us in the great work we have to do.

"Gentlemen, the eyes of the whole country are turned to this assembly in expectation and hope. I trust that you may prove yourselves worthy of the great occasion. Our ancestors probably committed a blunder in not having fixed upon every fifth decade for a call of a General Convention to amend and reform the Constitution. On the contrary, they have made the difficulties next to insurmountable to accomplish amendments to an instrument which was perfect for five millions of people, but not wholly so as to thirty millions. Your patriotism will surmount the difficulties, however great, if you will but accomplish one triumph in advance, and that is, a triumph over party. And what is party when compared to the task of rescuing one's country from danger? Do that, and one long loud shout of joy and gladness will resound throughout the land."

The Conference then proceeded to organize in detail, by the appointment of officers, the adoption of rules, &c. The mode of voting adopted was by States, each State giving only one vote.

The resolutions adopted by the respective States to be considered by the Conference were laid before it by the delegates from those States. They possess much interest as expressing the views of those bodies at the commencement of 1861, on the most important questions before the country.

Massachusetts authorized the Governor and Council to appoint seven commissioners to proceed to Washington "to confer with the General Government, or with the separate States, or with any association of delegates from such States, and to report their doings to the Legislature at its present session; it being expressly declared that their acts shall be at all times under the control, and subject to the approval or rejection of the Legislature."

Rhode Island appointed her commissioners, "to meet such commissioners as may be appointed by other States, in the city of Washington, on the 4th day of February next, to consider, and, if practicable, agree upon some amicable adjustment of the present unhappy national difficulties, upon the basis and in the spirit of the Constitution of the United States."

New York resolved that, in thus acceding to the request of Virginia, "it is not to be understood that this Legislature approves of the propositions submitted by the General Assembly of that State, or concedes the propriety of their adoption by the proposed Convention. But while adhering to the position she has heretofore occupied, New York will not reject an invitation to a conference, which, by bringing together the men of both sections, holds out the possibility of an honorable settlement of our national difficulties, and the restoration of peace and harmony to the country."

New Jersey declared that the resolutions and propositions submitted to the Senate of the United States by John J. Crittenden of Kentucky for the compromise of the questions in dispute between the people of the Northern and of the Southern States, or any other constitutional method that would permanently settle the question of slavery, "will be acceptable to the people of the State of New Jersey, and the Senators and Representatives in Congress from New Jersey be requested and earnestly urged to support these resolutions and propositions."

The Legislature of Pennsylvania expressed the opinion that no reasonable cause existed for the extraordinary excitement pervading some of the States, in relation to their domestic institutions, and declared that "while Pennsylvania still adheres to, and cannot surrender, the principles which she has always entertained on the subject of slavery, this Legislature is willing to accept the invitation of Virginia and unite with her in an earnest effort to restore the peace of the country, by such means as may be consistent with the principles upon which the Constitution is founded." That body also resolved that, in their opinion, "the people of Pennsylvania do not desire any alteration or amendment of the Constitution of the United States, and any recommendation from this body to that effect, while it does not come within its appropriate and legitimate duties, would not meet with their approval; that Pennsylvania will cordially unite with the other States of the Union in the adoption of any proper constitutional measures adequate to guarantee and secure a more strict and faithful observance of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States, which provides, among other things, that 'the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States,' and that 'no person held to service or labor in one State under the law thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on the claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.'"

Delaware declared that, in the opinion of "this General Assembly, the people of Delaware are thoroughly devoted to the perpetuity of the Union, and that the commissioners appointed, are expected to emulate the example set by the immortal patriots who formed the Federal Constitution, by sacrificing all minor considerations upon the altar of the Union."

The views of the Legislature of Ohio were expressed in these words: "While we are not prepared to assent to the terms of settlement proposed by Virginia, and are fully satisfied that the Constitution of the United States as it is, fairly interpreted and obeyed by all sections of our country, contains ample provisions within itself for the correction of all evils complained of, yet a disposition to reciprocate the patriotic spirit of a sister State, and a sincere desire to

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have harmoniously adjusted all differences between us, induce us to favor the appointment of the commission as requested."

The State of Indiana required her delegates to take no action that would commit the State until nineteen of the States are represented, nor without first having communicated with the General Assembly in regard to such action, and having received the authority of the same to commit the State. Like Ohio, she declared that while she was not prepared to assent to the terms of settlement proposed by the State of Virginia, and was fully satisfied that the Constitution, if fairly interpreted and obeyed, contained ample provision within itself for the correction of the evils complained of, "still, with a disposition to reciprocate the patriotic desire of the State of Virginia, and to have harmoniously adjusted all differences existing between the States of the Union, this General Assembly is induced to respond to the invitation of Virginia, by the appointment of the commissioners herein provided for; but as the time fixed for the Convention to assemble is so near at hand that the States cannot all be represented, it is expected that the commissioners on behalf of this State will insist that the Convention adjourn until such time as the States shall have an opportunity of being represented."

Illinois declared that her acceptance of the invitation of Virginia was not an expression of opinion on the part of the State that any amendment of the Federal Constitution was requisite to secure to the people of the slaveholding States adequate guarantees for the security of their rights, nor an approval of the basis of settlement of our difficulties proposed by the State of Virginia, but it is an expression of our willingness to unite with the State of Virginia in an earnest effort to adjust the present unhappy controversies in the spirit in which the Constitution was originally formed, and consistently with its principles.

Kentucky was of the opinion that the propositions embraced in the resolution of her Senator, Crittenden, so construed that the first article proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States should apply to all the territory of the United States now held or hereafter acquired south of the latitude 36 deg. and 30 min., and provide that slavery of the African race should be effectually protected as property therein during the continuance of the Territorial Government; and the fourth article should secure to the owners of slaves the right of transit with their slaves between and through non-slaveholding States and Territories, constituted the basis of such an adjustment of the unhappy controversy which divided the States of this Confederacy, as would be acceptable to the people of that Commonwealth. • •

Missouri sent her delegates "to endeavor to agree upon some plan of adjustment of existing difficulties, so as to preserve or to reconstruct the Union of these States, and to secure the honor and equal rights of the slaveholding States. Said commissioners shall always be under the control of the General Assembly, except when the State Convention shall be in session, during which time they shall be under the control of the Convention."

The plan of adjustment suggested by the Legislature of Tennessee was the same as that proposed by that body to a convention of delegates from slaveholding States, and embraced several points. First: that African slaves as held under the institutions of the slaveholding States shall be recognized as property and entitled to the status of other property in the States where slavery exists, in all places in those States under the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress, in all the territories south of 36 deg. 30 min., in the District of Columbia, in transit and whilst temporarily sojourning with the owner in non-slaveholding States and Territories north of 36 deg. 30 min., and when fugitives from the owner in the several places above named, and in all places under the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress in the non-slaveholding States. Second: that in all territory now owned or hereafter acquired south of 36 deg. 30 min., African slavery should be protected by all the departments of the Federal and Territorial Governments, and in all north of that line it shall not be recognized; and, States formed south of that line shall be admitted to the Union as slave States, and those formed north of that line shall be admitted as free States. Third: that Congress shall have no power to abolish slavery in places under its exclusive jurisdiction, in slaveholding States. Fourth: that Congress shall have no power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia while it exists in either of the adjoining States, nor without the consent of the inhabitants, nor without just compensation to the owners; nor prohibit the officers of the Federal Government or members of Congress from bringing their slaves within the District, and holding them there during their sojourn. Fifth: that Congress shall have no power to hinder the transportation of slaves from one State to another, whether by land, navigable rivers, and the seas. Sixth: that when a fugitive slave is not surrendered, the State so failing to deliver, shall pay the value of the slave and damages. Seventh: that no future amendment of the Constitution should affect the six preceding articles, or give to Congress any power to abolish or interfere with slavery in any slaveholding State. Eighth: that slave property shall be secure in transit in non-slaveholding States or Territories, and in the District of Columbia. Ninth: an amendment to the effect that all fugitives shall be deemed to be those offending the laws within the jurisdiction of the State, and that it is the duty of each State to suppress armed invasions of another State.

Such were the views represented by the delegates to this Convention. The subject before the Convention was to declare some common ground upon which all could agree, and which would be acceptable to the people of the United

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States, and thus heal the divisions existing through the country.

The regular order of business was commenced by a motion on the part of James Guthrie, of Kentucky, that the following resolution be adopted:

Resolved, That a committee of one from each State be appointed by the Commissioners thereof, to be nominated to the President, and to be appointed by him, to whom shall be referred the resolutions of the State of Virginia, and the other States represented, and all propositions for the adjustment of existing difficulties between States, with authority to report what they may deem right, necessary, and proper to restore harmony and preserve the Union, and that they report on or before Friday.

The committee appointed under this resolution was composed of the following delegates:

New Hampshire, Asa Fowler; Vermont, Hiland Hall; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Samuel Ames; Connecticut, Roger S. Baldwin; New Jersey, Peter D. Vroom; Pennsylvania, Thomas White; Delaware, Daniel M. Bates; North Carolina, Thomas Ruffin; Kentucky, James Guthrie; Ohio, Thomas Ewing; Indiana, Caleb B. Smith; Illinois, Stephen T. Logan; Iowa, James Harlan; Maryland, Reverdy Johnson; Virginia, James A. Seddon; Missouri, A. W. Doniphan; Tennessee, F. K. Zollicoffer; New York, David Dudley Field; Massachusetts, Francis B. Crowninshield; Maine, Lot M. Morrell.

On the 15th of February, the committee laid before the Convention a report and the following amendments to the Constitution:

ARTICLE 1. In all the territory of the United States, not embraced within the limits of the Cherokee treaty grant, north of a line from east to west on the parallel of 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime, is prohibited whilst it shall be under a Territorial Government; and in all the territory south of said line, the status of persons owing service or labor as it now exists shall not be changed by law whilst such territory shall be under a Territorial Government; and neither Congress nor the Territorial Government shall have power to hinder or prevent the taking to said territory of persons held to labor or involuntary service, within the United States, according to the laws or usages of the State from which such persons may be taken, nor to impair the rights arising out of said relations, which shall be subject to judicial cognizance in the Federal Courts, according to the common law; and when any territory north or south of said line, within such boundary as Congress may prescribe, shall contain a population required for a member of Congress, according to the then Federal ratio of representation, it shall, if its form of government be republican, be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, with or without involuntary service or labor, as the constitution of such new State may provide.

ART. 2. Territory shall not be acquired by the United States, unless by treaty; nor, except for naval and commercial stations and depots, unless such treaty shall be ratified by four-fifths of all members of the Senate.

ART. 3. Neither the Constitution, nor any amendment thereof, shall be construed to give Congress power to regulate, abolish, or control, within any State or territory of the United States, the relation established or recognized by the laws thereof touching persons bound to labor or involuntary service therein, nor to interfere with or abolish involuntary service in the District of Columbia without the consent of Maryland and without the consent of the owners, or making the owners who do not consent just compensation; nor the power to interfere with or prohibit representatives and others from bringing with them to the city of Washington, retaining, and taking away, persons so bound to labor; nor the power to interfere with or abolish involuntary service in places under the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States within those States and Territories where the same is established or recognized; nor the power to prohibit the removal or transportation, by land, sea, or river, of persons held to labor or involuntary service in any State or Territory of the United States to any other State or Territory thereof where it is established or recognized by law or usage; and the right during transportation of touching at ports, shores, and landings, and of landing in case of distress, shall exist. Nor shall Congress have power to authorize any higher rate of taxation on persons bound to labor than on land.

ART. 4. The third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution shall not be construed to prevent any of the States, by appropriate legislation, and through the action of their judicial and ministerial officers, from enforcing the delivery of fugitives from labor to the person to whom such service or labor is due.

ART. 5. The foreign slave trade and the importation of slaves into the United States and their Territories, from places beyond the present limits thereof, are forever prohibited.

ART. 6. The first, second, third, and fifth articles, together with this article, of these amendments, and the third paragraph of the second section of the first article of the Constitution, and the third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article thereof, shall not be amended or abolished without the consent of all the States.

ART. 7. Congress shall provide by law that the United States shall pay to the owner the full value of his fugitive from labor, in all cases where the marshal or other officer, whose duty it was to arrest such fugitive, was prevented from so doing by violence or intimidation, or when, after arrest, such fugitive was rescued by force, and the owner thereby prevented and obstructed in the pursuit of his remedy for the recovery of such fugitive.

Two or three members of the committee submitted individual reports, as Mr. Baldwin, of Connecticut, Mr. Seddon, of Virginia. Mr. Wickliffe, of Kentucky, presented a preamble and resolutions, and Mr. Tuck, of New Hampshire, offered an address and resolutions. Subsequently the report of the committee was taken up by sections, and each discussed and amended until the entire report was thus revised. This occupied the Convention until the afternoon session of the 26th, when Mr. Guthrie moved the adoption of the first section. It had been so modified as to read as follows:

SECTION 1. In all the present territory of the United States, north of the parallel of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes of north latitude, involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime, is prohibited. In all the present territory south of that line, the status of persons held to involuntary service or labor, as it now exists, shall not be changed; nor shall any law be passed by Congress or the Territorial Legislature to hinder or prevent the taking of such persons from any of the States of this Union to said territory, nor to impair the rights arising from said relation; but the same shall be subject to judicial cognizance in the Federal Courts, according to the course of the common law. When any territory north or south of said line, within such boundary as Congress may prescribe, shall contain a population equal to that required for a member of Congress, it shall, if its form of government be republican, be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, with or without involuntary servitude as the constitution of such State may provide.

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The vote on the adoption of the section was as follows:

AYES.—Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee—8.

NOES.—Connecticut, Illinois, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Missouri, New York, North Carolina, New Hampshire, Vermont, Virginia—11.

So its adoption was not agreed to.

A reconsideration of this vote was called for by the delegates from Illinois and agreed to, 14 to 5. On the next day the question was again taken on the adoption of the section, with the following result:

AYES.—Delaware, Illinois, Kentucky, Maryland, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee—9.

NOES.—Connecticut, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, North Carolina, New Hampshire, Vermont, Virginia—8.

Thus the section was adopted.

It was stated by the members from New York, when the State was called, that one of their number, D. D. Field, was absent and the delegation was divided. Thus New York, Indiana, and Kansas were divided.

The adoption of the second section was then moved; it was as follows:

SECTION 2. No territory shall be acquired by the United States, except by discovery, and for naval and commercial stations, depots, and transit routes, without the concurrence of a majority of all the Senators from States which allow involuntary servitude, and a majority of all the Senators from States which prohibit that relation; nor shall territory be acquired by treaty, unless the votes of a majority of the Senators from each class of States hereinbefore mentioned be cast as a part of the two-thirds majority necessary to the ratification of such treaty.

The vote on this section was as follows:

AYES.—Delaware, Indiana, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Virginia—11.

NOES.—Connecticut, Illinois, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, North Carolina, New Hampshire, Vermont—8.

New York and Kansas were divided.

The adoption of section three of the report, with the amendments, was next moved. The amended section was as follows:

SECTION 3. Neither the Constitution nor any amendment thereof shall be construed to give Congress power to regulate, abolish, or control, within any State, the relation established or recognized by the laws thereof touching persons held to labor or involuntary service therein, nor to interfere with or abolish involuntary service in the District of Columbia without the consent of Maryland and without the consent of the owners, or making the owners who do not consent just compensation; nor the power to interfere with or prohibit representatives and others from bringing with them to the District of Columbia, retaining and taking away, persons so held to labor or service; nor the power to interfere with or abolish involuntary service in places under the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States within those States and Territories where the same is established or recognized; nor the power to prohibit the removal or transportation of persons held to labor or involuntary service in any State or Territory of the United States to any other State or Territory thereof where it is established or recognized by law or usage; and the right during transportation, by sea or river, of touching at ports, shores, and landings, and of landing in case of distress, shall exist; but not the right of transit in or through any State or Territory, or of sale or traffic, against the laws thereof. Nor shall Congress have power to authorize any higher rate of taxation on persons held to labor or service than on land.

The vote on the adoption of the section was as follows:

AYES.—Delaware, Illinois, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Virginia—12.

NOES.—Connecticut, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont—7.

So the section was adopted. Kansas and New York were divided.

The adoption of the fourth section of the report, as amended, was then moved; it was as follows:

SECTION 4. The third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution shall not be construed to prevent any of the States, by appropriate legislation, and through the action of their judicial and ministerial officers, from enforcing the delivery of fugitives from labor to the person to whom such service or labor is due.

The vote on the adoption of this section was as follows:

AYES.—Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Vermont, Virginia—15.

NOES.—Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire—4.

Thus the section was adopted. Kansas and New York were divided.

The adoption of the fifth section of the report as amended was then moved; it was as follows:

SECTION 5. The foreign slave trade is hereby forever prohibited, and it shall be the duty of Congress to pass laws to prevent the importation of slaves, coolies, or persons held to service or labor into the United States and the Territories from places beyond the limits thereof.

The vote on the adoption of this section resulted as follows:

AYES.—Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, New Hampshire, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Vermont, Kansas—16.

NOES.—Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, North Carolina, Virginia—5.

The section was thus adopted.

A motion was next made to adopt the sixth section as amended; it was as follows:

SECTION 6. The first, third, and fifth sections, together with this section of these amendments, and the third paragraph of the second section of the first article of the Constitution, and the third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article thereof, shall not be amended or abolished without the consent of all the States.

The vote on this section was as follows:

AYES.—Delaware, Illinois, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Kansas—11.

NOES.—Connecticut, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, North Carolina, New Hampshire, Vermont, Virginia—9.

New York was divided. So this section was adopted.

The motion was then made to adopt the seventh and last section as amended; it was as follows:

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SECTION 7. Congress shall provide by law that the United States shall pay to the owner the full value of his fugitive from labor, in all cases where the marshal or other officer whose duty it was to arrest such fugitive, was prevented from doing so by violence or intimidation, from mobs or other riotous assemblages, or when, after arrest, such fugitive was rescued by like violence or intimidation, and the owner thereby deprived of the same; and the acceptance of such payment shall preclude the owner from further claim to such fugitive. Congress shall provide by law for securing to the citizens of each State the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

The vote on this section was as follows:

AYES.—Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Maryland, New Jersey, New Hampshire, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Kansas—12.

NOES.—Connecticut, Iowa, Maine, Missouri, North Carolina, Vermont, Virginia—7.

Thus the last section was adopted. New York was divided.

The adoption of the following resolution was then moved by Mr. Franklin of Pennsylvania:

Resolved, As the sense of this Convention, that the highest political duty of every citizen of the United States is his allegiance to the Federal Government created by the Constitution of the United States, and that no State of this Union has any constitutional right to secede therefrom, or to absolve the citizens of such State from their allegiance to the Government of the United States.

It was moved to lay the resolution on the table. The vote was as follows:

AYES.—Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio, Tennessee, Virginia—9.

NOES.—Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, New York, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Kansas—12.

Some amendments were then offered and laid on the table, when its indefinite postponement was moved and carried by the following vote:

AYES.—Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Virginia—10.

NOES.—Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania—7.

New York was divided.

The following preamble was then offered by Mr. Guthrie, and agreed to:

To the Congress of the United States:

The Convention assembled upon the invitation of the State of Virginia to adjust the unhappy differences which now disturb the peace of the Union and threaten its continuance, make known to the Congress of the United States, that their body convened in the city of Washington on the 4th instant, and continued in session until the 27th.

There were in the body, when action was taken upon that which is here submitted, one hundred and thirty-three commissioners, representing the following States: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas.

They have approved what is herewith submitted, and respectfully request that your honorable body will submit it to conventions in the States as an article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Permission was then asked by Mr. Johnson to have placed in the journal of the Convention the following resolution:

Resolved, That while the adoption, by the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, of ordinances declaring the dissolution of their relations with the Union, is an event deeply to be deplored, and whilst abstaining from any judgment on their conduct, we would express the earnest hope that they may soon see cause to resume their honored places in this Confederacy of States; yet to the end that such return may be facilitated, and from the conviction that the Union being formed by the assent of the people of the respective States, and being compatible only with freedom and the republican institutions guaranteed to each, cannot and ought not to be maintained by force, we deprecate any effort by the Federal Government to coerce in any form the said States to reunion or submission, as tending to irreparable breach, and leading to incalculable ills; and we earnestly invoke the abstinence from all counsels or measures of compulsion towards them.

This permission was granted.

The result of the labors of the Convention was then laid before Congress, (*see* CONGRESS, U. S.,) and the Convention adjourned.

PEDRO V., (late King of Portugal,) PEDRO DE ALCANTARA MARIA FERNANDO MIGUEL RAPHAEL GABRIEL GONZAGA XAVIER JOÃO ANTONIO LEOPOLDO VICTOR FRANCISCO D'ASSIS JULIO ANEOLIO, born at Lisbon, Sept. 16, 1837, died Nov. 24, 1861, in the same city. He was the son of Donna Maria II. de Gloria, and Fernando of Saxe Coburg Gotha, king consort. At the death of his mother he became king under his father's regency. He visited England in Nov. 1853, and France at the great exhibition in 1855, and subsequently Italy, Switzerland, and Belgium. He attained his majority (18 years) in Sept. 1855. During his father's regency, extradition treaties were made with France and Belgium, and treaties of navigation and commerce with the States of South America. On assuming the crown in 1855, he continued the ministry of the Duke de Saldanha, but the succeeding year that ministry fell before the opposition, and was succeeded for a year by the Luli Ministry, which in 1857 gave place to a still more progressive ministry, that of D'Avila. In 1859, this in turn was succeeded by that of Terceira Fontes. In May, 1858, Don Pedro married Stephanie, princess of Hohenzollern Sigmaringen, who died in July 1859, without issue. The king had a high reputation as an intelligent and enlightened ruler. He was attacked early in Nov. 1861, by a typhoid fever, which in a few days proved fatal, and from which one of his brothers also died. He was succeeded by his brother, Don Luis Philippe, who ascended the throne as Luis II.

PENNSYLVANIA, one of the Middle States, and the second in population, is bounded north by Lake Erie and New York, east by New York and New Jersey, south by Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, and west by Virginia and Ohio. It is about 310 miles in length, and 160 in width, except at the northwest corner, where it is 175 miles, and contains an area of 46,000 square miles. The population in 1860 was 2,849,997 white; 56,373 free colored; total, 2,906,370. The ratio of increase during the previous ten years was 26.20 white, and 5.12 colored. The

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vote of the State at the presidential election in 1856 was: Fremont 148,272; Buchanan, 230,772; Fillmore, 82,202. In 1860 the vote was: Lincoln, 268,030; Douglas, 16,765; Breckinridge, 178,871; Bell, 12,776.

In mineral wealth, especially coal and iron, Pennsylvania is the first State in the Union. (*See* ANTHRACITE.) In manufactures she ranks among the first States of the Union, and in agriculture and commerce, internal improvements and public institutions, she holds an equally prominent position. (*See* NEW AMERICAN CYCLOPÆDIA.) The Governor is elected by the people for three years. Andrew G. Curtin was inaugurated as Governor on January 15, 1861. The Senate consists of thirty-three members elected for three years, and the House of Representatives of one hundred members elected annually.

The Governor upon his inauguration delivered an address, in which he stated his view of the affairs of the nation. He pledged himself to stand between the Constitution and all encroachments instigated by hatred, ambition, fanaticism, or folly. He said the election of the President had been made a pretext for disturbing the peace of the country by wresting from the Federal Government the powers which the people conferred on it when the Constitution was adopted. There had been nothing in the life or acts of Mr. Lincoln to warrant the excitement. Blinded in their judgment, a part of the people were precipitating themselves into a revolution.

He proposed the repeal of the personal liberty bill, if it contravened any Federal law, and said: "It is the first duty of the Federal Government to stay the progress of anarchy, enforce the laws, and Pennsylvania will give it a united, honest, and faithful support. The people mean to preserve the Union at every hazard."

On the 17th of January, the House passed a series of resolutions approbatory of the course of Major Anderson, and Governor Hicks of Maryland, and pledging to Maryland the fellowship and support of Pennsylvania.

As early as the 24th of January the Legislature adopted the following resolutions relative to the maintenance of the Constitution and the Union:

Whereas a convention of delegates assembled in the city of Charleston, in the State of South Carolina, did, on the 20th day of December, in the year of our Lord 1860, adopt an ordinance, entitled "An ordinance to dissolve the Union between the State of South Carolina and other States united with her under the compact entitled 'The Constitution of the United States of America.'"

1. *Resolved*, That if the rights of the people of South Carolina under this Constitution are disregarded, their tranquillity disturbed, their prosperity retarded, or their liberties imperilled, by the people of any other State, full and adequate redress can, and ought to be, provided for such grievances through the action of Congress, and other proper departments of the National Government.

2. *Resolved*, That the people of Pennsylvania entertain and desire to cherish the most fraternal sentiments for their brethren of other States, and are ready now, as they have ever been, to coöperate in all measures needful for their welfare, security, and happiness, under the Constitution which makes us one people. That while they cannot surrender their love of liberty inherited from the founders of their State, sealed with the blood of the Revolution, and witnessed in the history of their legislation; and while they claim the observance of all their rights under the Constitution, they nevertheless maintain now, as they have ever done, the constitutional rights of the people of the slaveholding States, to the uninterrupted enjoyment of their own domestic institutions.

3. *Resolved*, That we adopt the sentiment and language of President Andrew Jackson, expressed in his Message to Congress, on the 16th day of January, 1833: "That the right of the people of a single State to absolve themselves at will, and without the consent of the other States, from their most solemn obligations, and hazard the liberties and happiness of the millions composing this Union, cannot be acknowledged; and that such authority is utterly repugnant both to the principles upon which the General Government is constituted, and the objects which it was expressly formed to attain."

4. *Resolved*, That the Constitution of the United States of America contains all the powers necessary to the maintenance of its authority, and it is the solemn and most imperative duty of the Government to adopt and carry into effect whatever measures may be necessary to that end; and the faith and the power of Pennsylvania are hereby pledged to the support of such measures, in any manner and to any extent that may be required of her by the constituted authorities of the United States.

5. *Resolved*, That all plots, conspiracies, and warlike demonstrations against the United States, in any section of the country, are treasonable in their character; and whatever power of the Government is necessary to their suppression, should be applied to that purpose without hesitation or delay.

However the people of the State had been divided heretofore, in reference to political parties, they were unanimous in favor of the Union, the observance of the Constitution, and the enforcement of the laws. In Philadelphia a large public meeting was convened at this time, at which persons of all parties were present. Major Anderson had then just removed from Fort Moultrie, in Charleston Harbor, to Fort Sumter with his garrison. This meeting approved his conduct with a unanimous voice. In other parts of the State similar demonstrations were of almost daily occurrence. Nevertheless, so long as the people of the Southern States did not violate the laws, they had many sympathizing friends in Pennsylvania; but the seizure of Federal property and the open defiance of the Constitution was a shock to those friendly sympathies. The progress of affairs, however, was watched with intense interest. On the 9th of April the Governor sent a Message to the Legislature recommending, in view of the condition of national affairs, that measures be immediately adopted for remedying existing defects in the militia system of Pennsylvania. With a view to effecting this object he suggested that a military bureau be established at Harrisburg, that the militia laws be modified, and that a proper distribution of suitable arms be made to such citizens as should attach themselves to volunteer companies in the State.

Some of his views on the subject were thus expressed:

"The militia system of the State, during a

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long period distinguished by the pursuits of peaceful industry exclusively, has become wholly inefficient, and the interference of the Legislature is required to remove its defects, and to render it available to the public service.

"Precautions such as I have suggested are wise and proper at all times in a Government like ours; but especial and momentous considerations, arising from the condition of public affairs outside the limits, yet of incalculable consequence to the people, and demanding the gravest attention of the Legislature of Pennsylvania, invest the subject to which your action is invited by this communication with extraordinary interest and importance.

"We cannot be insensible to the fact that serious jealousies and divisions distract the public mind, and that in portions of this Union the peace of the country, if not the safety of the Government itself, is endangered.

"Military organizations of a formidable character, which seem not to be demanded by any existing public exigency, have been formed in certain of the States. On whatever pretext these extraordinary military preparations may have been made, no purpose that may contemplate resistance to the enforcement of the laws will meet sympathy or encouragement from the people of this Commonwealth.

"Pennsylvania yields to no State in her respect for and her willingness to protect, by all needful guarantees, the constitutional rights and constitutional independence of her sister States, nor in fidelity to that constitutional Union whose unexampled benefits have been showered alike upon herself and them.

"The most exalted public policy and the clearest obligations of true patriotism, therefore, admonish us, in the existing deplorable and dangerous crisis of affairs, that our militia system should receive from the Legislature that prompt attention which public exigencies, either of the State or of the nation, may appear to demand, and which may seem in your wisdom best adapted to preserve and secure to the people of Pennsylvania and the Union the blessings of peace and the integrity and stability of our unrivalled Constitutional Government.

"The government of this great State was established by its illustrious founder 'in deeds of peace.' Our people have been trained and disciplined in those arts which lead to the promotion of their own moral and physical development and progress, and, with the highest regard for the rights of others, have always cultivated fraternal relations with the people of all the States devoted to the Constitution and the Union, and always recognizing the spirit of concession and compromise that underlies the foundation of the Government.

"Pennsylvania offers no counsel and takes no action in the nature of a menace. Her desire is for peace, and her object the preservation of the personal and political rights of citizens, of the true sovereignty of States, and the supremacy of law and order.

"Animated by these sentiments and indulging an earnest hope of the speedy restoration of those harmonious and friendly relations between the various members of this Confederacy which have brought our beloved country to a condition of unequalled power and prosperity, I commit the grave subject of this communication to your deliberation."

A bill, corresponding to those recommendations of the Governor, was immediately reported in the Legislature, which passed both Houses without amendment, and became a law on the 12th of April. It also appropriated half a million of dollars for the purpose of arming and equipping the militia. This gathering of the elements of the approaching contest, indicates that those who set them in motion knew what was at hand and were determined to be ready for the fearful contest. In the House the bill passed by a vote of ayes, 65; noes, 28.

Mr. Smith, a democratic member of the House, after despatches had been read announcing the commencement of hostilities at Charleston, changed his vote in order to urge forward this bill. In the Senate it was adopted by a vote of ayes, 26; noes, 6; and before eight o'clock that evening became a law by receiving the signature of the Governor.

On the next day a bill to define and punish treason passed the Senate. It forbid any citizen of the State to take a military commission from the enemies of the United States, or to engage in any plot or conspiracy, or traitorous correspondence, or furnish arms, under a penalty of two years' imprisonment, and a fine of five thousand dollars. Any person convicted of selling vessels to the enemy or fitting out privateers should be punished by five years' imprisonment and a fine of five thousand dollars. All officers of the Pennsylvania volunteers were required to take an oath of allegiance to the United States within thirty days; on refusal they should be at once deprived of their commissions. Two new regiments specially raised for the United States reported on this day as ready for immediate service. This was two days before the proclamation of the President calling out troops was issued. The Legislature, immediately after the passage of this bill, adjourned.

On the 15th of April the excitement in Philadelphia, the principal city in the State, and one of the largest in the Union, was great in consequence of the attack upon Fort Sumter, the proclamation of the President calling for volunteers, and the feeling of exasperation in the public mind caused by the presence in the city of persons who were suspected of sympathy with the secessionists. A large mob collected in the streets, which at one time numbered about ten thousand. The office of the "Palmetto Flag," a newspaper recently commenced for advertising purposes, was visited, and the demonstrations against it were of so decided a character as to call for the interference of the police. The proprietors were obliged to display the American flag, and Mayor Henry made a speech

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deprecating violence, but giving assurances that no traitors should be tolerated in Philadelphia. The mob subsequently visited several other establishments and the houses of several citizens suspected of Southern sympathies. At one period it was feared that all control of the crowd would be lost by the police, and that more serious acts of lawlessness would occur. When, at the office of the "Palmetto Flag," the danger of the beginning of a riot seemed imminent, Mayor Henry appeared at one of the windows with the "Stars and Stripes" in his hands, and thus addressed the tumultuous crowd:

"Fellow-citizens: Lend me your ears as becoming good and loyal citizens—men loyal to your country and her honor. (Cheers.) My fellow-citizens, no traitor shall rear his head or have a foothold in the city of Philadelphia. (Great cheering.) With the help of Almighty God, treason shall not raise its destructive hand to tear down the flag of the Union. (Tremendous cheers.) I call upon you now and for the future to protect this flag at the point of the bayonet and at the cost of our lives. (Here he waved the American flag mid the most deafening yells.) Fellow-citizen while I conjure you to stand by the flag of the Union, do not forget the private rights of individuals; be calm and resolute, defend your flag against treason, but act with prudence, and do not invade the rights or property of individuals." (Great cheering.)

American flags were then displayed from the windows of the building and the crowd moved off.

In all sections of the city might be seen the American colors displayed, not merely on newspaper offices, the Custom House, Corn Exchange, manufactories and stores, but also upon private dwellings.

Throughout the city a Union pledge responding to the President's proclamation, and declaring an unalterable determination to sustain the Government, throwing aside all differences of political opinion, received the signatures of all classes of citizens.

On the 20th of April, the Governor issued a proclamation convening an extra session of the Legislature. It was as follows:

Whereas, An armed rebellion exists in a portion of the States of the Union, threatening the destruction of the National Government, perilling public and private property, endangering the peace and security of this Commonwealth, and inviting systematic piracy; and

Whereas, Adequate provision does not exist by law to enable the Executive to make the military power of the State as available and efficient as it should be for the common defence of the State and the General Government; and

Whereas, An occasion so extraordinary requires prompt legislative power;

Therefore, I, Andrew G. Curtin, Governor of the Commonwealth, by virtue of the power vested in me, do hereby convene the General Assembly of this Commonwealth, and require the members of the Senate and House of Representatives to meet at their respective houses at Harrisburg, on Tuesday, 30th of April, at noon, there to take into consideration, and adopt, such measures, in the premises, as the present exigency may demand.

The quota of Pennsylvania under the call of the President was 14 regiments. This call was enthusiastically responded to by the people of the State. The first detachment of troops which arrived in Washington after the issue of the requisition by the Secretary of War consisted of 500 men from the brigade raised by Gen. W. P. Small of Philadelphia. They left that city on the night of the 17th, and arrived safely at Washington. At the same time companies and regiments commenced to move for Harrisburg from several counties of the State, which manifested a rivalry of each other in a prompt response to the call. Harrisburg became the military centre of the State. It is the capital, and situated on the east bank of the Susquehanna River, 100 miles west by north from Philadelphia, and 110 miles north by east of Washington. Early on the 21st of April soldiers were pouring into the city, and a vast camp was formed. Among them were troops of Ohio, who, in their eagerness to rescue Washington, had come forward in detachments of single companies. In one day there arrived the Cincinnati Zouaves, Pickaway Guards, Cleveland Grays, Cincinnati Rovers, Cincinnati Lafayette Guards, Urbana Rifles, Mansfield Independents. Each of these companies was over 80 strong, and many were in a fine state of discipline; also the Dayton Light Guards, 100 men; Zanesville Guards, 100 men; Steubenville Guards, 100 men, all from the State of Ohio.

The inhabitants of Harrisburg were in the streets that day to see this crowd of uniformed individuals in their unorganized, unmilitary condition. The burning of the bridges near Baltimore, thus cutting off their communication with Washington, added to the excitement. Military operations commenced at once. A body of 2,000 men were thrown forward, by the midnight train, to the first bridge on the way to Baltimore, which had been destroyed on the Baltimore and Harrisburg railroad. These 2,000 were followed by 800 regulars from Carlisle, and by a battery of flying artillery, and 1,000 more volunteers.

On the 27th of April at least 5,000 men had arrived at Camp Curtin in Harrisburg, 2,000 were encamped at Lancaster, and 5,000 were in readiness to march from Philadelphia.

On the 19th a request from the War Department had been sent to the Governor that the troops preparing in the State should be clothed, armed, equipped, subsisted, and transported by the State, in consequence of the inability of the Federal Government. 25 regiments, comprising 20,175 men were thus fitted out, and served for three months under the President's proclamation. On the expiration of their term 8,000 or 10,000 of the volunteers were returned to Harrisburg without any previous notice, and with neither cooked food or tents.

On the 30th of April the special session of the Legislature commenced, at which an act was passed authorizing the organization of a reserve corps to be armed, equipped, clothed, subsisted, and paid by the State, and drilled in

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camps of instruction in anticipation. A loan of $3,000,000 was authorized to defray the expenses of that and other military organizations. At the time of the passage of the act more than sufficient men to form 10 regiments had been accepted, and were under the control of the Governor. The force thus raised as a reserve corps was drilled in four camps in different parts of the State, until it was taken into the service of the United States.

On the 16th the Legislature passed unanimously the following resolutions:

Whereas, The States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Florida, and Texas are in armed and treasonable rebellion against the sovereign authority and Government of the United States, and have constituted, and are endeavoring to maintain, a treasonable and rebellious government, intended to subvert the Constitution and laws of the United States, and to dissolve their allegiance thereto, and have seized the revenues, forts, arsenals, navy yards, and such other exclusive property of the National Government as were within their power of seizure, and have coerced loyal citizens within their borders to unwilling submission to their authority, and have raised officers, equipped and assembled large armies and ships of war, with the avowed purpose to wage aggressive warfare against the Constitution and lawful authorities of the Union, and against the liberties of the people, and have besieged, attacked, and captured a fort in the actual and peaceable possession of the United States troops, and have made the garrison prisoners of war, whilst under the protection of the National flag and the Federal laws.

Resolved, That the faith, credit, and resources of the State, in both men and money, are hereby pledged to any amount and to every extent which the Federal Government may demand to subdue the rebellion; to punish the treason; to enforce the laws; to protect the lives, the liberties, and the property of the people; and to maintain inviolate the Constitution and the sovereignty of the nation.

Resolved, That the Governor be and is hereby directed to forward a certified copy of this preamble and resolution to the President of the United States.

Besides those of the troops of Pennsylvania which were sent forward to Washington, others were ordered to Chambersburg, an important town in the southern part of the State, and directly north of Hagerstown, Maryland, and Harper's Ferry, in Virginia. This continued until 20,000 troops had been concentrated there. They were put under the command of Gen. Patterson, by whom they were rapidly organized, and placed on an efficient footing. Excepting a regiment of U. S. regulars, and half a regiment of U. S. cavalry, the remainder were volunteers. Of these all were Pennsylvania troops, except one regiment from Michigan and one from Rhode Island. The force of artillery was 6 field-batteries of six guns each, and one or two howitzers. This force subsequently moved to Hagerstown, in Maryland, then to Harper's Ferry, and over the Potomac into Virginia, where they were stationed at the time of the battle at Bull Run. Subsequently it was withdrawn to the Maryland side of the Potomac, and placed under the command of Gen. Banks. Other troops were added, and it remained as a check upon the Confederate force on the Virginia side of the Potomac. Many skirmishes ensued between the pickets and outposts of these two hostile forces, of which the most important was at Ball's Bluff. (*See* BALL'S BLUFF.)

Towards the close of July the whole reserve corps in the State was called for under a requisition, and taken into the Federal service. It comprised 15 regiments, and contained 15,856 men. The whole expense of this reserve corps, except transportation, to the State, was $855,444. Further requisitions were made, until the number of regiments was 115. The force existing at the close of the year was as follows:

REGIMENTS IN SERVICE.		
66 regiments of infantry, of which 6 were rifle regiments		71,279
11 regiments of cavalry		12,660
1 regiment of artillery		1,077
		84,956
COMPANIES IN SERVICE.		
7 companies of infantry	707	
6 " " cavalry	578	
6 " " artillery	836	
		2,221
		87,177
Enlistments in other than Pennsylvania organizations, estimated (the officers of which are in course of being commissioned)		6,400
Total in service		93,577
REGIMENTS PREPARING FOR SERVICE.		
12 regiments of infantry	13,092	
1 regiment of cavalry	1,136	
1 regiment of artillery	1,077	
		15,305
COMPANIES PREPARING FOR SERVICE.		
1 company of cavalry	109	
4 companies of artillery	624	
		733
Total preparing for service		16,038
In service		93,577
Pennsylvania's contribution		109,615

exclusive of 20,175 three-months men disbanded.

At the same time the State had 62 pieces of artillery, of which 17 needed repairs; 26,753 muskets and rifles, some of which were in the hands of mechanics being repaired; 1,910 were in the hands of volunteer corps throughout the State; 1,930 in the possession of county commissioners, and 1,000 with the reserve corps of Philadelphia. In addition to this amount, the city of Philadelphia had 9 pieces of rifled artillery, and 4,976 muskets and rifles, and also 440 sabres and 826 pistols, with the necessary accoutrements for cavalry use. The State had also in the arsenal at Harrisburg 1,966 sabres and swords, and 1,957 pistols; together with a large amount of accoutrements and ammunition for artillery and small-arms. Thus her military contributions for the war showed a liberality and promptness equal to any other State.

Two vacancies having occurred during the year in the representation to Congress from the State, it became necessary to fill them. In the twelfth district the candidate nominated by the Democratic Convention accepted the nomi-

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nation upon the condition that all other issues were to be set aside, but that of "the Constitution and the enforcement of the laws." Two days later the Republican Convention met, and nominated the same candidate. Thus rapidly had party issues here vanished from sight. In the second district the Republican Convention refused to set aside party issues and consult with the democrats by a vote of 13 to 20.

The debt of the State of Pennsylvania was mostly incurred for the construction of her great lines of canals connecting Philadelphia with the Ohio at Pittsburg. These cost over $20,000,000, but did not yield, under State management, an adequate return, although they greatly aided the development of State commerce. The State recently has sold the whole line of works to the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. for $11,081,000, the bonds of which, with other material, cancel an equal amount of the State debt, which consists of $36,967,291 of 5 per cent. stock, $400,630 of 6 per cent. stock, $381,200 of 4½ per cent. stock, and $100,000 of 4 per cent. stock, together $37,849,421. This sum includes a loan of $100,000, issued Nov. 1860, at 92.97 per cent. The State has also stock in incorporated companies, amounting to $1,746,546. There is also a small unfunded debt, embracing $99,402 of relief notes, a species of State circulation issued in 1837–39, at a period when the banks had suspended. On the occurrence of the war, the State issued a loan of $3,000,000, to forward the troops and meet the first expenses of the campaign. For the purpose of organizing and equipping the first levies, the war act authorized the appropriation of $500,000, and ordered the Governor to issue a 6 per cent. scrip, having one year to run, in order to raise the amount. The banks of the State suspended as a consequence of the war, but the authorities insisted upon as much specie as would meet the interest on the public debt. This payment is to be continued in specie.

There are in Pennsylvania a number of railroads in progress, which are designed to afford to the northwestern part of the State more prompt and intimate connection with Pittsburg and Philadelphia, and which will add to the freight of the great Pennsylvania line. The large tract, forming nearly one-fourth part of the whole State, bounded on the north by New York, south by the Pennsylvania railroad, west by Ohio, and east by the Alleghany, has hitherto been without communication by railroad.

PENSACOLA BAY. This fine bay is located in the northwest corner of Florida, and at the mouth of the Escambia River. On the bar, at the entrance from the Gulf of Mexico, there are twenty-one feet of water. The entrance is narrow, and is bounded by the extremity of Santa Rosa Island on the east side, and by the shore of the mainland on the west side. The breadth of the island at this point is about ¼ of a mile. On the east side of the entrance, and on the extremity of Santa Rosa Island, is Fort Pickens. Nearly opposite, being a little further outward or seaward, is Fort McRea. Nearly opposite the entrance, on the farther side of the bay, is Fort Barrancas, and nearly one mile to the eastward, along the shore, is the navy yard. On the secession of Florida the Barrancas was abandoned, its guns spiked, and its munitions removed by Commandant Armstrong, of the navy; and on the 12th of January this fort and the navy yard were taken possession of by Florida and Alabama troops. The commandant having a force of about sixty men, and the opposing force consisting of nearly five hundred and fifty. Ultimately all the military positions came into the possession of the Southern troops, except Fort Pickens. They immediately mounted at the navy yard four Dahlgren long 32s, and at Fort Barrancas twenty-five 32s; at Fort McRea were four columbiads and a large number of heavy guns. This work was carried on until the guns were all mounted, additional batteries erected along the shore, and every thing made ready to attack Fort Pickens, or to resist any attack which might be made.

Lieut. A. J. Slemmer, who had been in command of the little Federal force in charge of the forts, took possession of Fort Pickens on the first indication of any thing like an attempt to seize it. It was the strongest and most important of all the fortifications of the bay. In this position he remained securely until relieved of his command. When the Federal Government determined to relieve Fort Sumter, it also resolved to reënforce Fort Pickens, and immediate arrangements were made for that purpose.

On the 7th of April, the steamer Atlantic sailed from New York with 450 troops on board, including two companies of light artillery, and a company of sappers and miners, under command of Col. Harvey Brown, together with sixty-nine horses and a large quantity of munitions of war and supplies. On the 13th she reached Key West, and took on board more troops and ordnance, &c., and arrived at Pensacola on the 16th, in the afternoon. With the assistance of the boats of the squadron then there, the larger portion of the officers and men were landed, and entered Fort Pickens before midnight. Between that time and the 23d the remaining troops, stores, &c., were all safely landed. Before the arrival of the Atlantic, and on the night of the 12th of April, reënforcements, consisting of one company of artillery, being 86 men and 115 marines, were sent to the fort. The old garrison consisted of 82 men and with this addition amounted to 283 men. The arrival of the Atlantic increased the number, and the steamer Illinois followed, until the garrison amounted to about 880 men.

Meantime, farther reënforcements were sent out, and a large amount of stores, while quite a fleet of vessels were stationed outside in the Gulf. The first volunteer troops sent, consisted of a New York regiment, under Col. Wm. Wilson. This regiment encamped on the

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island near the fort. No serious conflict, however, took place, although the hostile forces were within a short distance of each other. Some daring exploits were performed by Federal troops, one of which, under Lieut. Russel's command, is thus described by a Confederate officer: "The enemy executed, last night, the most brilliant and daring act which has yet marked the history of the war. For some time past they have exhibited unmistakable indications of eagerness for a fight, and have grown more and more audacious. First they fired on one of our schooners. Next they burned the dry dock, and last night, Sept. 13, they made a most daring and reckless raid upon the navy yard. About three o'clock in the morning, five launches, containing about thirty men each, pulled across from Santa Rosa Island to the navy yard, a distance of about two miles. Each launch had in it a small brass howitzer on a pivot. Their main object seems to have been to burn the largest schooner of our harbor police, which was anchored near the wharf. They were led by an officer with the courage of forty Numidian lions, and their success was perfect. Under cover of the darkness, silently, with muffled oars they approached the wharf, and were not discovered until very near it. They then pulled rapidly to the schooner, and grappled to her, when their daring leader shouted, 'Board her,' leading the way himself with a cutlass in one hand, and a blazing fire-ball in the other. He threw the flambeau into the hold of the schooner, and feeling sure that she was on fire, he ordered his men to take to their launches and pull for life, as he said that a shower of grape would soon be rattling after them. They pulled off a short distance; but before going, they sent back a shower of grape from their howitzers, directed upon our men as they were forming. The darkness rendered the fire uncertain, and only two of our men were wounded. The schooner burned rapidly, and we had to cut her loose from the wharf to save it from destruction. She floated off on the tide, emitting a brilliant flood of light over the surrounding darkness of the scene." Such is the brief account of this very daring adventure.

Affairs continued quiet until the night of the 8th of October, when the enemy attempted a daring attack upon the forces on the island. They hoped to break up the encampment of the volunteer regiment. Early in the evening Col. Jackson visited the camp of the Fifth Georgia Regiment at Pensacola, and informed the troops that he required one hundred and fifty men for an important service, also twenty-seven from the Clinch Rifles, and nineteen from the Irish Volunteers. Every man who was willing to volunteer, was requested to shoulder arms, and every one did so. The captains were then ordered to select the men, who were put under the command of Lieut. Hallenquist. The expedition was accompanied by Col. Jackson. It consisted of twelve hundred men, under the command of Gen. Anderson. About two o'clock in the morning they landed on the island, and marched upon the Zouave camp. They were first met by Major Vodges, with eighty-five men, some distance above the camp. The major was taken prisoner. The Zouaves were taken chiefly by surprise, but as soon as they recovered, fought desperately. The Confederates penetrated the camp, which was almost entirely destroyed. A number of prisoners were taken on both sides. The Confederate loss was severe. Of the Zouaves and regulars, fourteen were killed, and thirty-six wounded. The officers and men lost almost every thing.

In November, the force at the fort and on the island was thirteen hundred men, and it was supposed that upon the opposite side were near eight thousand, when Col. Brown, the commandant of Fort Pickens, determined to open fire upon the batteries occupied by the Southern troops.

Having invited Flag-officer McKean to coöperate in the attack, on the morning of the 22d of November, Col. Brown opened his batteries on the enemy, to which, in the course of half an hour, he responded from his numerous forts and batteries, extending from the navy yard to Fort McRea, a distance of about four miles, the whole nearly equidistant from Fort Pickens, and on which line he had two forts—McRea and Barrancas—and fourteen separate batteries, containing from one to four guns, many of them being ten-inch columbiads, and some twelve and thirteen-inch seacoast mortars, the distance varying from two thousand one hundred to two thousand nine hundred yards from Fort Pickens. At the same time Flag-officer McKean, in the Niagara, and Captain Ellison, in the Richmond, took position as near to Fort McRea as the depth of the water would permit, but which unfortunately was not sufficiently deep to give full effect to their powerful batteries. They, however, kept up a spirited fire on the fort and adjacent batteries during the whole day. The fire from Fort Pickens was incessant from the time of opening until it was too dark to see, at the rate of a shot for each gun every fifteen or twenty minutes, the fire of the enemy being somewhat slower. At noon the guns of Fort McRea were all silenced but one, and three hours before sunset this fort and the adjoining batteries ceased firing. The guns of batteries Lincoln, Cameron, and Totten were directed principally on the batteries adjacent to the navy yard, those of Battery Scott to Fort McRea and the lighthouse batteries, and those of Fort Pickens to all. They reduced very perceptibly the fire of Barrancas, entirely silenced that in the navy yard, and in one or two of the other batteries.

The next morning Col. Brown again opened about the same hour, the navy unfortunately, owing to a reduction in the depth of water, caused by a change of wind, not being able to get so near as on the day before; consequently the distance was too great to be effectual. The

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fire of Fort Pickens, this day, was less rapid, and more efficient. Fort McRea did not fire. One or two guns of the enemy were entirely silenced, and one in Fort Pickens was disabled by a shot coming through the embrasure.

About three o'clock fire was communicated to one of the houses in Warrington, and shortly afterwards to the church steeple, the church and the whole village being immediately in rear of some of the Confederate batteries. Of the largest and most valuable buildings along the street, probably two-thirds were consumed. About the same time fire was discovered issuing from the back part of the navy yard, probably in Wolcott, a village to the north and immediately adjoining the yard, as Warrington does on the west. Finally it penetrated to the yard, and continued to burn brightly all night. Very heavy damage was also done to the buildings of the yard by the shot, shell, and splinters.

The steamer Time, which was at the wharf at the navy yard at the time, was abandoned on the first day. The fire was continued till dark, and with mortars occasionally till two o'clock the next morning, when the combat ceased.

Fort Pickens, at its conclusion, though it had received a great many shot and shell, was reported in every respect, save the disabling of one gun carriage and the loss of service of six men, as efficient as at the commencement of the combat. No serious damage was done to the frigates Niagara or Richmond. The report of Col. Brown, respecting this cannonade, concluded with the following observations relative to its results:

The bombardment of the 22d and 23d has elicited some facts that are of importance, and I notice them that I may in future benefit by them.

1. That with the most efficient guns of the largest calibre, and served in the best manner, no serious injury can be done to stone or brick walls, or to guns in sand batteries, or to troops serving them, unless probably by rifled guns, if properly protected, at a distance of from two thousand to three thousand yards.

2. The shells and hot shot are not to be depended on for firing even wooden buildings, unless having in them incendiary composition.

3. That pieces of port fire are nearly useless as such incendiary composition.

4. That brick buildings covered with slate cannot be fired by either shot or shells at the distance named, except by accident, unless the shells have rock fires.

5. That the trouble and expense incurred in protecting forts by sand bag traverses, &c., are far more than repaid by the saving of the lives of the defenders.

6. That no dependence is to be placed on James' rifle projectiles, either as it respects accuracy or range. If I had guns to be depended on I could have silenced the most of the enemy's sand batteries and the guns in Barrancas.

7. That ships with their present armament cannot for an hour contend against rifled guns, and that if our navy is not at once supplied liberally with good rifled guns it will be very likely to be disgraced.

8. That on service here, and I believe the remark applies with equal force to every river and harbor in the Gulf, a gunboat drawing six feet water and well armed with good rifled guns can do more and better service than a forty gun ship, or than such ships as the Niagara and Richmond.

9. That sail vessels are utterly useless in enforcing a blockade.

10. That Parrott's rifled guns are efficient, and that forts should be immediately supplied with them and with a full supply of ammunition.

I would strongly urge that a dozen of Parrott's thirty-pounders, or, if to be had, of larger calibre, be sent to this post, with a good supply of ammunition, as early as possible. I had one which I found to be excellent, but when the navy met with such a mishap on the Mississippi, I was compelled to let Flag-officer McKean have it and one of my twelve-pounder Parrott guns to put on one of his ships to save them from being driven out of the waters by a little steamer having a rifled gun on board.

PERRYSVILLE, a village in Cecil County, Maryland, is on the east or left bank of the Susquehanna River at the head of the Chesapeake Bay, and opposite Havre-de-Grace. It is thirty-seven miles from Baltimore on the line of the Baltimore and Philadelphia Railroad. The first troops for Washington after the difficulty at Baltimore were transferred from the cars to the steamboat here and taken to Annapolis, thus avoiding Baltimore entirely.

PERSONAL LIBERTY LAWS. The Constitution of the United States provides that "no person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." At the session of Congress which commenced in December, 1849, a series of measures were adopted which were intended by the authors to be a final settlement of all disputes on the subject of slavery. One of these measures was known as the "Fugitive Slave Law." It was passed under the following title: "An Act to amend and supplementary to the act entitled 'An Act respecting fugitives from justice and persons escaping from the service of their masters,' approved Feb. 12, 1793." This act excited much disapprobation in many of the Northern States, and led to the passage by the respective Legislatures of certain acts which have been generally designated under the expression "Personal Liberty Bills." The portion of the act of Congress which was so unacceptable was the sixth section, and particularly its last clause as follows:

SEC. 6. And be it further enacted, that when a person held to service or labor in any State or Territory of the United States, has heretofore, or shall hereafter escape into another State or Territory of the United States, the person or persons to whom such service or labor may be due, or his, her, or their agent, or attorney, duly authorized by power of attorney, in writing, acknowledged and certified under the seal of some legal officer or court of the State or Territory in which the same may be executed, may pursue and reclaim such fugitive person, either by procuring a warrant from some one of the Courts, Judges, or Commissioners aforesaid, of the proper circuit, district or county, for the apprehension of such fugitive from service or labor, or by seizing and arresting such fugitive, when the same can be done without process, and by taking or causing such person to be taken forthwith before such Court, Judge, or Commissioner, whose duty it shall be to hear and determine the case of such claimant in a summary manner, and upon satisfactory proof being made, by deposition, or affidavit in writing, to be taken and certified by such Court, Judge, or Commis-

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sioner, or by other satisfactory testimony, duly taken and certified by some Court, Magistrate, Justice of the Peace, or other legal officer authorized to administer an oath, and take depositions under the laws of the State or Territory from which such person owing service or labor may have escaped, with a certificate of such magistracy, or other authority, as aforesaid, with the seal of the proper Court or officer thereto attached, which seal shall be sufficient to establish the competency of the proof, and with proof, also by affidavit, of the identity of the person whose service or labor is claimed to be due, as aforesaid, that the person so arrested, does in fact owe service or labor to the person or persons claiming him or her, in the State or Territory from which such fugitive may have escaped as aforesaid, and that said person escaped, to make out and deliver to such claimant, his or her agent, or attorney, a certificate setting forth the substantial facts as to the service or labor due from such fugitive to the claimant, and of his or her escape from the State or Territory in which such service or labor was due, to the State or Territory in which he or she was arrested, with authority to such claimant, or his or her agent or attorney, to use such reasonable force and restraint, as may be necessary under the circumstances of the case, to take and remove such fugitive person back to the State or Territory whence he or she may have escaped as aforesaid. In no trial or hearing under this act shall the testimony of such alleged fugitive be admitted in evidence; and the certificates in this and the first section mentioned, shall be conclusive of the right of the person or persons in whose favor granted, to remove such fugitive to the State or Territory from which he escaped, and shall prevent all molestation of such person or persons, by any process issued by any Court, Judge, Magistrate, or other person whomsoever.

The Personal Liberty Laws passed for the purpose of diminishing the most objectionable features of the fugitive slave law, were regarded by a portion of the people in the slaveholding States as operating in such a manner as to infringe their rights under the Constitution. This was one of the instances brought forward to prove the aggression of the Northern States upon the rights of the Southern States, and to that extent was urged as one ground for the justification of the act of secession. Consequently unusual attention was attracted to the Liberty Laws during the former part of the year. The views of the Governors of many Northern States, expressed at that time, furnish the plainest indication of the views of the Northern people respecting them, and of the justice of the charge of aggression from this cause. Governor Morgan, of the State of New York, in his Message to the Legislature in January, 1861, expressed the following views:

"The Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of Prigg against the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, decided that all State laws, even though subordinate to the Federal enactment, and favorable to the extradition of fugitives, were inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States, and therefore void; and so this statute of our State, which granted a trial by jury, became ineffective. It has been universally held to be obsolete by all our commentators and all our public authorities, although now improperly classed among what are technically called "personal liberty laws," and made occasion for exciting jealousies and discontents. I therefore recommend its repeal.

"In this connection, and while disavowing any disposition to interfere with what exclusively pertains to the individual States, and in a spirit of fraternal kindness, I would respectfully invite all those States which have upon their statute-books any laws of this character, conflicting with the Federal Constitution, to repeal them at the earliest opportunity; not upon condition that a more equitable fugitive slave law be passed, nor upon any other condition, but relying for the proper modification of this enactment upon the justice and wisdom of the Federal authorities. Let the Free States fulfil all the obligations of the Federal Constitution and laws; then, with propriety, they may exact like obedience from all the other States."

The Governor of Maine, Israel Washburn, Jr., at the same time addressed the Legislature of that State as follows:

"As a general thing, I believe they (the personal liberty laws of the Free States) were intended in perfect good faith to accomplish two legitimate purposes: first, to prevent the kidnapping or illegal removal of free persons from the States; and, secondly, to bring their action into entire harmony with the line of constitutional power and obligation as laid down by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Prigg vs. The State of Pennsylvania. So far as this has been the case, and where the legislation of the State has not in fact transcended these limits, there can be no just cause of exception to what has been done. But if, passing this boundary, laws have been enacted which are in violation of the Constitution of the United States, or of any constitutional law of Congress, although they may be mere waste paper and void, and would be so declared by our courts, they ought not to remain on the statute-books."

In the State of Massachusetts, Governor Banks, then about to retire from office, thus addressed the Legislature:

"I cannot but regard the maintenance of a statute, whether constitutional or not, which is so unnecessary to the public service, and so detrimental to the public peace, as an unexcusable public wrong. I hope, by common consent, it may be removed from the statute-book, and such guarantee as constitutional freedom demands be sought in new legislation."

In Pennsylvania, Governor Packer, also about to retire from office, thus presented his views:

"The people of Pennsylvania are devoted to the Union. They will follow its stars and its stripes through every peril. But before assuming the high responsibilities now dimly foreshadowed, it is their solemn duty to remove every just cause of complaint against themselves, so that they may stand before high Heaven and the civilized world without fear and without reproach, ready to devote their lives and their fortunes to the support of the

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best form of government that has ever been devised by the wisdom of man."

In Ohio, Governor Dennison suggested the repeal of the obnoxious features of the fugitive slave law, and the repeal of any personal liberty bills subversive of the fugitive law would thus be secured; at the same time he said, the Southern States should repeal their laws in contravention of the constitutional right of citizens of Free States, who cannot be satisfied with less, and who will insist upon their constitutional rights in every State and Territory of this Confederacy. These they cheerfully accord to citizens of Southern States."

Notwithstanding such a general expression of sentiment, no repeal of these laws took place in any States, except Rhode Island and Vermont. In the latter, the subject was referred to a committee in the Legislature, whose duty it was to report at a subsequent day. The report was made at the next session of the Legislature, during the latter part of the year, and the objectionable law was quietly got rid of. The law of Rhode Island, which was thus repealed, forbade the carrying away of any person by force out of the State; or any judge, justice, magistrate, or court from officially aiding in the arrest of a fugitive slave under the fugitive slave law of 1793 or 1850. It also forbade any sheriff or other officer from arresting or detaining any person claimed as a fugitive slave, and provided a penalty of five hundred dollars, or imprisonment not exceeding six months, for violating the act. It denied the use of the jails of the State to the United States for the detention of fugitive slaves.

The law of Vermont was a direct act of nullification. It declared that every person who might have been held as a slave, and who should, in any way, come into the State, should be free. By the several acts of 1843, 1850, and 1858, the State provided that no court, justice of the peace, or magistrate should take cognizance of any certificate, warrant, or process under the fugitive slave law; and that no officer, or citizen of the State should arrest, or aid, or assist in arresting any person for the reason that he was claimed as a fugitive slave; and that no officer or citizen should aid or assist in the removal from the State of any person claimed as a fugitive slave, with a penalty of one thousand dollars, or imprisonment five years in State prison, for violating this act. These provisions, however, should not be construed to extend to any citizen of the State acting as a Judge of the Circuit or District Court of the United States, or as Marshal or Deputy-Marshal of the District of Vermont, or to any person acting under the command, or authority of said Courts or Marshal. The State's attorneys were required to act as counsel for alleged fugitives; the act provided for issuing habeas corpus, and the trial by jury of all questions of fact in issue between the parties, and ordained that every person who might have been held as a slave, who should come, or be brought, or be in the State, with or without the consent of his or her master or mistress, or who should come, or be brought, or be involuntarily, or in any way, in the State, should be free. It was also provided that every person who should hold or attempt to hold, in the State, in slavery, or as a slave, any person mentioned as a slave in the section of the act relating to fugitive slaves, or any free person, in any form, or for any time, however short, under the pretence that such person was or had been a slave, should, on conviction thereof, be imprisoned in the State prison for a term not less than one year nor more than fifteen years, and be fined not exceeding two thousand dollars.

The nature of these laws in other States may be briefly stated. The laws of Maine provide that no sheriff, deputy-sheriff, coroner, constable, jailer, justice of the peace, or other officer of the State shall arrest or detain, or aid in so doing, in any prison or building belonging to this State, or to any county or town, any person on account of a claim on him as a fugitive slave, under a penalty not exceeding one thousand dollars, and make it the duty of all county attorneys to repair to the place where such person is held in custody, and render him all necessary and legal assistance in making his defence against said claim.

The law of New Hampshire declares that slaves, coming or brought into the State, by or with the consent of the master, shall be free; declares the attempt to hold any person as a slave within the State a felony, with a penalty of imprisonment not less than one nor more than five years; provided, that the provisions of this section shall not apply to any act lawfully done by any officer of the United States, or other person, in the execution of any legal process.

The law of Connecticut provides that every person who shall falsely and maliciously declare, represent, or pretend that any free person entitled to freedom is a slave, or owes service or labor to any person or persons, with intent to procure or to aid or assist in procuring the forcible removal of such free person from this State as a slave, shall pay a fine of five thousand dollars and be imprisoned five years in the Connecticut State prison; requires two witnesses to prove that any person is a slave or owes labor; denounces a penalty of five thousand dollars against any person seizing or causing to be seized any free person with intent to reduce him to slavery; depositions not to be admitted as evidence; witnesses testifying falsely, liable to five thousand dollars' fine and five years' imprisonment.

The first Personal Liberty Act of Massachusetts was passed in 1843. It was based upon the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Prigg vs. The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, pronounced in 1842 by Judge Story. In that case the Court decided that the right to legislate on the sub-

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ject of the rendition of fugitive slaves is vested exclusively in Congress; that no State laws can constitutionally be enacted even to aid masters in the recovery of their slaves, much less to interfere with or hinder their recovery; and that all such State laws as well as all legislation by Congress contemplating any service by States in the rendition of slaves which the States are not willing to perform, are alike foreign to the plan of the Constitution; the power of legislation on the subject, as already stated, being vested exclusively in Congress.

At the next session of her Legislature, Massachusetts endorsed this interpretation of the Constitution, by the passage of the Personal Liberty Act of 1843, by which all State magistrates and officers were prohibited, under penalties, from performing the services imposed by the United States Fugitive Act of 1793. Subsequent to the passage by Congress of the Fugitive Act of 1850, and in the year 1855, the Legislature of the State passed another act under which commissioners were to be appointed by the Governor, whose duty it was made, on being informed of the arrest of any person as a fugitive slave, to "use all lawful means to protect and defend such alleged fugitive, and secure to him a fair and impartial trial by jury." The burden of proof was laid on the claimant, who must bring two credible witnesses to substantiate his claim; persons holding any place of honor or emolument under the Commonwealth were forbidden to issue any warrant or other process under the United States Fugitive Slave Act; jails of the State not to be used for the detention of fugitive slaves; commissioners to be appointed in every county to defend the cause of alleged fugitive slaves, &c. In the year 1858 judges of the State were forbidden to issue any writ under the United States Fugitive Slave Law of 1850.

In 1859, the statutes of the State were revised, and these three acts were expressly repealed and their substance incorporated in a new text. They thus continued substantially as before until the session of the Legislature in 1861, when an organization was formed under the auspices of prominent citizens of Boston, to procure signers to petitions for a repeal of the law. The subject was referred to a joint committee of the Legislature, who resolved to report a declaratory act to exclude any construction of the personal liberty laws which should contravene the Constitution or laws of the United States. They also recommended such changes as to make the writ of habeas corpus returnable only before a Justice of the Supreme Court, instead of Justices of the Superior Court as well as the Supreme Court; to provide that the militia may be lawfully called out to preserve the public peace in cases growing out of the rendition of a fugitive slave; to allow the evidence of the claimant in proof of his claim to the alleged fugitive.

In New York there is no law having reference to the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. An act passed in 1840, entitled "An Act to extend the right of trial by jury," has not been repealed, although it is regarded as obsolete. This act extends the trial by jury to the cases of persons arrested as fugitive slaves.

The State of New Jersey has no statutes bearing on this subject save those which enjoin on her State officers the duty of aiding in the recovery of fugitive slaves. Persons temporarily residing in the State are also permitted to bring with them and retain their domestic slaves.

In the State of Pennsylvania, the consolidated, revised, and amended Penal Laws, enacted on March 31st, 1860, contain the following provision:

No Judge of any of the Courts of this Commonwealth, nor any Alderman or Justice of the Peace of said Commonwealth, shall have jurisdiction or take cognizance of the case of any fugitive from labor from any of the United States or Territories under any act of Congress, nor shall any such Judge, Alderman, or Justice of the Peace of this Commonwealth issue or grant any certificate or warrant of removal of any such fugitive from labor, under any act of Congress; and if any Alderman or Justice of the Peace of this Commonwealth shall take cognizance or jurisdiction of the case of any such fugitive, or shall grant or issue any certificate or warrant of removal, as aforesaid, then, and in either case, he shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor in office, and shall, on conviction thereof, be sentenced to pay, at the discretion of the Court, any sum not exceeding one thousand dollars, the one-half to the party prosecuting for the same, and the other half to the use of this Commonwealth.

The States of Indiana and Illinois have no personal liberty laws, but negroes are not allowed to enter and settle within the limits of those States.

The law of Michigan requires all State attorneys to act as counsel for fugitive slaves; secures to persons arrested as fugitive slaves the benefits of the writ of habeas corpus and trial by jury; denies the use of State jails for detention of alleged fugitives; requires that identity of fugitive slaves shall be proved by two credible witnesses, or by legal evidence equivalent thereto, and provides a fine of not less than five hundred nor more than one thousand dollars, and imprisonment in the State prison for five years, for forcibly seizing, or causing to be seized, any free person, with intent to have such person held in slavery.

The law of Ohio possesses the same general features with that of Michigan; the identity of the fugitive must be shown, &c.

In Wisconsin the law requires the district attorneys to act as counsel for alleged fugitive slaves; secures to such persons the benefits of the writ of habeas corpus; provides for appeal to be taken to next stated term of the Circuit Court; secures trial by jury; enjoins a penalty of one thousand dollars and imprisonment of not more than five nor less than one year on all who "falsely and maliciously represent any free person to be a slave;" identity of alleged fugitive slave is to be proved by two credible witnesses; no deposition to be received in evidence. It is also provided that—

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No judgment recovered against any person or persons for any neglect or refusal to obey, or any violations of, the act of Congress commonly termed the "Fugitive Slave Act," approved September eighteenth, one thousand eight hundred and fifty, or any of the provisions thereof, shall be a lien on any real estate within this State, nor shall any such judgment be enforceable by sale or execution of any real or personal property within this State; but all such sales shall be absolutely void; and in case of seizure or sale of any personal property, by virtue of any execution issued on such judgment, the defendant in said execution may maintain an action in replevin, or other action to secure possession thereof, in the manner provided by law for such actions, on affidavit filed as required by law, and a further statement therein that said execution issued in a judgment rendered under the provisions of the act of Congress aforesaid; and the provisions of this section shall also apply to judgments heretofore rendered.

In reference to this Personal Liberty law, the following resolutions were adopted by the Legislature of Wisconsin at its session in 1861:

Whereas the States of Kentucky and Maryland, whose citizens suffer more loss than those of any other States from the escape of their slaves, unmoved by any such pretexts, have lately declared their loyalty to the Constitution and the Union; and whereas the people of Wisconsin, inspired by such examples of patriotism, as well as actuated by a sense of their own duty, are ready at all times to meet fraternal advances in the spirit in which they are made, and to maintain, in good faith, any provision of the Federal Constitution; therefore,

Resolved by the Senate, the Assembly concurring, That the Judiciary Committee of the Senate and Assembly be directed to examine and revise the laws of this State relating to kidnapping, habeas corpus, and the rendition of fugitives from labor, so as to make the same in all things conform to the Constitution of the United States, if in any thing they conflict therewith.

The States of Iowa, Minnesota, California, and Oregon have passed no Personal Liberty laws.

The number of fugitive slaves from 1840 to 1850, is estimated in the census returns at 1,011; the number from 1850 to 1860 was, on the same authority, 803. Of this number very few have at any time been returned to their former owners.

PETROLEUM. The years 1860 and 1861 are memorable in the history of the oil trade for the extraordinary changes introduced by the development of the petroleum springs in the vicinity of the bituminous coal regions of N. W. Pennsylvania, Eastern Ohio and Kentucky, Western Virginia, and Canada. The supplies of petroleum or rock oil which first attracted the attention of the public, and led to extensive operations in Warren and Venango counties, Penn., in the former year, had increased to such an extent at its close, that by a moderate estimate, the product amounted to from 500 to 600 barrels daily, and, according to some published statements, even more than twice as much. This was raised to the surface chiefly by means of forcing pumps introduced into artesian wells, great numbers of which were sunk from 100 to 600 feet deep, along the valley of Oil Creek, and below Titusville. In these wells the oil rose to different heights, rarely, however, flowing over the surface for any period after the outburst following the piercing of its subterranean reservoirs had subsided. The success of these operations led to extensive explorations wherever indications of oil were met with along the bottoms of the streams in that vicinity, and in the other States where similar geological formations occurred. Productive wells were opened along the valley of the Alleghany River below Tidioute in Warren County, to the Venango line. In Trumbull County, Ohio, at a place called Mecca, 50 miles from Cleveland and 21 from Erie, Penn., it is reported that there were 75 steam engines engaged in pumping oil about the close of the year 1860. In Virginia a promising district was found in Ritchie and Wirt counties, and preparations were there made for the prosecution of extensive operations. Another important oil region was discovered in the district of Enniskillen near Port Sarnia in Canada West, the oil being found in great abundance, but characterized by a most remarkable and peculiarly offensive garlicky odor.

The business of sinking new wells and pumping oil was prosecuted with great vigor, and with varying success, at different localities, the product continuing large, and the price of the crude article gradually falling from 40 cents to 20 cents, 10 cents, and even less, per gallon. On the whole, the supplies continued to increase, and thousands of barrels, at different localities, were lost for want of the necessary means of collecting and saving it. The whale oil trade was seriously affected, and with it the prosperity of those towns in New England that depended upon it. Manufactories for refining the petroleum sprung up in many towns in the vicinity of the oil region, and on the line of communication to the coast, and at the principal shipping ports, and arrangements were everywhere made for a large export trade, as also for supplying the oil to all parts of the western country. In Pittsburg and its vicinity it is reported that there are some 50 or 60 of these manufactories.

In the spring and summer of 1861 wells were opened which exhibited the remarkable phenomenon of a continuous flow of oil in enormous quantities, so that in several instances it flowed away, and was lost in the creek. Wells of this character increased in such numbers that the value of the oil rapidly deteriorated to less even than that of the barrels in which it was packed for exportation. This increase of oil continued through the year, and the supply so far exceeded the demand and the means available for collecting and transporting the oil to market, that the business was completely overdone; and the product was either almost worthless at the wells, or was sold at the rate of 50 cents per barrel of 40 gallons, at which rate it has still continued. In New York the actual value of the crude oil, after paying all expenses of transportation, commissions, &c., is rated at about 12½ cents a gallon. Extensive arrange-

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ments have been made for the exportation of the product, and in the first 4 months of 1861 there were exported from New York alone 73,837 gallons. From January 1, 1862, to May 28, the exports from New York amounted to 2,854,515 gallons; from Boston, to the 24th of April, to 152,894 gallons; from Philadelphia, 781,930 gallons; and from Baltimore, 10,850 gallons. The great bulk of these exportations is to London and Liverpool, but large quantities have also been sent to Havre, Australia, Cuba, &c. The character of the crude oil preferred in market is of the density of 40° to 43° Baumé when obtained by pumping, or of 45° to 50° of oil from flowing wells. The standard refined oil is of 44° to 45° B. Another test recently introduced is the temperature at which the oil ignites on the close approach of flame, and that is preferred which thus takes fire when heated to 100° to 120° F. A convenient instrument for applying this test has lately been invented. Oils of light color continue to be preferred for domestic use, although the darker colored possess higher illuminating properties, and are sold at lower rates. The value of the best refined is from 20 to 25 cents per gallon.

Several interesting circumstances have attended the opening of the wells of Oil Creek and vicinity. The oil, when first struck, has in several instances been known to burst forth with great violence from a depth of 400 or 500 feet, and be projected like a fountain high into the air, covering the trees and the surface around; and it is now a necessary precaution to construct beforehand large vats where there is a strong probability of striking the oil. These, however, are often overflowed, and much oil is lost before the current can be controlled. A well of this character, 6½ miles above the mouth of Oil Creek, after running for some time, was gauged in March, 1862, by noting the time it took to fill a vat of the capacity of 260 barrels, and it was found to yield at the rate of 3,740 barrels a day. To prevent the oil running to waste, means were adopted, at this as well as at other wells of the same character, of checking the flow by stopcocks; and for 3 months after gauging, no perceptible diminution has been observed in the product of this well when it was allowed to flow. Its depth is 470 feet. The outburst of oil has in several instances been attended with disastrous explosions from the ignition of the oily vapors and carburetted gas accompanying them, on reaching the flames of the fires under the steam-boilers near the wells. The danger of this is so imminent, that all fires immediately around are now instantly extinguished on the outburst of an oil well.

The probable duration of the supplies of petroleum, and consequently of the great business it has suddenly called into existence, is a question of no little interest and importance. The experience of the only known similar regions in other parts of the world, as that of Rangoon in Burmah, and of Bakoo in Georgia, on the borders of the Caspian, which for many centuries have continued to furnish inexhaustible supplies of natural oil, encourages the expectation that the American supplies will also prove permanent; and it may be added, that the result of the operations carried on upon a gigantic scale up to the present time, favors the same conclusion. Various estimates have been prepared at different times, representing the probable production of the several oil districts; but while little dependence can be placed upon the figures presented, the inference may be drawn from them that single wells, from a variety of causes, fluctuate in their yield; and that a considerable decrease has taken place from the enormous production of the flowing wells. The entire failure of these would no doubt prove a benefit to the region, as it would tend to equalize the production, and place the great mass of the operators upon the same footing, as all would then depend alike upon pumping for their supplies. The business is now chiefly concentrated on Oil Creek, within 10 miles from its mouth, where nearly 500 wells have been sunk, of which about 75 are flowing. In a carefully-prepared statement of 113 wells in this district, brought down to June 2, 1862, their total product is estimated at 1,032,100 barrels, with a present daily capacity of 5,037 barrels. Fifty of these wells are rated as producing nothing, and the highest present yield of any one is 1,000 barrels. Only 3 are rated as being of this capacity, and only 1 other as high as 800 barrels. Their total capacity, when they commenced to flow, was estimated at 26,480 barrels per day. The amount of oil in store is said to be 67,700 barrels. The present product would be much greater, were not the yield of most of the flowing wells checked by stop-cocks, the proprietors finding it for their interest to wait for more remunerative prices.

The applications of petroleum are chiefly limited to purposes of illumination, and lubricating machinery, and for the latter purpose the consumption is already large upon railroads. Naphtha, separated by distillation from the petroleum, is employed to a considerable extent as a substitute for spirits of turpentine by the manufacturers of patent leather, in the preparation of paints and varnishes, and as a solvent for india-rubber, &c. A novel use of the crude article has lately been introduced, under an order from the United States Government, for filling bomb-shells; its effect, when these are exploded, being similar to that of the ancient Greek fire. The greatest impediment in the use of the oil for domestic purposes, has been the difficulty of obtaining lamps in which it could be consumed without the use of a chimney. Many inventors have been experimenting, with the object of providing such lamps, and this seems at last to have been attained in several of novel construction and great ingenuity.

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PHILIPPI is the capital of Barbour County, Virginia. It is situated on Tygart's Valley River, about 210 miles N. W. from Richmond. The first serious encounter of the war took place here. A camp of Confederate troops in the neighborhood were completely surprised by Union troops, consisting of Virginia and Indiana Volunteers under Cols. Kelly and Dumont, and both under the command of Brigadier-Gen. Morris. On the morning of the 2d of June, five regiments, formed in two divisions, left Grafton, Virginia, for an attack on this Confederate force. The first division consisted of the First Virginia, part of the Sixteenth Ohio, and the Indiana Seventh, under Col. Kelly; the other consisted of the Indiana Ninth, and the Ohio Fourteenth, accompanied by Col. Lander, formerly engaged against the Western Indians. The division under Col. Kelly moved eastward by railroad to Thornton, five miles from Grafton, and thence marched to Philippi, a distance of twenty-two miles. The Indiana Ninth, uniting at Webster with the Fourteenth Ohio, forming the second division, pushed on to Philippi, twelve miles distant, on foot. The march of both divisions was performed on the night of the 2d, through rain and mud. The division under Col. Dumont arrived on the hill across the river from and below Philippi early on the morning of the 3d. They at once planted two pieces of artillery on the brow of the hill, and prepared to open on the enemy as soon as four o'clock should arrive. This division was to attack the enemy in front, while the other, under Col. Kelly, made an attack in the rear; but the darkness of the night and the violence of the rain so impeded the march as to render it impossible for the division to arrive before Philippi at the appointed hour. The artillery of the division, under Col. Lander, opened fire soon after four o'clock, when the enemy began to retire at once, leaving their camp behind. At this moment Col. Kelly, with the division, came up across the river, and below the camp. At the same time Col. Dumont's force rushing down the hill and over the bridge to unite in the attack, the retreat of the enemy became a complete rout, and he fled, leaving seven hundred stand of arms, a number of horses, and all his camp equipage and provision. The loss on both sides was small. Among the badly wounded was Col. Kelly; he, however, subsequently recovered from the wound. The town was occupied by the Federal force.

PIERS. A pier recently erected at Southport, Lancashire, England, by Mr. H. Hooper, has been described to the Institution of Civil Engineers. It was constructed at right angles to the line of promenade facing the sea, on an extensive tract of sand reaching to low water, a distance of nearly one mile. Its length was 1,200 yards, and the breadth of the footway 15 feet. At the seashore there was an oblong platform, 100 feet long by 32 feet wide, at right angles to the line of footway. The superstructure was supported upon piers, each consisting of 3 cast-iron columns, and each column was in 3 lengths. The lowest length, or pile proper, was sunk into the sand to the depth of 7 feet or 9 feet. These piles were provided at their bases with circular discs, 18 inches diameter, to form a bearing surface. A gas tube was passed down the inside of each pile, and was forced 4 inches into the sand: when a connection was made with the Water Company's mains, a pressure of water of about 50 lbs. to the inch was obtained, which was found sufficient to remove the sand from under the discs. There were cutters on the under side of the discs, so that, on an alternating motion being given to the pile, the sand was loosened. After the pressure of water had been removed about 5 minutes, the piles settled down to so firm a bearing, that, when tested with a load of 12 tons each, no signs of settlement could be perceived. The upper lengths of the columns had cast-iron bearing-plates, for receiving the ends of the longitudinal lattice girders, each 50 feet long and 3 feet deep. The centre row of girders having double the duty of the outside ones, top and bottom plates were added. The weight of wrought-iron work in each bay was 4 tons 5 cwt., and of cast-iron work 1 ton 17 cwt. The second bay from the shore was tested by a load of 35 tons, equally distributed, when the mean deflection of the 3 girders, in 24 hours, was 1½ inch, and there was a permanent set of half an inch on the load being removed.

The advantages claimed for this mode of construction were: 1. Economy in first cost, especially in sinking the piles, which did not amount to more than 4½*d.* per foot. 2. The small surface exposed to the action of wind and waves. 3. Similarity of parts, thus reducing the cost to a minimum. 4. The expeditious manner of obtaining a solid foundation—an important matter in tidal work. Two hundred and thirty-seven piles were thus sunk in six weeks.

The estimated cost of the pier and approaches was 10,400*l.* The work had been completed for 9,619*l.*, being at the rate of 7*l.* 15*s.* 9*d.* per lineal yard.

PIG POINT is a projection or point of land on the James River, nearly opposite Newport News, in Virginia. A Confederate battery was located here to guard the entrance of the river, which was attacked by the steam cutter Harriet Lane, on the 5th of June. The cutter was proceeding up the river to reconnoitre and look out for batteries. She soon observed a large and heavy one planted upon the point, and about five miles distant from Newport News. The cutter opened fire, which was briskly returned by the batteries, for nearly a half hour. It was found that but one gun of the cutter could reach the battery, the guns of which being heavier easily reached the former, and several shot struck her. These were supposed to come from a rifled 32-pounder. Several shells were thrown into the battery by the gun

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from the cutter. There were five injured on board the Harriet Lane.

PORT ROYAL. (*See* ST. HELENA PARISH.)

PRISONERS, EXCHANGE OF. When the hostile armies of the country met in conflict, it became a matter of certainty that prisoners would be taken on both sides, and the question at once presented itself, what was to be the disposition of them? To "hang those captured by the Northern arms as rebels taken in the act," as was suggested by the more zealous, clearly could not be tolerated, for the reason that the Confederates had ample means of terrible retribution; and a system of bloody retaliation would cause the war to degenerate into a contest as savage as that waged by the Africans before the market opened by slave dealers taught the black chiefs that it was more profitable to sell than to slay. There was no recourse but to exchange, according to the laws of war. This the Federal Government hesitated to comply with, for the reason that it might be construed into acknowledging belligerent rights on the part of the Confederates. The necessity of exchange became urgent, and the friends of prisoners were clamorous that something should be done for their relief. The Administration practically ignored the question, being impressed with the idea that it would derogate from the dignity of its position to accept any interchange of courtesy. The question was, however, practically solved, when the Confederates declared that they had selected a number of Bull Run prisoners to hang, in case the privateers of the Savannah should be so dealt with. It would seem to have been far better to have entered frankly into an exchange, as did the mother country with her revolted colonies, than to have been drawn from a declared purpose by threats of retaliation, and then to leave the question of exchange to the various commanders under flags of truce, while the Government appeared to shut its eyes. It is clear that some general and definite arrangement should have been concerted on this important point, to the end that equal and exact justice might be done to all who were in arms for the defence of the same cause. It is not just that those serving in one department should, under the different rulings of the several military commanders, enjoy rights and privileges denied to others whose misfortune it is to have lost their liberty while equally upholding the honor of the flag in another direction.

By according to the Confederate States the rights of belligerents, at least to the extent of exchanging prisoners, no rights of sovereignty are conceded. There is a well-defined distinction between the two, recognized by the United States courts. By exchanging prisoners nothing is conceded or admitted, except what is patent to the world—that actual war exists, and that a Christian people should at least conduct it according to the usages of civilized nations. Up to the battle of Bull Run, the number of prisoners on either side was not large. By that disaster the Confederates captured some 1,400 Northern troops, a fact which put an end to questions of punishment. The Confederates released numbers at different points, on parole, and the matter was compromised in various ways. Thus, fifty-seven wounded soldiers were voluntarily released from Richmond and sent home. In response, twenty Confederate soldiers, mostly North Carolinians, were released from Bedloe's Island, New York, and sent to Fortress Monroe, to be discharged on taking the oath not to bear arms. In this informal manner numbers were, from time to time, discharged. At Washington, the oath was administered to thirty-seven prisoners of war who were confined in the military prisons. The entire number took an oath not to bear arms against the United States, or in any way aid or abet the Confederates during the war. The following is the oath:

"I, ——, ——, do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will not take up arms against the United States, or serve in any military capacity whatever against them, until regularly discharged according to the usages of war from this obligation.

"Sworn to and subscribed before me this —— day of ——, A. D. 1861. —— ——, J. P."

On the 3d of September an interchange of prisoners took place between General Pillow and Colonel Wallace of the United States army. This was followed by a proposition from the Confederate General Polk, to General Grant of the United States army, in terms as follows:

HEAD-QUARTERS FIRST DIVISION,
WESTERN DEPARTMENT, *Oct.* 12, 1861.

To the Commanding Officer at Cairo and Bird's Point:

I have in my camp a number of prisoners of the Federal Army, and am informed there are prisoners belonging to the Missouri State troops in yours. I propose an exchange of those prisoners, and for that purpose send Captain Polk, of the Artillery, and Lieutenant Smith, of the Infantry, both of the Confederate States Army, with a flag of truce, to deliver to you this communication, and to know your pleasure in regard to my proposition.

The principles recognized in the exchange of prisoners effected on the third of September, between Brigadier-General Pillow, of the Confederate Army, and Colonel Wallace, of the United States Army, are those I propose as the basis of that now contemplated.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,
L. POLK,
Major-General Commanding.

To which communication General Grant forwarded the following reply:

HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT SOUTHEAST
MISSOURI, CAIRO, *Oct.* 14, 1861.

GENERAL: Yours of this date is just received. In regard to an exchange of prisoners, as proposed, I can of my own accordance make none. I recognize no "Southern Confederacy" myself, but will communicate with higher authorities for their views. Should I not be sustained, I will find means of communicating with you.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,
U. S. GRANT,
Brigadier-General Commanding.

To Maj.-Gen. POLK, Columbus, Kentucky.

The following correspondence shows the manner in which an exchange was effected from Cairo:

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BRIGADE HEAD-QUARTERS, CAMP CAIRO, Oct. 23, 1861.

Colonel N. B. Buford, Commanding Twenty-Seventh Illinois Volunteers:

SIR: You are hereby intrusted with a delicate, and, in a political aspect, a highly responsible mission.

A. A. Woodward, Lewis Young, and Frederick Penny were captured in the affair at Charleston, Mo., on the 20th of last August, and have since been detained at this post as prisoners of war. You will take them in charge on a Government steamer, and, under the protection of a flag of truce, proceed to Columbus, in Kentucky, and there making known your mission to the commanding officer, will deliver them to such persons as he may authorize to receive them.

When you have fulfilled your mission, you will ask of the commander of the camp safe conduct therefrom, and immediately return to this post.

In your conversation with the commandant or with his representatives, you will avoid all discussion upon the rights of belligerents, and place my action herein simply on the ground of humanity, and a desire to relieve the unhappy war now waged between kindred, of peculiar and aggravating difficulties.

Beyond this limit I do not deem it advisable for you to go.

Yours, &c.,
JOHN A. McCLERNAND,
Brigadier-General Commanding.

BRIGADE HEAD-QUARTERS, CAMP CAIRO, Oct. 23, 1861.

To the Commanding Officer at Columbus, Ky.:

SIR: The chances of the present unhappy war having left in my hands a number of prisoners who have been detained at this post for some time past, I have, for special reasons, as well as in obedience to the dictates of humanity, determined, unconditionally, to release them.

The prisoners alluded to are A. A. Woodward, Lewis Young, and Edward A. Penny—all taken by a party of United States troops in the affair at Charleston, Mo., on the 20th of August last.

Col. N. B. Buford, of the Twenty-seventh Regiment of Illinois Volunteers, is charged by me for the delivery of said prisoners, to such person as you may authorize to receive them, and for that purpose visits your camp under the protection of a white flag. You will please receive him in the specific character with which he is clothed and, after the completion of his mission, give him safe conduct from your camp.

I have the honor to be yours, &c.,
JOHN A. McCLERNAND,
Brigadier-General Commanding.

CAMP McCLERNAND, CAIRO, Oct. 23, 1861.

Brigadier-General J. A. McClernand:

SIR: I had the honor this day to convey your despatch with a flag of truce on board the steam-tug Sampson, to Major-General Polk, commanding at Columbus, Kentucky. I was received by the General with true military courtesy, and delivered to him, with your despatch, three prisoners who had been captured by our forces at Charleston, Mo. He desired to discuss with me the question of an exchange of prisoners, but upon my exhibiting to him my orders from you, and informing him that I should confine myself strictly to them, that sentiments of humanity alone had prompted your action, he ceased to press the discussion, but went on to inform me that he held sixteen of your troops as prisoners of war, and that he would immediately liberate them unconditionally.

The General received my suite, Captain Dresser, of the Artillery; Lieutenant Sheldon, of the Twenty-seventh Regiment Illinois Volunteers; Surgeons Simmons and Brenton, of the U. S. Army; and W. Chapman, my Secretary, with cordiality; and we were introduced to General Pillow, Captains Black and Polk of his staff, and many other officers. He remained on the steamer Charm, with our tug alongside, for four hours, while the prisoners were being got ready to be delivered to me, during which time the most friendly conversation was enjoyed.

My party were hospitably entertained. I ventured to propose the sentiment, "Washington and his principles," which was repeated with hearty approbation.

Generals Polk and Pillow expressed a high appreciation of your character, and commended you for sending the tug on an errand of humanity. They deplore this unnatural war, but maintained that they should be separated irrevocably from the North. They professed to believe many things which I thought erroneous, which I combated with arguments and statements of facts. The conference ended without an unfriendly word or occurrence.

I left Cairo at twenty minutes past twelve, reached Columbus at two P. M., parted company with General Polk on the steamboat Charm at six P. M., and arrived at Cairo at eight o'clock P. M., happy in having been intrusted with a mission which has led to the liberation of nineteen captives.

Your obedient servant,
N. B. BUFORD,
Col. Twenty-seventh Reg't Illinois Volunteers.

P. S.—I herewith append a list of the prisoners liberated by General Polk.

HEAD-QUARTERS FIRST DIVISION, WESTERN DEPARTMENT, COLUMBUS, KY., Oct. 23, 1861.

Brig.-Gen. J. A. McClernand, Commanding, Cairo:

SIR: I have received your note of this date, borne by Colonel N. B. Buford, of the Twenty-seventh Illinois Regiment, responding to the overture made by me to General Grant some days since, on the subject of an exchange of prisoners; and although your mode of accomplishing it waives the recognition of our claims as belligerents, I am not disposed to insist on an unimportant technicality when the interests of humanity are at stake.

I accept the release of the three prisoners tendered me, being, as your note implies, all of those of the Confederate Army in your possession.

In return, I have pleasure in offering you the sixteen of those of the Federal Army in my possession.

Hoping that, in the prosecution of the unhappy conflict in which we are engaged, we shall never lose sight of the claims of generosity on those who direct the operations of the armies of our respective Governments,

I have the honor to be, respectfully, yours,
LEONIDAS POLK,
Major-General Commanding.

BRIGADE HEAD-QUARTERS, CAMP CAIRO, Oct. 24, 1861.

Capt. Chauncey McKeever, Assistant Adjutant-General, St. Louis, Mo.:

SIR: I am instructed by Brigadier-General McClernand, commanding at this post, to enclose—

1. Copy of his communication to the officer commanding the hostile forces at Columbus, Ky., accompanied by return of the persons therein named.
2. Copy of reply of Major-General Polk, accompanied by sixteen persons.
3. List of the persons thus received.
4. Copy of instructions given Colonel N. B. Buford, Twenty-seventh Regiment Illinois Volunteers.

Adding that the proceedings passed off without accident, and, as appears, with good effect.

Yours, &c.,
M. BRAYMAN,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

On the 8th of November, the correspondence was renewed between Gens. Grant and Polk. General Grant sent to request leave to care for his wounded left on the field by Major Webster, of the engineers. General Polk replied:

In your note, you say nothing of an exchange of prisoners, though you send me a private message as to your willingness to release certain wounded men and some invalids, taken from our list of sick in camp,

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and expect in return a corresponding number of your wounded prisoners. My own feelings would prompt me to waive again the unimportant affectation of declining to recognize these States as belligerents, in the interests of humanity, but my Government requires all prisoners to be placed at the disposal of the Secretary of War. L. POLK, Major-General C. S. A.

Major Webster reported to General Grant as follows:

ENGINEER OFFICE, CAMP CAIRO, ILL., *Nov.* 9, 1861.

GENERAL: I have the honor to report the result of the expedition sent under a flag of truce to Columbus yesterday.

On our arrival in the vicinity of the place, a steamer carrying Captain Blake, assistant adjutant-general of General Polk, met us. I delivered to him your letter, and offered him, unconditionally, the sick and wounded whom I had in charge. He informed me that orders had been recently received by General Polk respecting the exchange of prisoners, and declined accepting those proffered until he could receive further instructions. He then left, saying that we had permission to bury our dead on the field of battle.

I placed a working party under command of Lieutenant Hart, of the Twenty-third Illinois Regiment, and sent them to the field, where they were employed, for the remainder of the day, in caring for the wounded, some of whom were found yet there, and in burying the dead.

It was near sunset when Captain Blake again came on board our boat, and handed in the communication from General Polk, which I gave you last night on my return. He informed me that a despatch had been sent to their Secretary of War, in regard to the exchange of prisoners, but that they had received no reply.

During the interval between the two visits of Captain Blake, several parties of the enemy visited our boat; General Cheatham among them. He informed me that he had directed four of our wounded to be brought to us, and asked if I would give four of theirs in exchange. I told them that I would give him four or any other number that he would accept unconditionally, but that I had no authority to negotiate an exchange, and that as to the four of ours which he sent on board, I would await the decision of General Polk.

Several more of our wounded had also been given into the care of our party in the field by Major Mason, quartermaster of Columbus.

These facts I mentioned to Captain Blake, and told him that those three put in our charge awaited his orders, as I wished to avoid any appearance even of doing any thing not in strict accordance with our obligations under the flag of truce. He replied that he did not wish to interfere with any arrangements made by others; and I thought, under this state of the case, it would be putting an unnecessarily fine point on the matter to decline to take back the wounded men so politely offered by General Cheatham and Major Mason. It is due to the latter gentleman, particularly, to say that his disposition to do every thing in his power to aid us in our mission of humanity, was conspicuous during our entire stay there, and certainly deserves our warmest appreciation.

At the second visit of Captain Blake to our boat, he received the sick and wounded prisoners, whom I again offered to him unconditionally, and they were put on board his boat.

The number of our wounded, as above stated from General Cheatham and Major Mason, and brought up by me, was thirteen.

Enclosed herewith is a list of our men in the hands of the enemy, given me by Captain Blake, which he thought to be nearly complete.

The number reported buried by them on the field yesterday was sixty-eight.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
J. D. WEBSTER, Major and Chief Engineer.
To Brig.-Gen. U. S. GRANT, Com. Div.

On the 1st of November, General Fremont made a treaty with General Price, of Missouri, among the provisions of which was one for the exchange of prisoners. Certain parties named "are authorized, whenever applied to for the purpose, to negotiate for the exchange of any and all persons who may hereafter be taken prisoners of war and released on parole; such exchanges to be made upon the plan heretofore approved and acted upon, to wit: "grade for grade, or two officers of lower grade as an equivalent in rank for one of a higher grade, as shall be thought just and equitable." This was signed by both parties. General Hunter, having succeeded General Fremont on the 7th of November, repudiated this treaty.

At the close of the year three commissioners were appointed by the Federal Government to proceed to the Confederate States and examine the condition of the Union prisoners there. They were refused admission within the Confederate territory, and thus the fate of prisoners was left to the discretion of each commander, who exchanged them at his will. But, while such were the terms on which exchanges were effected for those taken as prisoners on either side upon land, only an informal regulation had been established respecting the persons detained on a charge of piracy, because found waging war against Federal commerce on the high seas, and in retaliation for whose treatment the Confederate authorities imprisoned in the common jail a corresponding number of United States officers. (*See* CONFEDERATE STATES, page 151.)

PRIVATEERING. The question of employing privateers in time of war, has of late assumed a very important character, not only in consequence of the action of the nations of Europe in respect to it at the Paris Congress of 1856, but more immediately through the events of the present war. Captured privateers have been tried before American courts of law, and condemned as pirates. The condemnation was not on the general principles of privateering between acknowledged belligerents, but because the privateers bore commissions of a government not acknowledged. The fact, that they held the same position as Paul Jones, and other of our privateers in the Revolution, did not save them.

The war, conducted by the Allies against Russia, brought with it very important modifications of the old maritime law. Among those was the agreement between France and England, that both nations would waive their rights to confiscate enemy's goods, found on board neutral vessels. Also neutral goods, not contraband of war, found in enemies' vessels. This was practically a triumph for the old American principle of "free goods make free ships." On the return of peace in 1856, it was agreed to, in the Declaration of Paris, by Austria, France, Great Britain, Sardinia, Prussia, Russia, and Turkey, and by them also privateering was abolished. (*See* BLOCKADE, also DIPLOMATIC

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CORRESPONDENCE.) The declaration was then submitted to the American Government; and Mr. Marcy, Secretary of State to Mr. Pierce's Administration, approved of all, except the clause abolishing privateering; but Mr. Marcy made a counter proposition. "It is," said he, "not the policy of the United States to maintain vast standing armies and navies. When, unfortunately, we go to war, we depend upon our people to protect us on land, and on our ship-owners to defend us on the water." "If you will make all private property exempt from capture at sea, we will cease privateering; but why ask us to abolish it, while you maintain and send out your great ships of war, which are neither more nor less than privateers. They go forth to do exactly the same thing as the ships that we license in time of war, to burn, plunder, and destroy." "Make all private property exempt from capture at sea, and then we will agree that privateering shall cease." This offer was favorably received by France, Russia, and other maritime powers, but was rejected by the British Government. The election for the presidency took place in the autumn of 1856, and Mr. Buchanan was chosen the successor to Mr. Pierce. The question of international maritime law now underwent further discussion in the United States. It was contended that, in addition to the exemption of private property from capture when at sea, it should be free from molestation when entering or leaving a commercial port; that, in short, blockades should be restricted to naval arsenals and towns which were at the same time invested by an army on land. . . . In the course of these discussions, President Buchanan addressed a letter to the Chairman of the New York Chamber of Commerce, in which he said: "We must obtain the consent of the powerful naval nations that merchant vessels shall not be blockaded in port, but be suffered to pass the blockading squadron, and go out to sea." The consequence of this state of opinion was, that Mr. Dallas, the United States Minister at London, was, in 1857, instructed to suspend the negotiations which had been opened upon the basis of Mr. Marcy's proposition.

Thus the matter remained till the spring of 1859, when, on the breaking out of the war in Italy, a circular despatch was transmitted from Mr. Cass, President Buchanan's Secretary of State, to the representatives of the United States at the European capitals, suggesting still further reforms in international maritime law. "He considered the right of blockade, as authorized by the law of nations, was liable to very great abuse, and that the only case in which a blockade ought to be permitted, was, when a land army was besieging a fortified place, and a fleet was employed to blockade it on the other side; but that any attempt to intercept trade by blockade, or to blockade places which were commercial ports, was an abuse of the right that ought not to be permitted."

The British Government replied, that "the system of commercial blockade is essential to our naval supremacy." (*See* BLOCKADE.)

If the proposal of the United States, to abolish commercial blockades, had been favorably received by the British Government, there can be no doubt, from the known tendency of other maritime powers, that it might have become a part of the law of nations, and in that case the commerce between England and the Southern States of the American Union would not have been interrupted by the present war—for the blockade is acknowledged by Europe only as a belligerent right, and not as the exercise of municipal authority. The Southern privateers would not have existed.

Thus, on the breaking out of the civil war, April 15, the old rule in relation to privateers prevailed in the United States. The most of the shipping and commerce belonged to the North; the South having, comparatively, little afloat. Hence, the proclamation of the President, April 15, 1861, calling for 75,000 troops, to "repossess the ports," was replied to by the President of the Confederate States, in a proclamation to grant letters of marque and reprisal. (*See* p. 137.) This was at once met on the part of President Lincoln, by a proclamation of blockade of the Southern ports, which closes as follows:

WASHINGTON, *April* 19, 1861.

And I hereby proclaim and declare, that if any person, under the pretended authority of said States, or under any other pretence, shall molest a vessel of the United States, or the persons or cargo on board of her, such person will be held amenable to the laws of the United States for the prevention and punishment of piracy. By the President,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*

The proceeding of the Confederate President was followed on the 6th of May, by an act of the Confederate Congress, "recognizing the existence of war between the United States and the Confederate States, and concerning letters of marque, prizes, and prize-goods." (*See* p. 161.) The preamble sets forth the state of war: "Therefore the President of the Confederate States is authorized to use the whole land and naval forces of the Confederacy to meet the war thus commenced, and to issue letters of marque and reprisal against the vessels and property of the United States, and those of their citizens." The general provisions for privateers are the same as those involved in the proclamation of the President. It is further provided, "that the proceeds of all prizes shall be distributed among the owners, officers, and crews of the capturing vessels, according to any written agreement between them, half to the officers and crews, half to the owners. Prizes, before breaking bulk, must be carried into some port of the Confederate States, or of some friendly State, to be proceeded against before some competent tribunal, which may make restitution or decree damages; in case the capture shall have been made without probable cause, all persons found on board any captured vessel are to be placed in charge of the authorities of the Confedera-

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tion, who are to take charge of their safe keeping and support. A bounty of $20 is to be paid for every person on board any armed vessel of the United States, which shall be destroyed by any vessel of equal or inferior force, and $25 for every prisoner brought into port; five per cent. upon all prizes to be retained by the Government, as a fund for the support of those disabled in action and the families of those who have been killed." Pursuant to this law, suitable instructions were issued. (*See* p. 138.)

The announcement of this privateering policy produced at the North, where there was so much at risk, a great sensation, after it was seen that the Confederates would be successful in obtaining vessels, and were determined to do all the injury possible to Northern commerce.

The following privateers took out papers at once; some of them were very unfortunate, while others made many prizes. Among the first was the Petrel, formerly the revenue-cutter Aiken, which had been surrendered to the Confederates in Charleston harbor, and the crew of which had volunteered under the new government. This vessel had run the blockade, but was no sooner at sea than she fell in, July 28, with the United States frigate St. Lawrence, and was captured. The captain of the St. Lawrence observed the Southern vessel in the distance, and immediately hauled down his heavy spars and closed his ports. Then, with the men below, the old frigate looked very much like a large merchant vessel, and the privateer bore down, hoping to take a good prize. The commander of the Petrel, William Perry, of South Carolina, gave the St. Lawrence a round ball over her bows and some canister over the stern, but the frigate sailed on as if trying to get away, when the Petrel gave chase, and when in fair range of the frigate the latter opened her ports and gave the Petrel a compliment of three guns, two of grape and one of round shot. The latter was a 32-pounder, and struck the Petrel amidships, below the water line, and she sunk in a few minutes. Four of the crew were drowned, and the rest, thirty-six in number, were rescued. Some of the men, when fished out of the water, were at a loss to know what had happened to them. The suddenness of the St. Lawrence's reply, the deafening roar of the guns, and the splinters and submerged vessel, were all incidents that happened apparently in a moment.

The Calhoun, a side-wheel steamer, of 1,058 tons, was built in New York in 1851. She is 175 feet long, 27 feet wide, 11 feet hold. She was commanded by Geo. N. Hollins, formerly of the United States navy. She carried one 24-pounder, and two 18-pounder Dahlgren guns. By the 27th of May, she had captured and sent into New Orleans two schooners, the John Adams and the Mermaid, of Provincetown, and the brig Panama. Their united crews numbered 63 men, and they had on board 215 bbls. whale and sperm oil. She captured also the ship Milan, from Liverpool, with 1,500 sacks of salt, worth $20,000; the bark Ocean Eagle, from Rockland, Maine, with lime, worth $20,000; and the schooner Ida, from Tampico, with fruit, worth $5,000. The Calhoun was Commander Hollins's flag-ship when the attack on the Union fleet was made on the Mississippi, Oct. 11.

The schooner William C. Atwater, Capt. Allen, belonged to New Haven, and was in the service of the Government. The crew numbered eight men. Off Cedar Keys, Florida, on the 10th of May, she was captured by the steamer Spray, which had on board thirty-one men, armed with bowie-knives, revolvers, muskets with bayonets, &c. The captors took her to Appalachicola, where she arrived on the 13th of May.

The Ivy, a small steamer of 200 tons, was armed with two 8-inch rifled 32-pounder guns. She captured the ship Marathon, from Marseilles, in ballast, worth $35,000; and the ship Albino, from Boston, with a cargo of ice, worth $20,000. The armed steamer Marie captured the Marshall Spragne, of Providence, from Havre, in ballast, worth $50,000; and the ship John H. Jarvis, from Liverpool, worth $10,000.

The steamer Wm. H. Webb was formerly a towboat in New York, where she was built in 1856; she is 650 tons, draws 7 feet water, is 197 feet long, 31 feet beam, 12 feet hold, and was one of the strongest and largest boats of that class. A few years ago she was purchased by some of the New Orleans merchants for the purpose of towing the heavily laden ships to and from that city. She was converted into a gunboat. She seized three vessels laden with oil, on the 24th of last May; since which time she has remained quiet.

The Dixie, a schooner of about 150 tons burthen, was fitted out as a privateer in Charleston, from which place she ran the blockade on the 19th of July, and on the 23d encountered the bark Glen, of Portland, Maine, which she at once made a prize. On the 25th she captured the schooner Mary Alice, of New York, with a cargo of sugar, from the West Indies, bound to New York, and placed a prize crew on board; she was, however, retaken by the blockading fleet almost immediately after. On the evening of the 31st the Dixie came up with the Rowena, a bark laden with coffee, bound to Philadelphia; she was taken possession of, and the captain of the Dixie himself took the place of prize-master, and successfully reached Charleston on the 27th of August, after several narrow escapes from the vessels of the blockading fleet. She has since remained in Charleston harbor. The following were the officers of the Dixie: captain, Thomas J. Moore; first lieutenant, George D. Walker; second lieutenant, John W. Marshall; third lieutenant, L. D. Benton; gunner, Charles Ware; boatswain, Geo. O. Gladden; steward, C. Butcher. She had also twenty-two seamen and a cook, and her armament consisted of four guns.

The Jeff. Davis, early in June, appeared on the eastern coast, running in as near as the Nantucket Shoals, and making on her way prizes

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that were roughly estimated at $225,000. She was formerly the slaver Echo, that was captured abut two years ago, and was condemned in Charleston harbor. She was a full-rigged brig, painted black on the outside, and had a rusty, dull appearance, that would not be likely to alarm any vessel of ordinary sailing qualities; crew 260 men. Her armament consisted of a 32-pounder gun, placed amidships, mounted on a pivot, so that it might be used in all directions, and on each side a 32-pounder and a 12-pounder, so as to equalize the strength of the broadside. Captain Coxetter was her commander. His first lieutenant, named Postel, was at one time a midshipman in the United States navy, and also held a position in the Savannah custom-house.

The Davis had previously taken three prizes; one of these, and the most valuable, was the J. G. Waring, captured within 200 miles of New York. The captain, mates, and two seamen, were taken out, and five of the Davis crew put on board. The colored steward, W. Tillman, was allowed to remain. The vessel then made for Charleston. On the 16th of July Tillman, aided by McLeod, a seaman, killed the prize-captain and mates, and made for New York, where he arrived with two prisoners of the prize-crew. Tillman was awarded salvage. The Jeff. Davis also took the ship John Crawford, from Philadelphia, for Key West, with arms and coal for the United States. She drew 22 feet water, and was burned.

In attempting, Aug. 17, to cross the bar at St. Augustine, Fla., the brig grounded on the North Breakers. This was about half-past six o'clock, Sunday morning. A small boat was sent ashore with Dr. Babcock and Lieut. Baya, and the prisoners landed. The officers and crew of the privateer then went ashore, and were greeted with the most enthusiastic demonstrations by the inhabitants. About half-past nine two lighter-boats went off to the brig, along with Capt. Coxetter and other officers. The starboard guns were thrown overboard to lighten the vessel, in order to clear her decks of water, and save as much as possible of the supplies on board the brig. Every effort was finally made to save every thing, but it was supposed that the guns when thrown overboard stove her in and caused her to bilge. The lighter boats, however, were filled with a large amount of provisions and baggage, and finally succeeded in saving all the small-arms on board. About two o'clock all hands left, and were conveyed to St. Augustine. The crew afterwards arrived at Charleston. The brig was a total loss.

The Bonita, a brig built in New York, 1853, is 276 tons burthen, and is 110 feet long, 25 feet wide, and 11 feet deep. She was formerly engaged in the slave-trade, but was captured on the coast of Africa. She was taken to Charleston, and afterwards to Savannah, where she was seized by order of Governor Brown, and converted into a vessel of war. She had always borne the character of a fast sailer, and was in perfect order.

The Sallie was a fore-and-aft schooner of one hundred and forty tons burthen, mounted one long gun amidships, and had a crew consisting of forty men. She was formerly the schooner Virginia, of Brookhaven, and was built at Port Jefferson in 1856. Her dimensions were: length, 97 feet 6 inches; breadth, 29 feet 4 inches; depth, 10 feet. She was commanded by Captain Libby, formerly commander of the ship Gondar, of the city of Charleston. She ran out from Charleston and made several prizes, among them the Betsey Ames, and the brig Granada; both these vessels were sold in Charleston, under decree of Judge Magrath, of the Admiralty Court.

The James Grey, an iron steamer, was purchased by the State of South Carolina for the sum of $33,000. She was built in Philadelphia, is 112 feet long, 22 feet beam, and 12 feet depth of hold. She had two engines of thirty-inch cylinder each, and was armed with one large 42-pounder columbiad, placed amidships. The gun was cast at the Tredegar Works, near Richmond, Va. This vessel had always remained near Charleston.

Up to the end of May, there were in New Orleans the following prizes:

SHIPS.

Name.	*Master.*	*Hail from.*
Abelino	Smith	Boston.
Ariel	Delano	Bath, Maine.
American Union	Lincoln	Bath, Maine.
C. A. Farwell	Farwell	Rockland.
Express	Frost	Portsmouth, N.H.
J. H. Jarvis	Rich	Boston.
Marathon	Tyler	New York.
Marshall	Sprague	Providence.
Milan	Eustis	Bath, Maine.
Robert Harding	Ingraham	Boston.
State of Maine	Humphrey	Portland.
Toulon	Upshur	New York.

BARKS.

Chester	Bearse	Boston..
Ocean Eagle	Luce	Thomaston.

BRIG.

Panama		Provincetown.

SCHOONERS.

E. S. Janes	Townsend	
Henry Travers	Wyatt	Baltimore.
Ella	Howes	Philadelphia.
John Adams		Provincetown.
Mermaid		Provincetown.

The seizure of vessels made by the Confederate States, up to the latest accounts, is thus enumerated:

Off the different ports	13
In port	30
Steamers captured on the Mississippi	15
Total	58

These prizes were sold by the Confederate States under a decree of the Confederate Admiralty Court. In respect to some of them there were points raised, as to the legal boundary of "high seas;" but this was decided to be low water mark.

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The following vessels were formerly United States revenue-cutters, but were taken possession of by the Confederate Government, and armed for its service:

Schooners: Lewis Cass, Savannah, 40 men, one 68-pounder pivot; Washington, New Orleans, 42-pdr. pivot; Pickens, Pensacola, 8-in. columbiad, four 24-in. carronades; Dodge, 100 tons, one long pivot; McClellan, Breshwood, one pivot, four side-guns.
Steamer: Bradford, formerly Ewing.

In addition to the above, the Navy Department of the Confederate Government purchased or fitted out the following vessels, which acted as privateers:

The Gordon was a small sea steamer of about 500 tons burthen, drawing from seven to nine feet of water, and making an average of twelve miles an hour. She was about ten years old, and the most of that time she had been running in and out of Charleston harbor. In 1859 she was purchased by the Florida Steamship Company, and ran on the line between Charleston and Fernandina as consort to the Carolina, a steamer of her own size and build. The Gordon was fitted out as a vessel of war. She was employed along the coast islands at Hatteras, in and out of Pamlico Sound via Hatteras Inlet, when it was occupied by Union troops. She succeeded in running the blockade at Charleston, with some vessels that she had made prizes of. She was armed with two guns, and was commanded by Captain Lockwood, who was formerly engaged on the New York and Charleston line of steamers. His last employment, previous to this position, was as commander of the Carolina, on the Charleston and Fernandina line of steamers. He had succeeded in running the blockade with his vessel seventeen times. The last feat of the Theodora, to which the name of the Gordon has been changed, was to carry to Cuba the ministers, Slidell and Mason.

The Coffee, a side-wheel steamer carrying 2 guns, the steamer Marion, and the schooner York were consorts of the Gordon in Hatteras Inlet. The Coffee was wrecked—a total loss.

The McRea, formerly the steamer Habana, plying between the ports of New Orleans and Havana, was a propeller of 500 tons burthen; she was built in Philadelphia in 1859, and was owned in New Orleans previous to her being used as a privateer. She carried a 64-pounder, mounted on a pivot, four 8-inch columbiads, and a rifled 24-pounder. She succeeded in running the blockade at the mouth of the Mississippi River.

The steamer Lady Davis was one of the first vessels prepared in Charleston, and was intended for the harbor defence. She was purchased by Gov. Pickens, at Richmond. She received her name in honor of the wife of Jeff. Davis. She was armed with two 24-pounders, regularly equipped, and commanded by Captain T. B. Huger.

The Nina, a small steam gunboat, mounts one light gun. She is employed in South Carolina.

The Jackson, steamer, 200 tons, armed with two 8-inch columbiads. She is commanded by Capt. Gwathemy.

The Tuscarora, steamer, carries one 8-inch columbiad, and a 32-pounder rifled cannon.

The little steamer, George Page, operating on Occoquan River, and Quantico Creek, was famous for her boldness in running down to within gunshot of the Federal batteries, and occasionally throwing a shell into them, thereby keeping up continuous alarm.

The Judith, schooner, of 250 tons, armed with a heavy pivot-gun, and four broadside guns, was destroyed in Pensacola harbor, Sept. 13. The Union loss was 3 killed, 12 wounded.

The Yorktown was formerly used in the New York and Virginia line of steamers. She was a side-wheel steamer of 1,400 tons burthen, built in New York in 1859; length, 251 feet; breadth, 34 feet; depth, 18 feet. She had been completely fitted out at Norfolk, her sides having been plated with iron, and other means taken to strengthen her, and to render her formidable. She was commanded by Captain Parish, her old commander, and carried two pivots, and six broadside guns.

The Everglade was a small side-wheel steamer, purchased by the State of Georgia for the sum of $34,000. She was made a gunboat, for the purpose of cruising as a coast-guard at the mouth of the Savannah River. Her officers, as at first appointed, were as follows: commander, J. McIntosh Kell; midshipmen, R. F. Armstrong, S. N. Hooper, J. A. Merriweather; chief engineer, Joshua Smith; assistant engineer, Norval Meeker; clerk, William J. Bennett.

The North Carolina steamer Winslow, Lieutenant Crossman commanding, captured off Cape Hatteras the schooner Transit, Knowles master, last from Key West. The prize was in ballast, having sailed from New York for Key West with provisions, shot, &c., about the 27th of May. Having landed her cargo safely at Key West, the Transit was upon her return north when captured. She was a fine schooner, of 195 tons burthen, and was built at a cost of $13,000. She was copper-fastened up to 9 feet, and had galvanized iron fastenings above that. She belonged to New London, Conn. The prize was carried to Newbern, by Lieut. Seawell. Lieutenant Crossman also captured off Cape Hatteras, the Hannah Balch, a hermaphrodite brig, which was captured previously off Savannah by the United States ship Flag, Lieutenant Sarton. She was just from Cardenas, and laden with 150 barrels of molasses.

The little schooner Savannah was formerly pilot boat No. 7, doing duty in Charleston harbor, 54 tons burthen. She carried one 18-pounder amidships, and was commanded by T. Harrison Baker, of Charleston, and had a crew of 20 men. On the 1st of June she captured the brig Joseph, of Maine, from Cuba, loaded with sugar, and sent her into Georgetown, S. C., in charge of eight men. On the 3d of June, off Charleston, she fell in with the U. S. brig Perry,

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which she mistook for a merchantman, and immediately engaged, but was soon taken. Her crew were placed in irons on board the United States steamer Minnesota, and she was sent to New York, in charge of prize-master McCook. Her appearance created great interest among the people, on account of her being the first privateer captured, and crowds of people flocked to the Battery, off which she lay, to see the little craft. She was afterwards taken to the navy yard.

When the Confederate authorities proposed to issue letters of marque, but little attention was paid to it, under the supposition that they had neither the facilities to equip vessels, nor the power to break the blockade. The appearance of the vessels on the ocean soon dispelled such illusions, and the powers of Europe were called upon immediately to define their policy.

The proclamation of President Lincoln, threatening privateers with the punishment of piracy, came up before the House of Lords, May 16. The Earl of Derby said:

"He apprehended that if one thing was clearer than another, it was that privateering was not piracy, and that no law could make that piracy, as regarded the subjects of one nation, which was not piracy by the law of nations. Consequently the United States must not be allowed to entertain this doctrine, and to call upon Her Majesty's Government not to interfere. They must not strain the law so as to visit with the penalty of death, as for piracy, persons entitled to Her Majesty's protection. That was a question which could not be viewed with indifference, but must be seriously considered by the Government. It is quite right that the people of this country should be warned of the peril; but, on the other hand, it was essential that the United States should not be induced to deny the genral interpretation of international law, and to inflict a punishment on privateering which was never inflicted by that law. He knew it was said that the United States treated the Confederate States of the South as mere rebels, and that as rebels these expeditions were liable to all the penalties of high treason. That was not the doctrine of this country, because we have declared that they are entitled to all the rights of belligerents. The Northern States could not claim the rights of belligerents for themselves, and, on the other hand, deal with other parties not as belligerents, but as rebels. These were the two points on which it was most desirable that no misunderstanding should exist between the Government of Her Majesty and the United States—that we would not recognize any thing but a clear and effectual blockade actually enforced, and that we would not recognize the doctrine that any declaration or law of the United States against the Southern States should have the power, as regarded others, of constituting privateering piracy, and visiting it with all the penalties attached to piracy."

"Lord Brougham said it was clear that privateering was not piracy by the law of nations, however much it might be lamented that it was not so."

"Lord Chelmsford thought it might be as well to bring his noble and learned friend's opinion to a test. The Southern Confederation was admitted by the Government of this country to be a belligerent power. Now, he wanted to know whether his noble and learned friend meant to say that if an Englishman was commissioned by the Southern Confederation—it being recognized as a belligerent power—to fit out a privateer against the Federal Government, that that person, under those circumstances, would be guilty of piracy. That he ought to be, was the opinion of many judges. [The Lord Chancellor: 'No, No.'] Well, it was the opinion of many. Now, undoubtedly those persons would be answerable to their own Government for an infraction of the Foreign Enlistment Act; but it was clear, upon the question of international law, that they would not be liable to be treated as pirates. The warning given by the proclamation was very useful and most necessary; and if persons would engage in expeditions of this kind after the notice that the Government would not interfere, they must take the consequences they had drawn upon themselves. If the Southern Confederacy had not been recognized as a belligerent power, he agreed with his noble and learned friend, that, under those circumstances, if any Englishman were to fit out a privateer for the purpose of assisting the Southern States against the Northern States, he would be guilty of piracy."

"The Lord Chancellor said his noble friend, the President of the Council, had laid down the law upon this subject in a perfectly correct manner. There was no doubt that if an Englishman engaged in the service of the Southern States, he violated the laws of the country and rendered himself liable to punishment, and that he had no right to trust to the protection of his native country to shield him from the consequences of his act. But though that individual would be guilty of a breach of the law of his own country, he could not be treated as a pirate, and those who treated him as a pirate would be guilty of murder."

"Lord Kingsdown said, as to the state of the law there could be no doubt a privateer acting under a government was not a pirate. No doubt the United States did not put the extravagant proclamation they had issued upon the ground that privateers were pirates, because they themselves insisted upon the right of privateering. But they put it upon this ground, that they were dealing with rebels, and that they would hang them not, properly speaking, as pirates, but as persons who were guilty of high treason against the State to which they were subject. Of course it was a matter for their own consideration what was to be the operation of that proclamation. He believed that the enforcement of that doctrine would be an act of barbarity which would produce an outcry throughout the civilized world, but he

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hoped that it was a mere *brutum fulmen*, and not intended to be carried out. But that being the case with regard to their own country, the case with England was quite different. We had recognized the Southern Confederacy, not as an independent State, but as a belligerent power; and, therefore, if the Federal Government should act upon the principle they had laid down as against British subjects, he apprehended that this Government might with perfect justice interfere, and under some circumstances they might, by the influence of public opinion, be compelled to interfere. Yet, at the same time, the offender could not as a right, having acted in violation of the feeling of his own country, and therefore of his own Government, call upon his Government to interfere."

On June 1, the English Government published an order, and a despatch was sent to the Governor-General of Canada to the effect: "In order to give full effect to this principle, (neutrality,) Her Majesty has been pleased to interdict the armed ships, and also the privateers of both parties, from carrying prizes made by them, into the ports, harbors, and roadsteads, or waters of the United Kingdom, or any of Her Majesty's colonies or possessions abroad."

The French Government decreed:

"No vessel of war or privateer of either of the belligerent parties will be allowed to enter or stay with prizes in our ports or roadsteads longer than 24 hours, excepting in case of compulsory delay. No sale of goods belonging to prizes is allowed in our ports and roadsteads. Every Frenchman is prohibited from taking a commission, or accepting letters of marque, or in any manner assisting in the arming of a privateer."

The Spanish Government issued a similar decree, forbidding "the building, arming, or equipping of privateers in Spanish ports. No privateer or prize to remain longer than 24 hours. No prizes to be sold, no arms or munition of war to be purchased." These regulations much circumscribe the Confederate action; but at Havana it was notified: "Vessels of the Confederate States are allowed to enter Cuban ports under their own flags, to discharge and take cargoes away, and do all other things of business necessity, with the same privileges as favored nations, but without recognition of the new nationality." The Confederates being recognized as belligerents by all the powers, their right to use privateers was not questioned under the existing law of nations. The United States Government, at this time, notified the English Government that it was now willing to adhere to all the conditions of the Paris Congress of 1856; providing the clause abolishing privateers might now apply to the Confederate States. The offer with the proviso was declined by France and England. (*See* DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE.) Subsequently the Confederate Congress adopted the Paris treaty. (*See* p. 164.)

The captain and the crew of the Savannah were now, Oct. 23, to be tried as pirates under the proclamation of President Lincoln, of April 19. There had also been captured one of the crew of the Jeff. Davis, on board the schooner Enchantress, a recaptured prize. This individual was brought to trial in Philadelphia, before Judge Grier, the same day, Oct. 22, on which the Savannah's crew was tried in New York, before Judge Nelson, for piracy. On the capture of the crews, the Confederate President had addressed President Lincoln a letter, (*see* CONFEDERATE STATES, p. 150,) threatening to deal with Federal prisoners in the same manner in which the privateersmen should be dealt with. The prisoner, William Smith, was convicted after both Judges Grier and Cadwallader had charged the jury. The point of both arguments was that "they could not be regarded as privateers, because they acted under a government that had not been recognized," following apparently the view held by Judge Sprague, of Boston, on May 16, when in his charge to the grand jury he laid down the state of the laws with reference to the crime of piracy. After citing provisions from the laws of 1790, 1820, 1825, 1846, and 1847, as to what constitutes the general crime, with the different degrees of penalty, the judge remarked that these enactments were founded upon the clause in the Constitution which gives Congress the power to define and punish piracy. But the constitutional power to regulate commerce also afforded a basis for additional penal enactments, covering all possible aggressions and depredations upon our commerce. He then laid down the following principles:

"These statutes being enacted pursuant to the Constitution, are of paramount authority, and cannot be invalidated or impaired by the action of any State or States, and every law, ordinance, and constitution made by them for that purpose, whatever its name or form, is wholly nugatory, and can afford no legal protection to those who may act under it. But suppose that a number of States undertake by revolution to throw off the Government of the United States and erect themselves into an independent nation, and assume in that character to issue commissions authorizing the capture of vessels of the United States, will such commissions afford protection to those acting under them against the penal laws of the United States? Cases have heretofore arisen where a portion of a foreign empire, a colony, has undertaken to throw off the dominion of the mother country, and assumed the attitude and claimed the rights of an independent nation, and in such cases it has been held that the relation which the United States should hold to those who thus attempt and claim to institute a new government is a political rather than a legal question; that, if those departments of our Government which have a right to give the law, and which regulate our foreign intercourse and determine the relation in which we shall stand to other nations, recognize such new and self con-

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stituted government as having the rights of a belligerent in a war between them and their former rulers, and the United States hold a neutral position in such war, then the judiciary, following other departments, will to the same extent recognize the new nation.

"But if the legislative and the executive departments of the Government utterly refuse to recognize such new government, or to acknowledge it as having any belligerent or national rights, and instead of taking a neutral attitude, endeavor by force to suppress depredations on commerce by such assumed government as violating the rights and infringing the laws of the United States, then the judiciary will hold that such depredations are not to be considered as belligerent and entitled to the immunities of lawful war, but as robbery or other lawless depredations, subject to the penalties denounced by our laws against such offences. The judiciary certainly cannot adopt a more indulgent rule towards those who are in open rebellion against the authority of the United States, or towards aliens coöperating with and acting under the assumed authority of such rebels. While the other departments of the Government and the nation refuse to regard any State or associations of States as having the rights of a belligerent, or as carrying on legitimate war, and are exerting not only moral but physical force against them as rebels and lawless aggressors upon the United States and its citizens, the courts also must so regard them, and cannot admit that any legislation or assumption of power by such State or States can authorize acts in violation of the laws of the United States, or change the character of offences under them.

"There is another view. Mere rebellion absolves no man from his allegiance. Citizens of the United States, therefore, may not only be subject to the penalties of treason, but if they commit hostilities upon the commerce of the United States, under a commission from any foreign nation, even the oldest and best established, such as England or France, for example, they may be dealt with as pirates by the express enactments in the 9th section of the statute of 1790, which has already been referred to. And aliens, who are subjects or citizens of any foreign State with whom we have a treaty, such as is described in the statute of 1847, chapter 51, and who, in violation of such treaty, make war upon the United States, or cruise against our vessels or property, under a commission from any foreign government, however long acknowledged, may, by the clear provisions of that statute, be dealt with as pirates.

"If aliens, subjects of a nation with whom we have no such treaty, commit acts of hostility upon our commerce under the alleged authority or commission of a new and self-created government claiming to be independent, it may be material to inquire whether such government is to be regarded as having the immunities of a belligerent, or whether such aliens may be treated as robbers on the seas, and this inquiry will be governed by the principles which I have already stated."

The trial of Capt. Baker and 14 of the crew of the Savannah, of whom 8 were foreigners, was had before Judges Nelson and Shipman. The judge instructed the jury that "by the general law of nations a pirate was one who roved the sea in an armed vessel without a commission from any sovereign State, on his own authority, and for the purpose of seizing by force, and appropriating to himself whatever vessels he might meet. But the evidence in this case showed that the design of the prisoners was to depredate upon the vessels of only one nation,—the United States—an offence that fell short of piracy under the laws of nations. But there were special laws of the United States, establishing and defining piracy. The particular law applying to this case was that of 1820, which says, 'If any person shall upon the high seas commit the crime of robbery in or upon any ship or vessel, or upon the ship's company of any ship or vessel, or the lading thereof, such person shall be adjudged to be a pirate, and upon conviction shall suffer death.' The commission issued by Mr. Davis could not be admitted as a defence, for the courts of the United States could not recognize such an authority until the Government had done so. The felonious intent, which is an essential element in the crime of robbery, consists in the taking of the property of another for the sake of gain. If this was wanting in this case, the offence, whatever it might be, was not that of piracy under the statute." The jury could not agree, and a new trial was ordered. The views of all the judges seemed to centre upon the one point, that these men were taken in arms against the Federal Government, and that inasmuch as the Federal laws did not recognize the authority under which the men acted, there was no recourse but to condemn them. The same rule applies, however, to all those who make war against the Federal Government upon land, and who, so far from being condemned as traitors and robbers, are daily exchanged, according to the rules of war, for other prisoners. When, however, the Federal Government pursued this course in relation to its maritime enemies, the Confederate Government, in accordance with the letter of Jefferson Davis to Mr. Lincoln, July 6, ordered the selection of a number of men from the Richmond prisons, by lot. The choice fell upon Col. Corcoran of the New York Sixty-ninth, and others, to be executed in the same manner that the privateersmen should be dealt with. These proceedings attracted much attention abroad, where belligerent rights had been accorded to the Confederates, and one of those rights was the use of privateers under the law of nations. The Federal Government under these circumstances relinquished its purpose of proceeding against the prisoners as pirates.

On the 21st of August, the Captain-General of Cuba issued a proclamation to the effect

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that vessels with the Confederate flag would be admitted for the purpose of trade to the ports of the island, and be under the neutrality laws.

While these proceedings were transpiring, application was made to the United States Government for letters of marque. The following official reply indicates the action taken.

NAVY DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, *Oct.* 1, 1861.

SIR: In relation to the communication of R. B. Forbes, Esq., a copy of which was sent by you to this Department on the 16th ultimo, inquiring whether letters of marque cannot be furnished for the propeller Pembroke, which is about to be despatched to China, I have the honor to state that it appears to me there are objections to, and no authority for granting letters of marque in the present contest. I am not aware that Congress, which has the exclusive power of granting letters of marque and reprisal, has authorized such letters to be issued against the insurgents; and were there such authorization, I am not prepared to advise its exercise, because it would, in my view, be a recognition of the assumption of the insurgents that they are a distinct and independent nationality.

Under the act of August 5, 1861, "supplementary to an act entitled 'An act to protect the commerce of the United States and to punish the crime of piracy,'" the President is authorized to instruct the commanders of "armed vessels sailing under the authority of any letters of marque and reprisal granted by the Congress of the United States, or the commanders of any other suitable vessels, to subdue, seize, take, and, if on the high seas, to send into any port of the United States any vessel or boat built, purchased, fitted out, or held," &c. This allusion to letters of marque does not authorize such letters to be issued, nor do I find any other act containing such authorization. But the same act, in the second edition, as above quoted, gives the President power to authorize the "commanders of any suitable vessels to subdue, seize," &c. Under this clause, letters permissive, under proper restrictions and guards against abuse, might be granted to the propeller Pembroke, so as to meet the views expressed by Mr. Forbes. This would seem to be lawful, and perhaps not liable to the objections of granting letters of marque against our own citizens, and that too without law or authority from the only constituted power that can grant it.

I have the honor to transmit herewith a copy of a letter from Messrs. J. M. Forbes & Co. and others, addressed to this Department, on the same subject.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

GIDEON WELLES.

WM. H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

Under all these operations of the privateers, the Northern merchants became very anxious. It was estimated that nearly 100 vessels, of a value, with their cargoes, of several millions, had been captured and destroyed, some of them in distant seas by the Sumter and the Nashville, which seemed to elude all pursuit, and to be so active in doing injury, that the protection of foreign flags was sought after—the more so, as United States vessels and cargoes were required to pay four or five per cent. more insurance than foreign vessels. In making application for a change of nationality of an American to a British vessel, most of those sold having been placed under that flag, it is required by the British law that the applicant shall make and subscribe a declaration that he is a native born subject, and has never taken the oath of allegiance to any foreign State, (or that he has been naturalized by act of parliament or by an ordinance of the proper legislative authority, and has since taken the oath of allegiance to Her Majesty,) and that no person or persons other than such as are by the Merchants Shipping Act in 1854 qualified to be owners of British ships, is entitled as owner, to any interest whatever, either legal or beneficial, in said ship. Upon this declaration a register or sea letter is issued, and the vessel at once placed beyond the reach of a return to the Federal flag, except by special act of Congress. The owner, if so disposed, can then carry out any tacit agreement or private understanding he may have had with his friends or former owners, and execute a mortgage or an agreement with them, by which they are made secure in the future possession of the vessel or her anticipated earnings. About sixty-five vessels with an aggregate tonnage of twenty thousand tons, have, it is estimated, been put under foreign flags since the commencement of trouble with the South.

Two of the Confederate sea-going ships were the Sumter and the Nashville. The latter steamer had an extra importance imparted to her on account of the report that gained currency that she had run the blockade at Charleston, having on board Messrs. Slidell and Mason, Ministers to France and England. She was a side-wheel steamer, of 1,220 tons burthen, and was built in New York in 1853. She was engaged on the Charleston line of steamers, and had the character of being a fast boat; and was retained by the Confederates and armed for a war vessel and privateer. She carried a crew of eighty men, had two long 12-pounder rifled cannon, and was commanded by Capt. Pegram. She left Charleston on the night of the 26th of October, at eleven o'clock, passing over the bar at twelve. When she started the weather was thick and cloudy, but as she was crossing the bar the weather cleared up, and the moon rose brightly, lighting up to full view to the eastward, distant about four miles, two steamers of the blockading squadron—one the United States frigate Susquehanna, of twelve guns, the other a powerful propeller gunboat. The Nashville, being in the shadow of the land, was not seen by them. She then encountered strong northeasterly winds and very heavy seas, but made the passage to Bermuda in three and a half days. On arriving there she received a pilot on board who took the vessel to the dockyard, stating that, in consequence of her length, she could not go into St. George's. The next day, Capt. Pegram, not being satisfied, obtained a second pilot from the dockyard, who took the Nashville safely round into St. George's, at which place the vessel coaled from private sources, the government refusing supplies. During their stay at Bermuda, the commander and officers were treated with the greatest hospitality and kindness, both by the citizens and the officers of the English army and navy stationed there, and every facility for getting stores, coal, &c., was afforded them by the in-

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habitants. The Nashville sailed again from Bermuda on the 5th, and from the next day until the 17th she experienced a succession of gales from all points of the compass. Nothing of interest further transpired until the 19th, when she destroyed the United States merchant ship Harvey Birch. She then proceeded up the English Channel, and arrived at Southampton on the morning of the 21st.

Captain Robert B. Pegram, commander of the Confederate steamer Nashville, was formerly attached to the United States navy, in which he held the position of lieutenant. He was born in Virginia and appointed from that State. His original entry into the navy was in the month of February, 1829. His total sea service was about seventeen years, on shore about eight years, and the balance of his time was unemployed. He was in the navy nearly thirty-two years. He had been lately engaged on the coast survey. Lieutenant Pegram had won for himself the respect of the public at large, and of his fellow-officers, by the good qualities he had always shown and his cool courage. He had rendered himself popular by his connection with the affair of the Water Witch in the Paraguay waters, was with the Japan expedition, and was present during the war waged by the English and French in China. First Lieutenant Fauntleroy was aide-de-camp to General Johnston at the battle of Manassas. Second Lieutenant Bennett served there in the naval battery, while one youngster on board, named Cary, received his appointment as midshipman in the Confederate navy as a reward for distinguished gallantry in the same action.

The Government, under the impression that the Nashville had the Confederate commissioners, Mason and Slidell, on board, despatched the armed steamers Alabama and Augusta in pursuit. It turned out, however, that these gentlemen took their departure in the Theodora, to the West Indies, and then took passage in the British steamer Trent, whence, on the 8th of November, they were forcibly taken by the United States steamer San Jacinto, under circumstances which caused the United States Government to declare their detention illegal.

The most remarkable of the Confederate vessels is the Sumter, formerly the Marquis de la Habana, belonging to Gen. Miramon. She was captured by the United States, and taken to New Orleans. She was there taken possession of by the Confederate Government, fitted out and officered as follows: commander, Raphael Semmes; lieutenants, John Kells, R. F. Chapman, W. E. Evans, J. M. Stribling; paymaster, Henry Myers; passed assistant surgeon, Francis I. Golt; lieutenant of marines, Beckett K. Howell; midshipmen, R. F. Armstrong, Wm. A. Hicks, A. G. Hudgins, J. D. Wilson; first assistant engineer, acting as chief, M. J. Freeman; second assistant, W. P. Brooks.

She had a crew of 65 men and 25 marines. Her large gun ranged 2,000 yards. Her appearance when the smoke-stack was lowered, which sometimes was for disguise, was that of a clumsily rigged bark. Her commander possessed remarkable boldness and energy. She left the Mississippi on the morning of June 30, pursued by the United States steamer Brooklyn, but soon dropped her, and immediately commenced capturing prizes. On the 3d of July, off the Isle of Pines, she captured the ship Golden Rocket, 600 tons, belonging to Bangor, worth $40,000. On the 4th, she captured the brigs Cuba and Machias, both of Maine, loaded with sugar, and sent them into Cienfuegos. On the 6th, she took the bark West Wind, the bark Louisa Kilham, and the brig Naiad, owned in New York, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts, and laden with sugar; they also were sent to Cienfuegos. The Sumter then ran in and asked leave for the prizes to remain until adjudicated. The Government took them in charge, until orders from the home Government should be received. The Sumter coaled and sailed on the 7th. On the 17th she again coaled at Curaçoa; on the 25th, she captured the Abby Bradford of Boston, and sent her to New Orleans. This vessel was recaptured August 30, by the United States steamer Powhatan. The letters found in her stated that the Sumter was to cruise in the Spanish main. Meantime the Sumter had captured the Joseph Maxwell, August 7, and sent her into Cienfuegos. The Sumter was recognized by the Dutch Governor of Curaçoa as a vessel of war, and he supplied her with coal. The Sumter then went under sail to Surinam, and sailed thence August 31, having obtained coal of an English merchant. On Sept. 16, she touched at and left Maranham where she had been received with great favor. The United States steamer Powhatan, in chase of the Sumter, was looked upon with a great distrust, and $500 were offered to any one who would sink her. No information could be got as to the destination of the Sumter, and the United States vessel gave up the chase. In November, the Sumter made her appearance at Martinique, and requested coal, which the Governor refused to supply, but allowed her to go to St. Pierre, where she was supplied by English merchants. The United States gunboat Iroquois, Capt. Palmer, then made her appearance. The Governor interposed, however, to prevent any infraction of belligerent rights, and ordered the Iroquois either to anchor one marine league from shore while the Sumter was in port, or remain twenty-four hours after the departure of the Sumter. The citizens all sympathized with the Sumter, and she finally escaped—the rule of requiring one belligerent to remain twenty-four hours after the departure of another, enabled her to do so. She finally crossed the ocean and arrived at the port of Tangier in Africa, where a difficulty occurred between some of her officers and the American Consul, who caused the former to be seized, and sent them home. The vessel was subsequently sold.

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PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

MESSAGE *of President Buchanan at the Second Session of the Thirty-Sixth Congress, December*, 1860.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

Throughout the year, since our last meeting, the country has been eminently prosperous in all its material interests. The general health has been excellent, our harvests have been abundant, and plenty smiles throughout the land. Our commerce and manufactures have been prosecuted with energy and industry, and have yielded fair and ample returns. In short, no nation in the tide of time has ever presented a spectacle of greater material prosperity than we have done until within a very recent period.

Why is it, then, that discontent now so extensively prevails, and the union of the States, which is the source of all these blessings, is threatened with destruction. The long-continued and intemperate interference of the Northern people with the question of slavery in the Southern States, has at length produced its natural effects. The different sections of the Union are now arrayed against each other, and the time has arrived, so much dreaded by the Father of his Country, when hostile geographical parties have been formed. I have long foreseen and often forewarned my countrymen of the now impending danger. This does not proceed solely from the claim on the part of Congress or the Territorial Legislatures to exclude slavery from the Territories, or from the efforts of different States to defeat the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law. All or any of these evils might have been endured by the South without danger to the Union—as others have been—in the hope that time and reflection might apply the remedy. The immediate peril arises, not so much from these causes, as from the fact that the incessant and violent agitation of the slavery question throughout the North for the last quarter of a century has at length produced its malign influence on the slaves, and inspired them with vague notions of freedom. Hence a sense of security no longer exists around the family altar. This feeling of peace at home has given place to apprehensions of servile insurrection. Many a matron throughout the South retires at night in dread of what may befall herself and her children before the morning. Should this apprehension of domestic danger, whether real or imaginary, extend and intensify itself until it shall pervade the masses of the Southern people, then disunion will become inevitable. Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and has been implanted in the heart of man by his Creator for the wisest purpose; and no political union, however fraught with blessings and benefits in all other respects, can long continue, if the necessary consequence be to render the homes and firesides of nearly half the parties to it habitually and hopelessly insecure. Sooner or later the bonds of such a union must be severed. It is my conviction that this fatal period has not yet arrived; and my prayer to God is that He would preserve the Constitution and the Union throughout all generations.

But let us take warning in time, and remove the cause of danger. It cannot be denied that, for five-and-twenty years, the agitation at the North against slavery in the South has been incessant. In 1835 pictorial hand-bills and inflammatory appeals were circulated extensively throughout the South, of a character to excite the passions of the slaves; and, in the language of General Jackson, "to stimulate them to insurrection, and produce all the horrors of a servile war." This agitation has ever since been continued by the public press, by the proceedings of State and county conventions, and by abolition sermons and lectures. The time of Congress has been occupied in violent speeches on this never-ending subject; and appeals in pamphlet and other forms, indorsed by distinguished names, have been sent forth from this central point, and spread broadcast over the Union.

How easy would it be for the American people to settle the slavery question forever, and to restore peace and harmony to this distracted country!

They, and they alone, can do it. All that is necessary to accomplish the object, and all for which the slave States have ever contended, is to be let alone, and permitted to manage their domestic institutions in their own way. As sovereign States, they, and they alone, are responsible before God and the world for the slavery existing among them. For this the people of the North are not more responsible, and have no more right to interfere, than with similar institutions in Russia or in Brazil. Upon their good sense and patriotic forbearance I confess I still greatly rely. Without their aid, it is beyond the power of any President, no matter what may be his own political proclivities, to restore peace and harmony among the States. Wisely limited and restrained as is his power, under our Constitution and laws, he alone can accomplish but little, for good or for evil, on such a momentous question.

And this brings me to observe that the election of any one of our fellow-citizens to the office of President, does not of itself afford just cause for dissolving the Union. This is more especially true if his election has been effected by a mere plurality, and not a majority of the people, and has resulted from transient and temporary causes which may probably never again occur. In order to justify a resort to revolutionary resistance, the Federal Government must be guilty of a "deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise" of powers not granted by the Constitution. The late presidential election, however, has been held in strict conformity with its express provisions. How, then, can the result justify a revolution to destroy this very Constitution? Reason, justice, a regard for the Constitution, all require that we shall wait for some overt and dangerous act on the part of the President elect before resorting to such a remedy.

It is said, however, that the antecedents of the President elect have been sufficient to justify the fears of the South that he will attempt to invade their constitutional rights. But are such apprehensions of contingent danger in the future sufficient to justify the immediate destruction of the noblest system of government ever devised by mortals? From the very nature of his office, and its high responsibilities, he must necessarily be conservative. The stern duty of administering the vast and complicated concerns of this Government, affords in itself a guarantee that he will not attempt any violation of a clear constitutional right. After all, he is no more than the chief executive officer of the Government. His province is not to make, but to execute the laws; and it is a remarkable fact in our history, that, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of the anti-slavery party, no single act has ever passed Congress, unless we may possibly except the Missouri Compromise, impairing, in the slightest degree, the rights of the South to their property in slaves. And it may also be observed, judging from present indications, that no probability exists of the passage of such an act by a majority of both Houses, either in the present or the next Congress. Surely, under these circumstances, we ought to be restrained from present action by the precept of Him who spake as never man spake, that "sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." The day of evil may never come, unless we shall rashly bring it upon ourselves.

It is alleged as one cause for immediate secession that the Southern States are denied equal rights with the other States in the common Territories. But by what authority are these denied? Not by Congress, which has never passed, and I believe never will pass, any act to exclude slavery from these Territories; and certainly not by the Supreme Court, which has solemnly decided that slaves are property, and, like all other property, their owners have a right to take them into the common Territories, and hold them there under the protection of the Constitution.

So far, then, as Congress is concerned, the objection is not to any thing they have already done, but to what they may do hereafter. It will surely be admitted that this apprehension of future danger is no good

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reason for an immediate dissolution of the Union. It is true that the Territorial Legislature of Kansas, on the 23d of February, 1860, passed, in great haste, an act, over the veto of the Governor, declaring that slavery "is, and shall be, forever prohibited in this Territory." Such an act, however, plainly violating the rights of property secured by the Constitution, will surely be declared void by the judiciary whenever it shall be presented in a legal form.

Only three days after my inauguration, the Supreme Court of the United States solemnly adjudged that this power did not exist in a Territorial Legislature. Yet such has been the factious temper of the times that the correctness of this decision has been extensively impugned before the people, and the question has given rise to angry political conflicts throughout the country. Those who have appealed from this judgment of our highest constitutional tribunal to popular assemblies, would, if they could, invest a Territorial Legislature with power to annul the sacred rights of property. This power Congress is expressly forbidden by the Federal Constitution to exercise. Every State Legislature in the Union is forbidden by its own Constitution to exercise it. It cannot be exercised in any State except by the people in their highest sovereign capacity when framing or amending their State Constitution. In like manner, it can only be exercised by the people of a Territory, represented in a convention of delegates, for the purpose of framing a Constitution preparatory to admission as a State into the Union. Then, and not until then, are they invested with power to decide the question whether slavery shall or shall not exist within their limits. This is an act of sovereign authority, and not of subordinate Territorial legislation. Were it otherwise, then, indeed, would the equality of the States in the Territories be destroyed, and the rights of property in slaves would depend, not upon the guarantees of the Constitution, but upon the shifting majorities of an irresponsible Territorial Legislature. Such a doctrine, from its intrinsic unsoundness, cannot long influence any considerable portion of our people; much less can it afford a good reason for a dissolution of the Union.

The most palpable violations of constitutional duty which have yet been committed, consist in the acts of different State Legislatures to defeat the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law. It ought to be remembered, however, that for these acts, neither Congress nor any President can justly be held responsible. Having been passed in violation of the Federal Constitution, they are therefore null and void. All the Courts, both State and National, before whom the question has arisen, have, from the beginning, declared the Fugitive Slave Law to be constitutional. The single exception is that of a State Court in Wisconsin; and this has not only been reversed by the proper appellate tribunal, but has met with such universal reprobation that there can be no danger from it as a precedent. The validity of this law has been established over and over again by the Supreme Court of the United States, with perfect unanimity. It is founded upon an express provision of the Constitution, requiring that fugitive slaves who escape from service in one State to another, shall be "delivered up" to their masters. Without this provision it is a well-known historical fact that the Constitution itself could never have been adopted by the Convention. In one form or other, under the acts of 1793 and 1850, both being substantially the same, the Fugitive Slave Law has been the law of the land from the days of Washington until the present moment. Here, then, a clear case is presented, in which it will be the duty of the next President, as it has been my own, to act with vigor in executing this supreme law against the conflicting enactments of State Legislatures. Should he fail in the performance of this high duty, he will then have manifested a disregard of the Constitution and laws, to the great injury of the people of nearly one-half of the States of the Union. But are we to presume in advance that he will thus violate his duty? This would be at war with every principle of justice and of Christian charity. Let us wait for the overt act. The Fugitive Slave Law has been carried into execution in every contested case since the commencement of the present Administration; though often, it is to be regretted, with great loss and inconvenience to the master, and with considerable expense to the Government. Let us trust that the State Legislatures will repeal their unconstitutional and obnoxious enactments. Unless this shall be done without unnecessary delay, it is impossible for any human power to save the Union.

The Southern States, standing on the basis of the Constitution, have a right to demand this act of justice from the States of the North. Should it be refused, then the Constitution, to which all the States are parties, will have been wilfully violated by one portion of them in a provision essential to the domestic security and happiness of the remainder. In that event, the injured States, after having first used all peaceful and constitutional means to obtain redress, would be justified in revolutionary resistance to the Government of the Union.

I have purposely confined my remarks to revolutionary resistance, because it has been claimed, within the last few years, that any State, whenever this shall be its sovereign will and pleasure, may secede from the Union, in accordance with the Constitution, and without any violation of the constitutional rights of the other members of the Confederacy; that as each became parties to the Union by the vote of its own people assembled in convention, so any one of them may retire from the Union in a similar manner by the vote of such a convention.

In order to justify secession as a constitutional remedy, it must be on the principle that the Federal Government is a mere voluntary association of States, to be dissolved at pleasure by any one of the contracting parties. If this be so, the Confederacy is a rope of sand, to be penetrated and dissolved by the first adverse wave of public opinion in any of the States. In this manner our thirty-three States may resolve themselves into as many petty, jarring, and hostile republics, each one retiring from the Union, without responsibility, whenever any sudden excitement might impel them to such a course. By this process, a Union might be entirely broken into fragments in a few weeks, which cost our forefathers many years of toil, privation, and blood to establish.

Such a principle is wholly inconsistent with the history as well as the character of the Federal Constitution. After it was framed, with the greatest deliberation and care, it was submitted to conventions of the people of the several States for ratification. Its provisions were discussed at length in these bodies, composed of the first men of the country. Its opponents contended that it conferred powers upon the Federal Government dangerous to the rights of the States; while its advocates maintained that, under a fair construction of the instrument, there was no foundation for such apprehensions. In that mighty struggle between the first intellects of this or any other country, it never occurred to any individual, either among its opponents or advocates, to assert, or even to intimate, that their efforts were all vain labor, because the moment that any State felt herself aggrieved she might secede from the Union. What a crushing argument would this have proved against those who dreaded that the rights of the States would be endangered by the Constitution! The truth is, that it was not until many years after the origin of the Federal Government that such a proposition was first advanced. It was then met and refuted by the conclusive arguments of General Jackson, who, in his message of the 16th of January, 1833, transmitting the nullifying ordinance of South Carolina to Congress, employs the following language: "The right of the people of a single State to absolve themselves at will, and without the consent of the other States, from their most solemn obligations, and hazard the liberty and happiness of the millions composing this Union, cannot be acknowledged. Such authority is believed to be utterly repugnant both to the principle upon

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which the General Government is constituted, and to the objects which it was expressly formed to attain."

It is not pretended that any clause in the Constitution gives countenance to such a theory. It is altogether founded upon inference—not from any language contained in the instrument itself, but from the sovereign character of the several States by which it was ratified. But is it beyond the power of a State, like an individual, to yield a portion of its sovereign rights to secure the remainder? In the language of Mr. Madison, who has been called the father of the Constitution, "it was formed by the States—that is, by the people in each of the States, acting in their highest sovereign capacity; and formed, consequently, by the same authority which formed the State Constitutions.

"Nor is the Government of the United States created by the Constitution less a Government in the strict sense of the term, within the sphere of its powers, than the governments created by the Constitutions of the States are within their several spheres. It is, like them, organized into legislative, executive, and judiciary departments. It operates, like them, directly on persons and things; and, like them, it has at command a physical force for executing the powers committed to it."

It was intended to be perpetual, and not to be annulled at the pleasure of any one of the contracting parties. The old Articles of Confederation were entitled, "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States;" and by the thirteenth article it is expressly declared that "the articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the Union shall be perpetual." The preamble to the Constitution of the United States, having express reference to the Articles of Confederation, recites that it was established "in order to form a more perfect union." And yet it is contended that this "more perfect union" does not include the essential attribute of perpetuity.

But that the Union was designed to be perpetual appears conclusively from the nature and extent of the powers conferred by the Constitution on the Federal Government. These powers embrace the very highest attributes of national sovereignty. They place both the sword and the purse under its control. Congress has power to make war, and to make peace; to raise and support armies and navies, and to conclude treaties with foreign Governments. It is invested with the power to coin money, and to regulate the value thereof, and to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States. It is not necessary to enumerate the other high powers which have been conferred upon the Federal Government. In order to carry the enumerated powers into effect, Congress possesses the exclusive right to lay and collect duties on imports, and in common with the States to lay and collect all other taxes.

But the Constitution has not only conferred these high powers upon Congress, but it has adopted effectual means to restrain the States from interfering with their exercise. For that purpose it has, in strong prohibitory language, expressly declared that "no State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts." Moreover, "without the consent of Congress, no State shall lay any imposts or duties on any imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws;" and, if they exceed this amount, the excess shall belong to the United States.

And "no State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage; keep troops or ships-of-war in time of peace; enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign Power; or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay."

In order still further to secure the uninterrupted exercise of these high powers against State interposition, it is provided "that this Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

The solemn sanction of religion has been superadded to the obligations of official duty, and all Senators and Representatives of the United States, all members of State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, "both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution."

In order to carry into effect these powers, the Constitution has established a perfect Government in all its forms, legislative, executive, and judicial; and this Government, to the extent of its powers, acts directly upon the individual citizens of every State, and executes its own decrees by the agency of its own officers. In this respect it differs entirely from the Government under the old Confederation, which was confined to making requisitions on the States in their sovereign character. This left it in the discretion of each whether to obey or to refuse, and they often declined to comply with such requisitions. It thus became necessary, for the purpose of removing this barrier, and "in order to form a more perfect Union," to establish a Government which could act directly upon the people, and execute its own laws without the intermediate agency of the States. This has been accomplished by the Constitution of the United States.

In short, the Government created by the Constitution, and deriving its authority from the sovereign people of each of the several States, has precisely the same right to exercise its power over the people of all these States, in the enumerated cases, that each one of them possesses over subjects not delegated to the United States, but "reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people."

To the extent of the delegated powers, the Constitution of the United States is as much a part of the Constitution of each State, and is as binding upon its people, as though it had been textually inserted therein.

This Government, therefore, is a great and powerful Government, invested with all the attributes of sovereignty over the special subjects to which its authority extends. Its framers never intended to implant in its bosom the seeds of its own destruction, nor were they at its creation guilty of the absurdity of providing for its own dissolution. It was not intended by its framers to be the baseless fabric of a vision which, at the touch of the enchanter, would vanish into thin air; but a substantial and mighty fabric, capable of resisting the slow decay of time, and of defying the storms of ages. Indeed, well may the jealous patriots of that day have indulged fears that a Government of such high powers might violate the reserved rights of the States; and wisely did they adopt the rule of a strict construction of these powers to prevent the danger! But they did not fear, nor had they any reason to imagine, that the Constitution would ever be so interpreted as to enable any State, by her own act, and without the consent of her sister States, to discharge her people from all or any of their Federal obligations.

It may be asked, then, are the people of the States without redress against the tyranny and oppression of the Federal Government? By no means. The right of resistance on the part of the governed against the oppression of their Governments cannot be denied. It exists independently of all constitutions, and has been exercised at all periods of the world's history. Under it old governments have been destroyed, and new ones have taken their place. It is embodied in strong and express language in our own Declaration of Independence. But the distinction must ever be observed, that this is revolution against an established Government, and not a voluntary secession from it by virtue of an inherent constitutional right. In short, let us look the

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danger fairly in the face; secession is neither more nor less than revolution. It may or it may not be a justifiable revolution, but still it is revolution.

What, in the mean time, is the responsibility and true position of the Executive? He is bound by solemn oath before God and the country "to take care that the laws be faithfully executed," and from this obligation he cannot be absolved by any human power. But what if the performance of this duty, in whole or in part, has been rendered impracticable by events over which he could have exercised no control? Such, at the present moment, is the case throughout the State of South Carolina, so far as the laws of the United States to secure the administration of justice by means of the Federal judiciary are concerned. All the Federal officers within its limits, through whose agency alone these laws can be carried into execution, have already resigned. We no longer have a district judge, a district attorney, or a marshal in South Carolina. In fact, the whole machinery of the Federal Government, necessary for the distribution of remedial justice among the people, has been demolished; and it would be difficult, if not impossible, to replace it.

The only acts of Congress on the statute-book bearing upon this subject are those of the 28th February, 1795, and 3d March, 1807. These authorize the President, after he shall have ascertained that the marshal, with his *posse comitatus*, is unable to execute civil or criminal process in any particular case, to call forth the militia and employ the army and navy to aid him in performing this service; having first by proclamation commanded the insurgents "to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes within a limited time." This duty cannot by possibility be performed in a State where no judicial authority exists to issue process, and where there is no marshal to execute it, and where, even if there were such an officer, the entire population would constitute one solid combination to resist him.

The bare enumeration of these provisions proves how inadequate they are without further legislation to overcome a united opposition in a single State, not to speak of other States who may place themselves in a similar attitude. Congress alone has power to decide whether the present laws can or cannot be amended so as to carry out more effectually the objects of the Constitution.

The same insuperable obstacles do not lie in the way of executing the laws for the collection of the customs. The revenue still continues to be collected, as heretofore, at the custom-house in Charleston; and should the collector unfortunately resign, a successor may be appointed to perform this duty.

Then, in regard to the property of the United States in South Carolina. This has been purchased for a fair equivalent, "by the consent of the Legislature of the State," "for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals," &c., and over these the authority "to exercise exclusive legislation" has been expressly granted by the Constitution to Congress. It is not believed that any attempt will be made to expel the United States from this property by force; but if in this I should prove to be mistaken, the officer in command of the forts has received orders to act strictly on the defensive. In such a contingency, the responsibility for consequences would rightfully rest upon the heads of the assailants.

Apart from the execution of the laws, so far as this may be practicable, the Executive has no authority to decide what shall be the relations between the Federal Government and South Carolina. He has been invested with no such discretion. He possesses no power to change the relations heretofore existing between them, much less to acknowledge the independence of that State. This would be to invest a mere Executive officer with the power of recognizing the dissolution of the Confederacy among our thirty-three sovereign States. It bears no resemblance to the recognition of a foreign *de facto* Government, involving no such responsibility. Any attempt to do this would, on his part, be a naked act of usurpation. It is, therefore, my duty to submit to Congress the whole question in all its bearings. The course of events is so rapidly hastening forward, that the emergency may soon arise when you may be called upon to decide the momentous question whether you possess the power, by force of arms, to compel a State to remain in the Union. I should feel myself recreant to my duty were I not to express an opinion on this important subject.

The question fairly stated is: Has the Constitution delegated to Congress the power to coerce a State into submission which is attempting to withdraw, or has actually withdrawn from the Confederacy? If answered in the affirmative, it must be on the principle that the power has been conferred upon Congress to declare and to make war against a State. After much serious reflection I have arrived at the conclusion that no such power has been delegated to Congress or to any other department of the Federal Government. It is manifest, upon an inspection of the Constitution, that this is not among the specific and enumerated powers granted to Congress; and it is equally apparent that its exercise is not "necessary and proper for carrying into execution" any one of these powers. So far from this power having been delegated to Congress, it was expressly refused by the convention which framed the Constitution.

It appears, from the proceedings of that body, that on the 31st May, 1787, the clause "authorizing an exertion of the force of the whole against a delinquent State" came up for consideration. Mr. Madison opposed it in a brief but powerful speech, from which I shall extract but a single sentence. He observed: "The use of force against a State would look more like a declaration of war than an infliction of punishment; and would probably be considered by the party attacked as a dissolution of all previous compacts by which it might be bound." Upon his motion the clause was unanimously postponed, and was never, I believe, again presented. Soon afterwards, on the 8th June, 1787, when incidentally adverting to the subject, he said: "Any Government for the United States, formed on the supposed practicability of using force against the unconstitutional proceedings of the States, would prove as visionary and fallacious as the Government of Congress," evidently meaning the then existing Congress of the old Confederation.

Without descending to particulars, it may be safely asserted, that the power to make war against a State is at variance with the whole spirit and intent of the Constitution. Suppose such a war should result in the conquest of a State: how are we to govern it afterwards? Shall we hold it as a province, and govern it by despotic power? In the nature of things we could not, by physical force, control the will of the people, and compel them to elect Senators and Representatives to Congress, and to perform all the other duties depending upon their own volition, and required from the free citizens of a free State as a constituent member of the Confederacy.

But, if we possessed this power, would it be wise to exercise it under existing circumstances? The object would doubtless be to preserve the Union. War would not only present the most effectual means of destroying it, but would banish all hope of its peaceable reconstruction. Besides, in the fraternal conflict a vast amount of blood and treasure would be expended, rendering future reconciliation between the States impossible. In the mean time, who can foretell what would be the sufferings and privations of the people during its existence?

The fact is, that our Union rests upon public opinion, and can never be cemented by the blood of its citizens shed in civil war. If it cannot live in the affections of the people, it must one day perish. Congress possess many means of preserving it by conciliation; but the sword was not placed in their hand to preserve it by force.

But may I be permitted solemnly to invoke my countrymen to pause and deliberate, before they determine to destroy this, the grandest temple which has ever been dedicated to human freedom since the

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world began! It has been consecrated by the blood of our fathers, by the glories of the past, and by the hopes of the future. The Union has already made us the most prosperous, and ere long will, if preserved, render us the most powerful nation on the face of the earth. In every foreign region of the globe the title of American citizen is held in the highest respect, and, when pronounced in a foreign land, it causes the hearts of our countrymen to swell with honest pride. Surely when we reach the brink of the yawning abyss, we shall recoil with horror from the last fatal plunge. By such a dread catastrophe the hopes of the friends of freedom throughout the world would be destroyed, and a long night of leaden despotism would enshroud the nations. Our example for more than eighty years would not only be lost, but it would be quoted as a conclusive proof that man is unfit for self-government.

It is not every wrong—nay, it is not every grievous wrong—which can justify a resort to such a fearful alternative. This ought to be the last desperate remedy of a despairing people, after every other constitutional means of conciliation had been exhausted. We should reflect that under this free Government there is an incessant ebb and flow in public opinion. The slavery question, like every thing human, will have its day. I firmly believe that it has already reached and passed the culminating point. But if, in the midst of the existing excitement, the Union shall perish, the evil may then become irreparable. Congress can contribute much to avert it by proposing and recommending to the Legislatures of the several States the remedy for existing evils, which the Constitution has itself provided for its own preservation. This has been tried at different critical periods of our history, and always with eminent success. It is to be found in the fifth article providing for its own amendment. Under this article amendments have been proposed by two-thirds of both Houses of Congress, and have been "ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States," and have consequently become parts of the Constitution. To this process the country is indebted for the clause prohibiting Congress from passing any law respecting an establishment of religion, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or of the right of petition. To this we are also indebted for the bill of rights, which secures the people against any abuse of power by the Federal Government. Such were the apprehensions justly entertained by the friends of State rights at that period as to have rendered it extremely doubtful whether the Constitution could have long survived without these amendments.

Again, the Constitution was amended by the same process after the election of President Jefferson by the House of Representatives, in February, 1803. This amendment was rendered necessary to prevent a recurrence of the dangers which had seriously threatened the existence of the Government during the pendency of that election. The article for its own amendment was intended to secure the amicable adjustment of conflicting constitutional questions like the present, which might arise between the Governments of the States and that of the United States. This appears from contemporaneous history. In this connection, I shall merely call attention to a few sentences in Mr. Madison's justly celebrated report, in 1799, to the Legislature of Virginia. In this he ably and conclusively defended the resolutions of the preceding Legislature against the strictures of several other State Legislatures. These were mainly founded upon the protest of the Virginia Legislature against the "alien and sedition acts," as "palpable and alarming infractions of the Constitution." In pointing out the peaceful and constitutional remedies—and he referred to none other—to which the States were authorized to resort on such occasions, he concludes by saying, "that the Legislatures of the States might have made a direct representation to Congress with a view to obtain a rescinding of the two offensive acts; or they might have represented to their respective Senators in Congress their wish that two-thirds thereof would propose an explanatory amendment to the Constitution; or two thirds of themselves, if such had been their option, might, by an application to Congress, have obtained a convention for the same object."

This is the very course which I earnestly recommend in order to obtain an "explanatory amendment" of the Constitution on the subject of slavery. This might originate with Congress or the State Legislatures, as may be deemed most advisable to attain the object.

The explanatory amendment might be confined to the final settlement of the true construction of the Constitution on three special points:

1. An express recognition of the right of property in slaves in the States where it now exists or may hereafter exist.

2. The duty of protecting this right in all the common territories throughout their territorial existence, and until they shall be admitted as States into the Union, with or without slavery, as their constitutions may prescribe.

3. A like recognition of the right of the master to have his slave, who has escaped from one State to another, restored and "delivered up" to him, and of the validity of the fugitive slave law enacted for this purpose, together with a declaration that all State laws impairing or defeating this right are violations of the Constitution, and are consequently null and void.

It may be objected that this construction of the Constitution has already been settled by the Supreme Court of the United States, and what more ought to be required? The answer is, that a very large proportion of the people of the United States still contest the correctness of this decision, and never will cease from agitation and admit its binding force until clearly established by the people of the several States in their sovereign character. Such an explanatory amendment would, it is believed, forever terminate the existing dissensions and restore peace and harmony among the States.

It ought not to be doubted that such an appeal to the arbitrament established by the Constitution itself, would be received with favor by all the States of the Confederacy. In any event it ought to be tried in a spirit of conciliation before any of these States shall separate themselves from the Union.

When I entered upon the duties of the Presidential office, the aspect neither of our foreign nor domestic affairs was at all satisfactory. We were involved in dangerous complications with several nations, and two of our territories were in a state of revolution against the Government. A restoration of the African slave trade had numerous and powerful advocates. Unlawful military expeditions were countenanced by many of our citizens, and were suffered, in defiance of the efforts of the Government, to escape from our shores, for the purpose of making war upon the unoffending people of neighboring Republics with whom we were at peace. In addition to these and other difficulties, we experienced a revulsion in monetary affairs soon after my advent to power, of unexampled severity and of ruinous consequences to all the great interests of the country. When we take a retrospect of what was then our condition, and contrast this with its material prosperity at the time of the late Presidential election, we have abundant reason to return our grateful thanks to that merciful Providence which has never forsaken us as a nation in all our past trials.

The remaining portion of this Message, referring to the foreign relations of the country, and containing nothing of interest touching the events of the year 1861, is omitte

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MESSAGE *on the condition of the country transmitted to both branches of the National Legislature on January 8th*, 1861, *by President Buchanan.*

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

At the opening of your present session I called your attention to the dangers which threatened the existence of the Union. I expressed my opinion freely con-

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cerning the original causes of those dangers, and recommended such measures as I believed would have the effect of tranquillizing the country, and saving it from the peril in which it had been needlessly and most unfortunately involved.

Those opinions and recommendations I do not propose now to repeat: My own convictions upon the whole subject remain unchanged.

The fact that a great calamity was impending over the nation was even at that time acknowledged by every intelligent citizen. It had already made itself felt throughout the length and breadth of the land. The necessary consequences of the alarm thus produced were most deplorable. The imports fell off with a rapidity never known before, except in time of war, in the history of our foreign commerce; the Treasury was unexpectedly left without the means which it had reasonably counted upon to meet the public engagements; trade was paralyzed; manufactures were stopped; the best public securities suddenly sunk in the market; every species of property depreciated more or less; and thousands of poor men, who depended upon their daily labor for their daily bread, were turned out of employment.

I deeply regret that I am not able to give you any information upon the state of the Union which is more satisfactory than what I was then obliged to communicate. On the contrary, matters are still worse at present than they then were. When Congress met, a strong hope pervaded the whole public mind that some amicable adjustment of the subject would speedily be made by the Representatives of the States and of the People which might restore peace between the conflicting sections of the country. That hope has been diminished by every hour of delay; and, as the prospect of a bloodless settlement fades away, the public distress becomes more and more aggravated. As evidence of this it is only necessary to say that the Treasury notes authorized by the act of 17th December last were advertised according to the law, and that no responsible bidder offered to take any considerable sum at par at a lower rate of interest than twelve per cent.

From these facts it appears that, in a government organized like ours, domestic strife, or even a well-grounded fear of civil hostilities, is more destructive to our public and private interests than the most formidable foreign war.

In my Annual Message I expressed the conviction, which I have long deliberately held, and which recent reflection has only tended to deepen and confirm, that no State has a right by its own act to secede from the Union, or throw off its Federal obligations at pleasure. I also declared my opinion to be that, even if that right existed and should be exercised by any State of the Confederacy, the Executive Department of this Government had no authority under the Constitution to recognize its validity by acknowledging the independence of such State. This left me no alternative, as the chief Executive officer under the Constitution of the United States, but to collect the public revenues and to protect the public property, so far as this might be practicable under existing laws.

This is still my purpose. My province is to execute, and not to make the laws. It belongs to Congress exclusively to repeal, to modify, or to enlarge their provisions to meet exigencies as they may occur. I possess no dispensing power.

I certainly had no right to make aggressive war upon any State; and I am perfectly satisfied that the Constitution has wisely withheld that power even from Congress. But the right and the duty to use military force defensively against those who resist the Federal officers in the execution of their legal functions, and against those who assail the property of the Federal Government, is clear and undeniable.

But the dangerous and hostile attitude of the States towards each other has already far transcended and cast in the shade the ordinary Executive duties already provided for by law, and has assumed such vast and alarming proportions as to place the subject entirely above and beyond Executive control. The fact cannot be disguised that we are in the midst of a great revolution. In all its various bearings, therefore, I commend the question to Congress, as the only human tribunal, under Providence, possessing the power to meet the existing emergency. To them exclusively belongs the power to declare war, or to authorize the employment of military force in all cases contemplated by the Constitution, and they alone possess the power to remove grievances which might lead to war, and to secure peace and union to this distracted country. On them, and on them alone, rests the responsibility.

The Union is a sacred trust left by our Revolutionary fathers to their descendants, and never did any people inherit so rich a legacy. It has rendered us prosperous in peace and triumphant in war. The national flag has floated in glory over every sea. Under its shadow American citizens have found protection and respect in all lands beneath the sun. If we descend to considerations of purely material interest, when, in the history of all time, has a Confederacy been bound together by such strong ties of mutual interest? Each portion of it is dependent on all, and all upon each portion, for prosperity and domestic security. Free trade throughout the whole supplies the wants of one portion from the productions of another, and scatters wealth everywhere. The great planting and farming States require the aid of the commercial and navigating States to send their productions to domestic and foreign markets, and to furnish the naval power to render their transportation secure against all hostile attacks.

Should the Union perish in the midst of the present excitement, we have already had a sad foretaste of the universal suffering which would result from its destruction. The calamity would be severe in every portion of the Union, and would be quite as great, to say the least, in the Southern as in the Northern States.

The greatest aggravation of the evil, and that which would place us in the most unfavorable light both before the world and posterity, is, as I am firmly convinced, that the secession movement has been chiefly based upon a misapprehension at the South of the sentiments of the majority in several of the Northern States. Let the question be transferred from political assemblies to the ballot-box, and the people themselves would speedily redress the serious grievances which the South have suffered. But, in Heaven's name, let the trial be made before we plunge into armed conflict upon the mere assumption that there is no other alternative. Time is a great conservative power. Let us pause at this momentous point, and afford the people both North and South an opportunity for reflection. Would that South Carolina had been convinced of this truth before her precipitate action!

I therefore appeal through you to the people of the country to declare in their might that the Union must and shall be preserved by all constitutional means. I most earnestly recommend that you devote yourselves exclusively to the question how this can be accomplished in peace. All other questions, when compared with this, sink into insignificance. The present is no time for palliations. Action, prompt action, is required. A delay in Congress to prescribe or to recommend a distinct and practical proposition for conciliation, may drive us to a point from which it will be almost impossible to recede.

A common ground on which conciliation and harmony can be produced is surely not unattainable. The proposition to compromise by letting the North have exclusive control of the territory above a certain line, and to give Southern institutions protection below that line, ought to receive universal approbation. In itself, indeed, it may not be entirely satisfactory, but when the alternative is between a reasonable concession on both sides, and a destruction of the Union, it is an imputation upon the patriotism of Congress to assert that its members will hesitate for a moment.

Even now the danger is upon us. In several of the States which have not seceded the forts, arsenals, and magazines of the United States have been seized. This is by far the most serious step which has been taken

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since the commencement of the troubles. This public property has been long left without garrisons and troops for its protection, because no person doubted its security under the flag of the country in any State of the Union. Besides, our small army has scarcely been sufficient to guard our remote frontiers against Indian incursions. The seizure of this property, from all appearances, has been purely aggressive, and not in resistance to any attempt to coerce a State or States to remain in the Union.

At the beginning of these unhappy troubles I determined that no act of mine should increase the excitement in either section of the country. If the political conflict were to end in a civil war it was my determined purpose not to commence it, nor even to furnish an excuse for it by any act of this Government. My opinion remains unchanged, that justice as well as sound policy require us still to seek a peaceful solution of the questions at issue between the North and the South. Entertaining this conviction, I refrained even from sending reënforcements to Major Anderson, who commanded the forts in Charleston harbor, until an absolute necessity for doing so should make itself apparent, lest it might unjustly be regarded as a menace of military coercion, and thus furnish, if not a provocation, at least a pretext for an outbreak on the part of South Carolina. No necessity for these reënforcements seemed to exist. I was assured by distinguished and upright gentlemen of South Carolina that no attack upon Major Anderson was intended, but that, on the contrary, it was the desire of the State authorities, as much as it was my own, to avoid the fatal consequences which must eventually follow a military collision.

And here I deem it proper to submit for your information the copies of a communication dated 28th December, 1860, addressed to me by R. W. Barnwell, J. H. Adams, and James L. Orr, "Commissioners" from South Carolina, with the accompanying documents, and copies of my answer thereto, dated 31st December.

In further explanation of Major Anderson's removal from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, it is proper to state that, after my answer to the South Carolina Commissioners, the War Department received a letter from that gallant officer dated on the 27th December, 1860, the day after this movement, from which the following is an extract:

"I will add, as my opinion, that many things convinced me that the authorities of the State designed to proceed to a hostile act." (Evidently referring to the orders dated the 11th December, of the late Secretary of War.) "Under this impression I could not hesitate that it was my solemn duty to move my command from a fort which we could not probably have held longer than forty-eight or sixty hours to this one, where my power of resistance is increased to a very great degree."

It will be recollected that the concluding part of, these orders was in the following terms:

"The smallness of your force will not permit you, perhaps, to occupy more than one of the three forts, but an attack on, or an attempt to take possession of, either one of them will be regarded as an act of hostility, and you may then put your command into either of them which you may deem most proper, to increase its power of resistance. You are also authorized to take similar defensive steps whenever you have tangible evidence of a design to proceed to a hostile act."

It is said that serious apprehensions are to some extent entertained, in which I do not share, that the peace of this District may be disturbed before the 4th of March next. In any event, it will be my duty to preserve it, and this duty shall be performed.

In conclusion, it may be permitted to me to remark that I have often warned my countrymen of the dangers which now surround us. This may be the last time I shall refer to the subject officially. I feel that my duty has been faithfully, though it may be imperfectly, performed; and, whatever the result may be, I shall carry to my grave the consciousness that I at least meant well for my country.

JAMES BUCHANAN.

WASHINGTON, *January* 8, 1861.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS *of Abraham Lincoln, on taking the Oath of Office as President of the United States, March* 4, 1861.

Fellow-Citizens of the United States:

In compliance with a custom as old as the Government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly, and to take in your presence the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President "before he enters on the execution of his office."

I do not consider it necessary at present for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement.

Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican Administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them. And more than this, they placed in the platform for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:

"*Resolved*, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State, to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to the balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend, and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes."

I now reiterate these sentiments; and, in doing so, I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now incoming Administration. I add, too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given, will be cheerfully given to all the States, when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause—as cheerfully to one section as to another.

There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions:

"No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the law-giver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as much as any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves, whose cases come within the terms of this clause, "shall be delivered up," their oaths are unanimous. Now, if they would make the effort in good temper, could they not, with nearly equal unanimity, frame and pass a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath?

There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by National or by State authority; but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him, or to others, by which authority it is done. And should any one, in

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any case, be content that his oath shall go unkept, on a mere unsubstantial controversy as to how it shall be kept?

Again, in any law upon this subject, ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in civilized and humane jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a free man be not, in any case, surrendered as a slave? And might it not be well, at the same time, to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guarantees that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States"?

I take the official oath to-day with no mental reservations, and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypocritical rules. And while I do not choose now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all those acts which stand unrepealed, than to violate any of them, trusting to find impunity in having them held to be unconstitutional.

It is seventy-two years since the first inauguration of a President under our National Constitution. During that period, fifteen different and greatly distinguished citizens have, in succession, administered the Executive branch of the Government. They have conducted it through many perils, and generally with great success. Yet, with all this scope for precedent, I now enter upon the same task for the brief constitutional term of four years, under great and peculiar difficulty. A disruption of the Federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted.

I hold that, in contemplation of universal law, and of the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all National Governments. It is safe to assert that no Government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our National Constitution, and the Union will endure forever—it being impossible to destroy it, except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

Again, if the United States be not a Government proper, but an association of States in the nature of contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it—break it, so to speak; but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it?

Descending from these general principles, we find the proposition that, in legal contemplation, the Union is perpetual, confirmed by the history of the Union itself. The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the Articles of Association in 1774. It was matured and continued by the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the Articles of Confederation in 1778. And, finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was "to form a more perfect union."

But if destruction of the Union, by one, or by a part only, of the States, be lawfully possible, the Union is less perfect than before, the Constitution having lost the vital element of perpetuity.

It follows, from these views, that no State, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void; and that acts of violence, within any State or States, against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

I, therefore, consider that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken, and, to the extent of my ability, I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part; and I shall perform it, so far as practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means, or, in some authoritative manner, direct the contrary. I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself.

In doing this there need be no bloodshed or violence; and there shall be none, unless it be forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government, and to collect the duties and imposts; but, beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere. Where hostility to the United States, in any interior locality, shall be so great and universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding the Federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people for that object. While the strict legal right may exist in the Government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating, and so nearly impracticable with all, I deem it better to forego, for the time, the uses of such offices.

The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union. So far as possible, the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection. The course here indicated will be followed, unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper, and in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised, according to circumstances actually existing, and with a view and a hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles, and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections.

That there are persons in one section or another who seek to destroy the Union at all events, and are glad of any pretext to do it, I will neither affirm nor deny; but if there be such, I need address no word to them. To those, however, who really love the Union, may I not speak?

Before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories, and its hopes, would it not be wise to ascertain precisely why we do it? Will you hazard so desperate a step while there is any possibility that any portion of the ills you fly from have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from—will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake?

All profess to be content in the Union, if all constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true, then, that any right, plainly written in the Constitution, has been denied? I think not. Happily the human mind is so constituted that no party can reach to the audacity of doing this. Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly written provision of the Constitution has ever been denied. If, by the mere force of numbers, a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view, justify revolution—certainly would if such right were a vital one. But such is not our case. All the vital rights of minorities and of individuals are so plainly assured to them by affirmations and negations, guarantees and prohibitions in the Constitution, that controversies never arise concerning them. But no organic law can ever be framed with a provision specifically applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate, nor any document of reasonable length contain, express provisions for all possible questions. Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by National or by State authority? The Constitution does not expressly say. May Congress prohibit slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say. Must Congress protect slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say.

From questions of this class spring all our constitutional controversies, and we divide upon them into majorities and minorities. If the minority will not

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acquiesce the majority must, or the Government must cease. There is no other alternative; for continuing the Government is acquiescence on one side or the other. If a minority in such case will secede rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent which, in turn, will divide and ruin them; for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such minority. For instance, why may not any portion of a new Confederacy, a year or two hence, arbitrarily secede again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it? All who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this.

Is there such perfect identity of interests among the States to compose a new Union, as to produce harmony only, and prevent renewed secession?

Plainly, the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy. A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it, does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible; the rule of a minority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible; so that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form is all that is left.

I do not forget the position assumed by some, that constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court; nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding, in any case, upon the parties to a suit, as to the object of that suit, while they are also entitled to very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases by all other departments of the Government. And while it is obviously possible that such decision may be erroneous in any given case, still the evil effect following it, being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may be overruled, and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice. At the same time the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the Government upon vital questions, affecting the whole people, is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal.

Nor is there in this view any assault upon the Court of the Judges. It is a duty from which they may not shrink to decide cases properly brought before them, and it is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions to political purposes. One section of our country believes slavery is right, and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong, and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute. The fugitive slave clause of the Constitution, and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave trade, are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, cannot be perfectly cured; and it would be worse in both cases after the separation of the sections than before. The foreign slave trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived without restriction in one section; while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all, by the other.

Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other; but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face; and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions, as to terms of intercourse, are again upon you.

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing Government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. I cannot be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the National Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendments, I fully recognize the rightful authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself; and I should, under existing circumstances, favor rather than oppose a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it. I will venture to add that to me the convention mode seems preferable, in that it allows amendments to originate with the people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take or reject propositions originated by others, not especially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish to either accept or refuse. I understand a proposed amendment to the Constitution—which amendment, however, I have not seen—has passed Congress, to the effect that the Federal Government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of the States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconstruction of what I have said, I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments so far as to say that, holding such a provision now to be implied constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable.

The Chief Magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have conferred none upon him to fix terms for the separation of the States. The people themselves can do this also if they choose; but the Executive, as such, has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer the present Government, as it came to his hands, and to transmit it, unimpaired by him, to his successor.

Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present differences is either party without faith of being in the right? If the Almighty Ruler of Nations, with his eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail, by the judgment of this great tribunal of the American people.

By the frame of the Government under which we live, the same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief; and have, with equal wisdom, provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no Administration, by any extreme of wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the Government in the short space of four years.

My countrymen, and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to hurry any of you, in hot haste, to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied, still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new Administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there still is no single good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust, in the best way, all our present difficulty.

In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen,

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and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the Government, while I shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect, and defend it."

I am loth to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearth-stone, all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

Message *of President Lincoln at the First, or Extra Session of the 37th Congress, July 4, 1861.*

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

Having been convened on an extraordinary occasion, as authorized by the Constitution, your attention is not called to any ordinary subject of legislation.

At the beginning of the present presidential term, four months ago, the functions of the Federal Government were found to be generally suspended within the several States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida, excepting only those of the Post-Office Department.

Within these States all the forts, arsenals, dock-yards, custom houses and the like, including the movable and stationary property in and about them, had been seized, and were held in open hostility to this Government, excepting only Forts Pickens, Taylor, and Jefferson, on and near the Florida coast, and Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbor, South Carolina. The forts thus seized had been put in improved condition, new ones had been built, and armed forces had been organized and were organizing, all avowedly with the same hostile purpose.

The forts remaining in the possession of the Federal Government in and near these States were either besieged or menaced by warlike preparations, and especially Fort Sumter was nearly surrounded by well-protected hostile batteries, with guns equal in quality to the best of its own, and outnumbering the latter as perhaps ten to one. A disproportionate share of the Federal muskets and rifles had somehow found their way into these States, and had been seized to be used against the Government. Accumulations of the public revenue, lying within them, had been seized for the same object. The Navy was scattered in distant seas, leaving but a very small part of it within the immediate reach of the Government. Officers of the Federal Army and Navy had resigned in great numbers; and of those resigning, a large proportion had taken up arms against the Government. Simultaneously, and in connection with all this, the purpose to sever the Federal Union was openly avowed. In accordance with this purpose, an ordinance had been adopted in each of these States, declaring the States, respectively, to be separated from the National Union. A formula for instituting a combined government of these States had been promulgated; and this illegal organization, in the character of Confederate States, was already invoking recognition, aid, and intervention from foreign Powers.

Finding this condition of things, and believing it to be an imperative duty upon the incoming Executive to prevent, if possible, the consummation of such attempt to destroy the Federal Union, a choice of means to that end became indispensable. This choice was made, and was declared in the inaugural address. The policy chosen looked to the exhaustion of all peaceful measures before a resort to any stronger ones. It sought only to hold the public places and property not already wrested from the Government, and to collect the revenue, relying for the rest on time, discussion, and the ballot-box. It promised a continuance of the mails, at Government expense, to the very people who were resisting the Government; and it gave repeated pledges against any disturbance to any of the people, or any of their rights. Of all that which a President might constitutionally and justifiably do in such a case, every thing was forborne, without which it was believed possible to keep the Government on foot.

On the 5th of March, (the present incumbent's first full day in office,) a letter of Major Anderson, commanding at Fort Sumter, written on the 28th of February, and received at the War Department on the 4th of March, was by that Department placed in his hands. This letter expressed the professional opinion of the writer, that reenforcements could not be thrown into that fort within the time for his relief, rendered necessary by the limited supply of provisions, and with a view of holding possession of the same, with a force of less than twenty thousand good and well-disciplined men. This opinion was concurred in by all the officers of his command, and their *memoranda* on the subject were made enclosures of Major Anderson's letter. The whole was immediately laid before Lieutenant-General Scott, who at once concurred with Major Anderson in opinion. On reflection, however, he took full time, consulting with other officers, both of the army and the navy; and at the end of four days came reluctantly, but decidedly, to the same conclusion as before. He also stated at the same time that no such sufficient force was then at the control of the Government, or could be raised and brought to the ground within the time when the provisions in the fort would be exhausted. In a purely military point of view, this reduced the duty of the Administration in the case to the mere matter of getting the garrison safely out of the fort.

It was believed, however, that to so abandon that position, under the circumstances, would be utterly ruinous; that the necessity under which it was to be done would not be fully understood; that by many it would be construed as a part of a voluntary policy; that at home it would discourage the friends of the Union, embolden its adversaries, and go far to insure to the latter a recognition abroad; that, in fact, it would be our national destruction consummated. This could not be allowed. Starvation was not yet upon the garrison; and ere it would be reached Fort Pickens might be reenforced. This last would be a clear indication of policy, and would better enable the country to accept the evacuation of Fort Sumter as a military necessity. An order was at once directed to be sent for the landing of the troops from the steamship Brooklyn into Fort Pickens. This order could not go by land, but must take the longer and slower route by sea. The first return news from the order was received just one week before the fall of Fort Sumter. The news itself was that the officer commanding the Sabine, to which vessel the troops had been transferred from the Brooklyn, acting upon some *quasi* armistice of the late Administration, (and of the existence of which the present Administration, up to the time the order was despatched, had only too vague and uncertain rumors to fix attention,) had refused to land the troops. To now reënforce Fort Pickens before a crisis would be reached at Fort Sumter was impossible—rendered so by the near exhaustion of provisions in the latter-named fort. In precaution against such a conjuncture, the Government had a few days before commenced preparing an expedition, as well adapted as might be, to relieve Fort Sumter, which expedition was intended to be ultimately used or not, according to circumstances. The strongest anticipated case for using it was now presented, and it was resolved to send it forward. As had been intended in this contingency, it was also resolved to notify the Governor of South Carolina that he might expect an attempt would be made to provision the fort; and that, if the attempt should not be resisted, there would be no effort to throw in men, arms, or ammunition, without further notice, or in case of an attack upon the fort. This notice was accordingly given; whereupon the fort was attacked and bombarded to its fall, without even

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awaiting the arrival of the provisioning expedition.

It is thus seen that the assault upon and reduction of Fort Sumter was in no sense a matter of self-defence on the part of the assailants. They well knew that the garrison in the fort could by no possibility commit aggression upon them. They knew—they were expressly notified—that the giving of bread to the few brave and hungry men of the garrison was all which would on that occasion be attempted, unless themselves, by resisting so much, should provoke more. They knew that this Government desired to keep the garrison in the fort, not to assail them, but merely to maintain visible possession, and thus to preserve the Union from actual and immediate dissolution—trusting, as hereinbefore stated, to time, discussion, and the ballot-box for final adjustment; and they assailed and reduced the fort for precisely the reverse object—to drive out the visible authority of the Federal Union, and thus force it to immediate dissolution. That this was their object the Executive well understood; and having said to them in the inaugural address, "You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors," he took pains not only to keep this declaration good, but also to keep the case so free from the power of ingenious sophistry that the world should not be able to misunderstand it. By the affair at Fort Sumter, with its surrounding circumstances, that point was reached. Then and thereby the assailants of the Government began the conflict of arms, without a gun in sight or in expectancy to return their fire, save only the few in the fort, sent to that harbor years before for their own protection, and still ready to give that protection in whatever was lawful. In this act, discarding all else, they have forced upon the country the distinct issue, "immediate dissolution or blood."

And this issue embraces more than the fate of these United States. It presents to the whole family of man the question, whether a constitutional republic or democracy—a government of the people by the same people—can or cannot maintain its territorial integrity against its own domestic foes. It presents the question, whether discontented individuals, too few in numbers to control administration, according to organic law, in any case, can always, upon the pretences made in this case, or on any other pretenses, or arbitrarily, without any pretence, break up their Government, and thus practically put an end to free government upon the earth. It forces us to ask, "Is there, in all republics, this inherent and fatal weakness?" "Must a Government, of necessity, be too strong for the liberties of its own people, or too weak to maintain its own existence?"

So viewing the issue, no choice was left but to call out the war power of the Government; and so to resist force employed for its destruction, by force for its preservation.

The call was made, and the response of the country was most gratifying, surpassing in unanimity and spirit the most sanguine expectation. Yet none of the States commonly called slave States, except Delaware, gave a regiment through regular State organization. A few regiments have been organized within some others of those States by individual enterprise, and received into the Government service. Of course, the seceded States, so called, (and to which Texas had been joined about the time of the inauguration,) gave no troops to the cause of the Union. The border States, so called, were not uniform in their action, some of them being almost for the Union, while in others—as Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas—the Union sentiment was nearly repressed and silenced. The course taken in Virginia was the most remarkable—perhaps the most important. A convention, elected by the people of that State to consider this very question of disrupting the Federal Union, was in session at the capital of Virginia when Fort Sumter fell. To this body the people had chosen a large majority of professed Union men. Almost immediately after the fall of Sumter, many members of that majority went over to the original disunion minority, and with them adopted an ordinance for withdrawing the State from the Union. Whether this change was wrought by their great approval of the assault upon Sumter, or their great resentment at the Government's resistance to that assault, is not definitely known. Although they submitted the ordinance for ratification to a vote of the people, to be taken on a day then somewhat more than a month distant, the convention and the Legislature, (which was also in session at the same time and place,) with leading men of the State, not members of either, immediately commenced acting as if the State were already out of the Union. They pushed military preparations vigorously forward all over the State. They seized the United States armory at Harper's Ferry, and the navy-yard at Gosport, near Norfolk. They received—perhaps invited—into their State large bodies of troops, with their warlike appointments, from the so-called seceded States. They formally entered into a treaty of temporary alliance and coöperation with the so-called "Confederate States," and sent members to their Congress at Montgomery; and, finally, they permitted the insurrectionary Government to be transferred to their capital at Richmond.

The people of Virginia have thus allowed this giant insurrection to make its nest within her borders; and this Government has no choice left but to deal with it where it finds it. And it has the less regret, as the loyal citizens have in due form claimed its protection. Those loyal citizens this Government is bound to recognize and protect as being Virginia.

In the border States, so called—in fact, the middle States—there are those who favor a policy which they call "armed neutrality;" that is, an arming of those States to prevent the Union forces passing one way, or the disunion the other, over their soil. This would be disunion completed. Figuratively speaking, it would be the building of an impassable wall along the line of separation—and yet not quite an impassable one; for, under the guise of neutrality, it would tie the hands of Union men, and freely pass supplies from among them to the insurrectionists, which it could not do as an open enemy. At a stroke it would take all the trouble off the hands of secession, except only what proceeds from the external blockade. It would do for the disunionists that which of all things they most desire—feed them well and give them disunion without a struggle of their own. It recognizes no fidelity to the Constitution, no obligation to maintain the Union; and while very many who have favored it are doubtless loyal citizens, it is, nevertheless, very injurious in effect.

Recurring to the action of the Government, it may be stated that at first a call was made for seventy-five thousand militia; and rapidly following this a proclamation was issued for closing the ports of the insurrectionary districts by proceedings in the nature of a blockade. So far all was believed to be strictly legal. At this point the insurrectionists announced their purpose to enter upon the practice of privateering.

Other calls were made for volunteers to serve for three years, unless sooner discharged, and also for large additions to the regular army and navy. These measures, whether strictly legal or not, were ventured upon under what appeared to be a popular demand and a public necessity; trusting then, as now, that Congress would readily ratify them. It is believed that nothing has been done beyond the constitutional competency of Congress.

Soon after the first call for militia, it was considered a duty to authorize the commanding General in proper cases, according to his discretion, to suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, or, in other words, to arrest and detain, without resort to the ordinary processes and forms of law, such individuals as he might deem dangerous to the public safety. This authority has purposely been exercised but very sparingly. Nevertheless, the legality and propriety of what has been done under it are questioned, and the attention of the country has been called to the proposition that one who is sworn to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed" should not himself violate them. Of course

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some consideration was given to the questions of power and propriety before this matter was acted upon. The whole of the laws which were required to be faithfully executed were being resisted, and failing of execution in nearly one-third of the States. Must they be allowed to finally fail of execution, even had it been perfectly clear that by the use of the means necessary to their execution some single law, made in such extreme tenderness of the citizen's liberty, that practically it relieves more of the guilty than of the innocent, should to a very limited extent be violated? To state the question more directly: are all the laws but one to go unexecuted, and the Government itself go to pieces, lest that one be violated? Even in such a case, would not the official oath be broken if the Government should be overthrown, when it was believed that disregarding the single law would tend to preserve it? But it was not believed that this question was presented. It was not believed that any law was violated. The provision of the Constitution that "the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it," is equivalent to a provision—is a provision—that such privilege may be suspended when, in case of rebellion or invasion, the public safety does require it. It was decided that we have a case of rebellion, and that the public safety does require the qualified suspension of the privilege of the writ which was authorized to be made. Now, it is insisted that Congress, and not the Executive, is vested with this power. But the Constitution itself is silent as to which or who is to exercise the power; and as the provision was plainly made for a dangerous emergency, it cannot be believed the framers of the instrument intended that in every case the danger should run its course until Congress could be called together; the very assembling of which might be prevented, as was intended in this case, by the rebellion.

No more extended argument is now offered, as an opinion, at some length, will probably be presented by the Attorney-General. Whether there shall be any legislation upon the subject, and if any, what, is submitted entirely to the better judgment of Congress.

The forbearance of this Government had been so extraordinary, and so long-continued, as to lead some foreign nations to shape their action as if they supposed the early destruction of our national Union was probable. While this, on discovery, gave the Executive some concern, he is now happy to say that the sovereignty and rights of the United States are now everywhere practically respected by foreign Powers; and a general sympathy with the country is manifested throughout the world.

The reports of the Secretaries of the Treasury, War, and the Navy, will give the information in detail deemed necessary and convenient for your deliberation and action; while the Executive and all the Departments will stand ready to supply omissions, or to communicate new facts considered important for you to know.

It is now recommended that you give the legal means for making this contest a short and decisive one; that you place at the control of the Government, for the work, at least four hundred thousand men, and $400,000,000. That number of men is about one-tenth of those of proper ages within the regions where, apparently, all are willing to engage; and the sum is less than a twenty-third part of the money value owned by the men who seem ready to devote the whole. A debt of $600,000,000 now, is a less sum per head than was the debt of our Revolution when we came out of that struggle; and the money value in the country now bears even a greater proportion to what it was then, than does the population. Surely each man has as strong a motive now to preserve our liberties, as each had then to establish them.

A right result, at this time, will be worth more to the world than ten times the men and ten times the money. The evidence reaching us from the country leaves no doubt that the material for the work is abundant, and that it needs only the hand of legislation to give it legal sanction, and the hand of the Executive to give it practical shape and efficiency. One of the greatest perplexities of the Government is to avoid receiving troops faster than it can provide for them. In a word, the people will save their Government if the Government itself will do its part only indifferently well.

It might seem, at first thought, to be of little difference whether the present movement at the South be called "secession," or "rebellion." The movers, however, will understand the difference. At the beginning they knew they could never raise their treason to any respectable magnitude by any name which implies violation of law. They knew their people possessed as much of moral sense, as much of devotion to law and order, and as much pride in, and reverence for, the history and Government of their common country, as any other civilized and patriotic people. They knew they could make no advancement directly in the teeth of these strong and noble sentiments. Accordingly they commenced by an insidious debauching of the public mind. They invented an ingenious sophism, which, if conceded, was followed by perfectly logical steps, through all the incidents, to the complete destruction of the Union. The sophism itself is: that any State of the Union may, consistently with the national Constitution, and therefore lawfully and peacefully, withdraw from the Union without the consent of the Union or of any other State. The little disguise that the supposed right is to be exercised only for just cause, themselves to be the sole judge of its justice, is too thin to merit any notice.

With rebellion thus sugar-coated, they have been drugging the public mind of their section for more than thirty years, and until at length they have brought many good men to a willingness to take up arms against the Government the day after some assemblage of men have enacted the farcical pretence of taking their State out of the Union, who could have been brought to no such thing the day before.

This sophism derives much, perhaps the whole, of its currency from the assumption that there is some omnipotent and sacred supremacy pertaining to a State—to each State of our Federal Union. Our States have neither more nor less power than that reserved to them in the Union by the Constitution—no one of them ever having been a State out of the Union. The original ones passed into the Union even before they cast off their British colonial dependence; and the new ones each came into the Union directly from a condition of dependence, excepting Texas. And even Texas, in its temporary independence, was never designated a State. The new ones only took the designation of States on coming into the Union, while that name was first adopted by the old ones in and by the Declaration of Independence. Therein the "United Colonies" were declared to be "free and independent States;" but, even then, the object plainly was not to declare their independence of one another, or of the Union, but directly the contrary; as their mutual pledge, and their mutual action, before, at the time, and afterwards, abundantly show. The express plighting of faith by each and all of the original thirteen in the Articles of Confederation, two years later, that the Union shall be perpetual, is most conclusive. Having never been States, either in substance or in name, outside of the Union, whence this magical omnipotence of "State rights," asserting a claim of power to lawfully destroy the Union itself? Much is said about the "sovereignty" of the States; but the word, even, is not in the national Constitution; nor, as is believed, in any of the State constitutions. What is "sovereignty," in the political sense of the term? Would it be far wrong to define it "a political community, without a political superior?" Tested by this, no one of our States, except Texas, ever was a sovereignty. And even Texas gave up the character on coming into the Union; by which act she acknowledged the Constitution of the United States and the laws and treaties of the United States made in pursuance of the Constitution, to be, for her, the supreme law of the land. The States have their *status* in the Union, and they have no other legal *status*. If they break

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from this, they can only do so against law and by revolution. The Union, and not themselves separately, procured their independence and their liberty. By conquest, or purchase, the Union gave each of them whatever of independence or liberty it has. The Union is older than any of the States, and, in fact, it created them as States. Originally some dependent colonies made the Union, and, in turn, the Union threw off their old dependence for them, and made them States, such as they are. Not one of them ever had a State constitution independent of the Union. Of course, it is not forgotten that all the new States framed their constitutions before they entered the Union; nevertheless, dependent upon, and preparatory to, coming into the Union.

Unquestionably the States have the powers and rights reserved to them in and by the national Constitution; but among these, surely, are not included all conceivable powers, however mischievous or destructive; but, at most, such only as were known in the world, at the time, as governmental powers; and certainly a power to destroy the Government itself had never been known as a governmental—as a merely administrative power. This relative matter of national power and State rights, as a principle, is no other than the principle of generality and locality. Whatever concerns the whole should be confided to the whole—to the General Government; while whatever concerns only the State should be left exclusively to the State. This is all there is of original principle about it. Whether the national Constitution in defining boundaries between the two has applied the principle with exact accuracy, is not to be questioned. We are all bound by that defining, without question.

What is now combated, is the position that secession is consistent with the Constitution—is lawful and peaceful. It is not contended that there is any express law for it; and nothing should ever be implied as law which leads to unjust or absurd consequences. The nation purchased with money the countries out of which several of these States were formed; is it just that they shall go off without leave and without refunding? The nation paid very large sums (in the aggregate, I believe, nearly a hundred millions) to relieve Florida of the aboriginal tribes: is it just that she shall now be off without consent, or without making any return? The nation is now in debt for money applied to the benefit of these so-called seceding States in common with the rest: is it just either that creditors shall go unpaid, or the remaining States pay the whole? A part of the present national debt was contracted to pay the old debts of Texas: is it just that she shall leave and pay no part of this herself?

Again: if one State may secede, so may another; and when all shall have seceded, none is left to pay the debts. Is this quite just to creditors? Did we notify them of this sage view of ours when we borrowed their money? If we now recognize this doctrine by allowing the seceders to go in peace, it is difficult to see what we can do if others choose to go, or to extort terms upon which they will promise to remain.

The seceders insist that our Constitution admits of secession. They have assumed to make a national Constitution of their own, in which, of necessity, they have either discarded or retained the right of secession, as they insist it exists in ours. If they have discarded it, they thereby admit that, on principle, it ought not to be in ours. If they have retained it, by their own construction of ours they show that, to be consistent, they must secede from one another whenever they shall find it the easiest way of settling their debts, or effecting any other selfish or unjust object. The principle itself is one of disintegration, and upon which no Government can possibly endure.

If all the States, save one, should assert the power to drive that one out of the Union, it is presumed the whole class of seceder politicians would at once deny the power, and denounce the act as the greatest outrage upon State rights. But suppose that precisely the same act, instead of being called "driving the one out," should be called "the seceding of the others from that one," it would be exactly what the seceders claim to do; unless, indeed, they make the point that the one, because it is a minority, may rightfully do what the others, because they are a majority, may not rightfully do. These politicians are subtile and profound on the rights of minorities. They are not partial to that power which made the Constitution, and speaks from the preamble, calling itself "We, the People."

It may well be questioned whether there is, to-day, a majority of the legally qualified voters of any State, except perhaps South Carolina, in favor of disunion. There is much reason to believe that the Union men are the majority in many, if not in every other one, of the so-called seceded States. The contrary has not been demonstrated in any one of them. It is ventured to affirm this even of Virginia and Tennessee; for the result of an election held in military camps, where the bayonets are all on one side of the question voted upon, can scarcely be considered as demonstrating popular sentiment. At such an election, all that large class who are at once for the Union, and against coercion, would be coerced to vote against the Union.

It may be affirmed, without extravagance, that the free institutions we enjoy have developed the powers and improved the condition of our whole people, beyond any example in the world. Of this we now have a striking and an impressive illustration. So large an army as the Government has now on foot was never before known without a soldier in it but who had taken his place there of his own free choice. But more than this: there are many single regiments whose members, one and another, possess full practical knowledge of all the arts, sciences, professions, and whatever else, whether useful or elegant, is known in the world; and there is scarcely one from which there could not be selected a President, a Cabinet, a Congress, and perhaps a court, abundantly competent to administer the Government itself! Nor do I say this is not true also in the army of our late friends, now adversaries, in this contest; but if it is, so much better the reason why the Government which has conferred such benefits on both them and us should not be broken up. Whoever, in any section, proposes to abandon such a Government, would do well to consider, in deference to what principle it is that he does it; what better he is likely to get in its stead; whether the substitute will give, or be intended to give, so much of good to the people? There are some foreshadowings on this subject. Our adversaries have adopted some declarations of independence, in which, unlike the good old one, penned by Jefferson, they omit the words, "all men are created equal." Why? They have adopted a temporary national constitution, in the preamble of which, unlike our good old one, signed by Washington, they omit "We, the People," and substitute, "We, the deputies of the sovereign and independent States." Why? Why this deliberate pressing out of view the rights of men and the authority of the people?

This is essentially a people's contest. On the side of the Union, it is a struggle for maintaining in the world that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men; to lift artificial weights from all shoulders; to clear the paths of laudable pursuit for all; to afford all an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life. Yielding to partial and temporary departures, from necessity, this is the leading object of the Government for whose existence we contend.

I am most happy to believe that the plain people understand and appreciate this. It is worthy of note, that while in this the Government's hour of trial, large numbers of those in the army and navy who have been favored with the offices have resigned and proved false to the hand which had pampered them, not one common soldier or common sailor is known to have deserted his flag.

Great honor is due to those officers who remained true, despite the example of their treacherous associates; but the greatest honor, and most important fact of all, is the unanimous firmness of the common

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soldiers and common sailors. To the last man, so far as known, they have successfully resisted the traitorous efforts of those whose commands, but an hour before, they obeyed as absolute law. This is the patriotic instinct of plain people. They understand, without an argument, that the destroying the Government which was made by Washington means no good to them.

Our popular Government has often been called an experiment. Two points in it our people have already settled—the successful establishing and the successful administering of it. One still remains—its successful maintenance against a formidable internal attempt to overthrow it. It is now for them to demonstrate to the world that those who can fairly carry an election can also suppress a rebellion; that ballots are the rightful and peaceful successors of bullets; and that when ballots have fairly and constitutionally decided, there can be no successful appeal back to bullets; that there can be no successful appeal except to ballots themselves, at succeeding elections. Such will be a great lesson of peace; teaching men that what they cannot take by an election, neither can they take by a war; teaching all the folly of being the beginners of a war.

Lest there be some uneasiness in the minds of candid men as to what is to be the course of the Government towards the Southern States after the rebellion shall have been suppressed, the Executive deems it proper to say, it will be his purpose then, as ever, to be guided by the Constitution and the laws; and that he probably will have no different understanding of the powers and duties of the Federal Government relatively to the rights of the States and the people, under the Constitution, than that expressed in the inaugural address.

He desires to preserve the Government, that it may be administered for all, as it was administered by the men who made it. Loyal citizens everywhere have the right to claim this of their Government, and the Government has no right to withhold or neglect it. It is not perceived that, in giving it, there is any coercion, any conquest, or any subjugation, in any just sense of those terms.

The Constitution provides, and all the States have accepted the provision, that "the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of Government." But if a State may lawfully go out of the Union, having done so, it may also discard the republican form of Government; so that to prevent its going out is an indispensable means to the end of maintaining the guarantee mentioned; and when an end is lawful and obligatory, the indispensable means to it are also lawful and obligatory.

It was with the deepest regret that the Executive found the duty of employing the war power in defence of the Government forced upon him. He could but perform this duty, or surrender the existence of the Government. No compromise by public servants could in this case be a cure; not that compromises are not often proper, but that no popular Government can long survive a marked precedent that those who carry an election can only save the Government from immediate destruction by giving up the main point upon which the people gave the election. The people themselves, and not their servants, can safely reverse their own deliberate decisions.

As a private citizen, the Executive could not have consented that these institutions shall perish; much less could he, in betrayal of so vast and so sacred a trust as these free people have confided to him. He felt that he had no moral right to shrink, or even to count the chances of his own life, in what might follow. In full view of his great responsibility, he has, so far, done what he has deemed his duty. You will now, according to your own judgment, perform yours. He sincerely hopes that your views and your action may so accord with his as to assure all faithful citizens who have been disturbed in their rights of a certain and speedy restoration to them, under the Constitution and the laws.

And having thus chosen our course, without guile and with pure purpose, let us renew our trust in God, and go forward without fear and with manly hearts.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

July 4, 1861.

Message of President Lincoln at the Second Session of the Thirty-seventh Congress, December 3d, 1861.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

In the midst of unprecedented political troubles, we have cause of great gratitude to God for unusual good health, and most abundant harvests.

You will not be surprised to learn that, in the peculiar exigencies of the times, our intercourse with foreign nations has been attended with profound solicitude, chiefly turning upon our own domestic affairs.

A disloyal portion of the American people have, during the whole year, been engaged in an attempt to divide and destroy the Union. A nation which endures factious domestic division, is exposed to disrespect abroad; and one party, if not both, is sure, sooner or later, to invoke foreign intervention.

Nations thus tempted to interfere are not always able to resist the counsels of seeming expediency and ungenerous ambition, although measures adopted under such influences seldom fail to be unfortunate and injurious to those adopting them.

The disloyal citizens of the United States who have offered the ruin of our country, in return for the aid and comfort which they have invoked abroad, have received less patronage and encouragement than they probably expected. If it were just to suppose, as the insurgents have seemed to assume, that foreign nations, in this case, discarding all moral, social, and treaty obligations, would act solely and selfishly for the most speedy restoration of commerce, including especially the acquisition of cotton, those nations appear, as yet, not to have seen their way to their object more directly, or clearly, through the destruction, than through the preservation, of the Union. If we could dare to believe that foreign nations are actuated by no higher principle than this, I am quite sure a sound argument could be made to show them that they can reach their aim more readily and easily by aiding to crush this rebellion, than by giving encouragement to it.

The principal lever relied on by the insurgents for exciting foreign nations to hostility against us, as already intimated, is the embarrassment of commerce. Those nations, however, not improbably, saw from the first, that it was the Union which made, as well our foreign, as our domestic commerce. They can scarcely have failed to perceive that the effort for disunion produces the existing difficulty; and that one strong nation promises more durable peace, and a more extensive, valuable, and reliable commerce, than can the same nation broken into hostile fragments.

It is not my purpose to review our discussions with foreign States; because whatever might be their wishes or dispositions, the integrity of our country, and the stability of our Government mainly depend, not upon them, but on the loyalty, virtue, patriotism, and intelligence of the American people. The correspondence itself, with the usual reservations, is herewith submitted.

I venture to hope it will appear that we have practised prudence and liberality towards foreign powers, averting causes of irritation; and with firmness maintaining our own rights and honor.

Since, however, it is apparent that here, as in every other State, foreign dangers necessarily attend domestic difficulties, I recommend that adequate and ample measures be adopted for maintaining the public defences on every side. While, under this general recommendation, provision for defending our sea-coast line readily occurs to the mind, I also, in the same connection, ask the attention of Congress to our great lakes and rivers. It is believed that some fortifications and depots of arms and munitions, with harbor and navigation improvements, all at well-selected points

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upon these, would be of great importance to the national defence and preservation. I ask attention to the views of the Secretary of War, expressed in his report, upon the same general subject.

I deem it of importance that the loyal regions of East Tennessee and Western North Carolina should be connected with Kentucky, and other faithful parts of the Union, by railroad. I therefore recommend, as a military measure, that Congress provide for the construction of such road as speedily as possible. Kentucky no doubt will coöperate, and through her legislature make the most judicious selection of a line. The northern terminus must connect with some existing railroad; and whether the route shall be from Lexington, or Nicholasville, to the Cumberland Gap, or from Lebanon to the Tennessee line, in the direction of Knoxville, or on some still different line, can easily be determined. Kentucky and the General Government coöperating, the work can be completed in a very short time; and when done, it will be not only of vast present usefulness, but also a valuable permanent improvement, worth its cost in all the future.

Some treaties, designed chiefly for the interests of commerce, and having no grave political importance, have been negotiated, and will be submitted to the Senate for their consideration.

Although we have failed to induce some of the commercial powers to adopt a desirable melioration of the rigor of maritime war, we have removed all obstructions from the way of this humane reform, except such as are merely of temporary and accidental occurrence.

I invite your attention to the correspondence between her Britannic Majesty's Minister accredited to this Government, and the Secretary of State, relative to the detention of the British ship Perthshire, in June last, by the United States steamer Massachusetts, for a supposed breach of the blockade. As this detention was occasioned by an obvious misapprehension of the facts, and as justice requires that we should commit no belligerent act not founded in strict right, as sanctioned by public law, I recommend that an appropriation be made to satisfy the reasonable demand of the owners of the vessel for her detention.

I repeat the recommendation of my predecessor, in his annual message to Congress in December last, in regard to the disposition of the surplus which will probably remain after satisfying the claims of American citizens against China, pursuant to the awards of the commissioners under the act of the 3d of March, 1859. If, however, it should not be deemed advisable to carry that recommendation into effect, I would suggest that authority be given for investing the principal, over the proceeds of the surplus referred too, in good securities, with a view to the satisfaction of such other just claims of our citizens against China as are not unlikely to arise hereafter in the course of our extensive trade with that Empire.

By the act of the 5th of August last, Congress authorized the President to instruct the commanders of suitable vessels to defend themselves against, and to capture pirates. This authority has been exercised in a single instance only. For the more effectual protection of our extensive and valuable commerce, in the eastern seas especially, it seems to me that it would also be advisable to authorize the commanders of sailing vessels to recapture any prizes which pirates may make of United States vessels and their cargoes, and the consular courts, now established by law in eastern countries, to adjudicate the cases, in the event that this should not be objected to by the local authorities.

If any good reason exists why we should persevere longer in withholding our recognition of the independence and sovereignty of Hayti and Liberia, I am unable to discern it. Unwilling, however, to inaugurate a novel policy in regard to them without the approbation of Congress, I submit for your consideration the expediency of an appropriation for maintaining a chargé d'affaires near each of those new States. It does not admit of doubt that important commercial advantages might be secured by favorable treaties with them.

The operations of the Treasury during the period which has elapsed since your adjournment have been conducted with signal success. The patriotism of the people has placed at the disposal of the Government the large means demanded by the public exigencies. Much of the national loan has been taken by citizens of the industrial classes, whose confidence in their country's faith, and zeal for their country's deliverance from present peril, have induced them to contribute to the support of the Government the whole of their limited acquisitions. This fact imposes peculiar obligations to economy in disbursement and energy in action.

The revenue from all sources, including loans, for the financial year ending on the 30th June, 1861, was eighty-six million eight hundred and thirty-five thousand nine hundred dollars and twenty-seven cents, and the expenditures for the same period, including payments on account of the public debt, were eighty-four million five hundred and seventy-eight thousand eight hundred and thirty-four dollars and forty-seven cents; leaving a balance in the treasury, on the 1st July, of two million two hundred and fifty-seven thousand sixty-five dollars and eighty cents. For the first quarter of the financial year, ending on the 30th September, 1861, the receipts from all sources, including the balance of 1st of July, were one hundred and two million five hundred and thirty-two thousand five hundred and nine dollars and twenty-seven cents, and the expenses ninety-eight million two hundred and thirty-nine thousand seven hundred and thirty-three dollars and nine cents; leaving a balance, on the 1st of October, 1861, of four million two hundred and ninety-two thousand seven hundred and seventy-six dollars and eighteen cents.

Estimates for the remaining three-quarters of the year, and for the financial year 1863, together with his views of ways and means for meeting the demands contemplated by them, will be submitted to Congress by the Secretary of the Treasury. It is gratifying to know that the expenditures made necessary by the rebellion are not beyond the resources of the loyal people, and to believe that the same patriotism which has thus far sustained the Government will continue to sustain it till peace and union shall again bless the land.

I respectfully refer to the report of the Secretary of War for information respecting the numerical strength of the army, and for recommendations having in view an increase of its efficiency, and the well-being of the various branches of the service intrusted to his care. It is gratifying to know that the patriotism of the people has proved equal to the occasion, and that the number of troops tendered greatly exceeds the force which Congress authorized me to call into the field.

I refer with pleasure to those portions of his report which make allusion to the creditable degree of discipline already attained by our troops, and to the excellent sanitary condition of the entire army.

The recommendation of the Secretary for an organization of the militia upon a uniform basis, is a subject of vital importance to the future safety of the country, and is commended to the serious attention of Congress.

The large addition to the regular army, in connection with the defection that has so considerably diminished the number of its officers, gives peculiar importance to his recommendation for increasing the corps of cadets to the greatest capacity of the Military Academy.

By mere omission, I presume, Congress has failed to provide chaplains for hospitals occupied by volunteers. This subject was brought to my notice, and I was induced to draw up the form of a letter, one copy of which, properly addressed, has been delivered to each of the persons, and at the dates respectively named and stated in a schedule, containing also the form of the letter, marked A, and herewith transmitted.

These gentlemen, I understand, entered upon the duties designated at the times respectively stated in

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the schedule, and have labored faithfully therein ever since. I therefore recommend that they be compensated at the same rate as chaplains in the army. I further suggest that general provision be made for chaplains to serve at hospitals, as well as with regiments.

The report of the Secretary of the Navy presents in detail the operations of that branch of the service, the activity and energy which have characterized its administration, and the results of measures to increase its efficiency and power. Such have been the additions, by construction and purchase, that it may almost be said a navy has been created and brought into service since our difficulties commenced.

Besides blockading our extensive coast, squadrons larger than ever before assembled under our flag have been put afloat, and performed deeds which have increased our naval renown.

I would invite special attention to the recommendation of the Secretary for a more perfect organization of the navy, by introducing additional grades in the service.

The present organization is defective and unsatisfactory, and the suggestions submitted by the department will, it is believed, if adopted, obviate the difficulties alluded to, promote harmony, and increase the efficiency of the navy.

There are three vacancies on the bench of the Supreme Court—two by the decease of Justices Daniel and McLean, and one by the resignation of Justice Campbell. I have so far forborne making nominations to fill these vacancies for reasons which I will now state. Two of the outgoing judges resided within the States now overrun by revolt; so that if successors were appointed in the same localities, they could not now serve upon their circuits; and many of the most competent men there probably would not take the personal hazard of accepting to serve, even here, upon the supreme bench. I have been unwilling to throw all the appointments northward, thus disabling myself from doing justice to the South on the return of peace; although I may remark that to transfer to the North one which has heretofore been in the South, would not, with reference to territory and population, be unjust.

During the long and brilliant judicial career of Judge McLean his circuit grew into an empire—altogether too large for any one judge to give the courts therein more than a nominal attendance—rising in population from one million four hundred and seventy thousand and eighteen, in 1820, to six million one hundred and fifty-one thousand four hundred and five, in 1860.

Besides this, the country generally has outgrown our present judicial system. If uniformity was at all intended, the system requires that all the States shall be accommodated with circuit courts, attended by supreme judges, while, in fact, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, Florida, Texas, California, and Oregon have never had any such courts. Nor can this well be remedied without a change of the system; because the adding of judges to the Supreme Court, enough for the accommodation of all parts of the country with circuit courts, would create a court altogether too numerous for a judicial body of any sort. And the evil, if it be one, will increase as new States come into the Union. Circuit courts are useful, or they are not useful. If useful, no State should be denied them; if not useful, no State should have them. Let them be provided for all, or abolished as to all.

Three modifications occur to me, either of which, I think, would be an improvement upon our present system. Let the Supreme Court be of convenient number in every event. Then, first, let the whole country be divided into circuits of convenient size, the supreme judges to serve in a number of them corresponding to their own number, and independent circuit judges be provided for all the rest. Or, secondly, let the supreme judges be relieved from circuit duties, and circuit judges provided for all the circuits. Or, thirdly, dispense with circuit courts altogether, leaving the judicial functions wholly to the district courts and an independent Supreme Court.

I respectfully recommend to the consideration of Congress the present condition of the statute laws, with the hope that Congress will be able to find an easy remedy for many of the inconveniences and evils which constantly embarrass those engaged in the practical administration of them. Since the organization of the Government, Congress has enacted some five thousand acts and joint resolutions, which fill more than six thousand closely printed pages, and are scattered through many volumes. Many of these acts have been drawn in haste and without sufficient caution, so that their provisions are often obscure in themselves, or in conflict with each other, or at least so doubtful as to render it very difficult for even the best informed persons to ascertain precisely what the statute law really is.

It seems to me very important that the statute laws should be made as plain and intelligible as possible, and be reduced to as small a compass as may consist with the fulness and precision of the will of the legislature and the perspicuity of its language. This, well done, would, I think, greatly facilitate the labors of those whose duty it is to assist in the administration of the laws, and would be a lasting benefit to the people, by placing before them, in a more accessible and intelligible form, the laws which so deeply concern their interests and their duties.

I am informed by some whose opinions I respect, that all the acts of Congress now in force, and of a permanent and general nature, might be revised and rewritten, so as to be embraced in one volume (or, at most, two volumes) of ordinary and convenient size. And I respectfully recommend to Congress to consider of the subject, and, if my suggestion be approved, to devise such plan as to their wisdom shall seem most proper for the attainment of the end proposed.

One of the unavoidable consequences of the present insurrection is the entire suppression, in many places, of all the ordinary means of administering civil justice by the officers, and in the forms of existing law. This is the case, in whole or in part, in all the insurgent States; and as our armies advance upon and take possession of parts of those States, the practical evil becomes more apparent. There are no courts nor officers to whom the citizens of other States may apply for the enforcement of their lawful claims against citizens of the insurgent States; and there is a vast amount of debt constituting such claims. Some have estimated it as high as two hundred million dollars, due, in large part, from insurgents in open rebellion to loyal citizens who are, even now, making great sacrifices in the discharge of their patriotic duty to support the Government.

Under these circumstances, I have been urgently solicited to establish, by military power, courts to administer summary justice in such cases. I have thus far declined to do it, not because I had any doubt that the end proposed—the collection of the debts—was just and right in itself, but because I have been unwilling to go beyond the pressure of necessity in the unusual exercise of power. But the powers of Congress I suppose are equal to the anomalous occasion, and therefore I refer the whole matter to Congress, with the hope that a plan may be devised for the administration of justice in all such parts of the insurgent States and Territories as may be under the control of this Government, whether by a voluntary return to allegiance and order, or by the power of our arms: this, however, not to be a permanent institution, but a temporary substitute, and to cease as soon as the ordinary courts can be reestablished in peace.

It is important that some more convenient means should be provided, if possible, for the adjustment of claims against the Government, especially in view of their increased number by reason of the war. It is as much the duty of Government to render prompt justice against itself, in favor of citizens, as it is to administer the same between private individuals. The investigation and adjudication of claims, in their nature belong to the judicial department; besides, it is apparent that the attention of Congress will be more than usually

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engaged, for some time to come, with great national questions. It was intended, by the organization of the court of claims, mainly to remove this branch of business from the halls of Congress; but while the court has proved to be an effective and valuable means of investigation, it in great degree fails to effect the object of its creation, for want of power to make its judgments final.

Fully aware of the delicacy, not to say the danger, of the subject, I commend to your careful consideration whether this power of making judgments final may not properly be given to the court, reserving the right of appeal on questions of law to the Supreme Court, with such other provisions as experience may have shown to be necessary.

I ask attention to the report of the Postmaster-General, the following being a summary statement of the condition of the department:

The revenue from all sources during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1861, including the annual permanent appropriation of seven hundred thousand dollars for the transportation of "free mail matter," was nine million forty-nine thousand two hundred and ninety-six dollars and forty cents, being about two per cent. less than the revenue for 1860.

The expenditures were thirteen million six hundred and six thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine dollars and eleven cents, showing a decrease of more than eight per cent. as compared with those of the previous year, and leaving an excess of expenditure over the revenue for the last fiscal year of four million five hundred and fifty-seven thousand four hundred and sixty-two dollars and seventy-one cents.

The gross revenue for the year ending June 30, 1863, is estimated at an increase of four per cent. on that of 1861, making eight million six hundred and eighty-three thousand dollars, to which should be added the earnings of the department in carrying free matter, viz.: seven hundred thousand dollars, making nine million three hundred and eighty-three thousand dollars.

The total expenditures for 1863 are estimated at twelve million five hundred and twenty-eight thousand dollars, leaving an estimated deficiency of three million one hundred and forty-five thousand dollars to be supplied from the Treasury, in addition to the permanent appropriation.

The present insurrection shows, I think, that the extension of this district across the Potomac River, at the time of establishing the capital here, was eminently wise, and consequently that the relinquishment of that portion of it which lies within the State of Virginia was unwise and dangerous. I submit for your consideration the expediency of regaining that part of the district, and the restoration of the original boundaries thereof, through negotiations with the State of Virginia.

The report of the Secretary of the Interior, with the accompanying documents, exhibits the condition of the several branches of the public business pertaining to that department. The depressing influences of the insurrection have been especially felt in the operations of the Patent and General Land Offices. The cash receipts from the sales of public lands during the past year have exceeded the expenses of our land system only about two hundred thousand dollars. The sales have been entirely suspended in the Southern States, while the interruptions to the business of the country, and the diversion of large numbers of men from labor to military service, have obstructed settlements in the new States and Territories of the Northwest.

The receipts of the Patent Office have declined in nine months about one hundred thousand dollars, rendering a large reduction of the force employed necessary to make it self-sustaining.

The demands upon the Pension Office will be largely increased by the insurrection. Numerous applications for pensions, based upon the casualties of the existing war, have already been made. There is reason to believe that many who are now upon the pension rolls, and in receipt of the bounty of the Government, are in the ranks of the insurgent army, or giving them aid and comfort. The Secretary of the Interior has directed a suspension of the payment of the pensions of such persons upon proof of their disloyalty. I recommend that Congress authorize that officer to cause the names of such persons to be stricken from the pension rolls.

The relations of the Government with the Indian tribes have been greatly disturbed by the insurrection, especially in the Southern superintendency and in that of New Mexico. The Indian country south of Kansas is in the possession of insurgents from Texas and Arkansas. The agents of the United States appointed since the 4th of March for this superintendency have been unable to reach their posts, while the most of those who were in office before that time have espoused the insurrectionary cause, and assume to exercise the powers of agents by virtue of commissions from the insurrectionists. It has been stated in the public press that a portion of those Indians have been organized as a military force, and are attached to the army of the insurgents. Although the Government has no official information upon this subject, letters have been written to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs by several prominent chiefs, giving assurance of their loyalty to the United States, and expressing a wish for the presence of Federal troops to protect them. It is believed that upon the repossession of the country by the Federal forces the Indians will readily cease all hostile demonstrations, and resume their former relations to the Government.

Agriculture, confessedly the largest interest of the nation, has not a department, nor a bureau, but a clerkship only, assigned to it in the Government. While it is fortunate that this great interest is so independent in its nature as to not have demanded and extorted more from the Government, I respectfully ask Congress to consider whether something more cannot be given voluntarily with general advantage.

Annual reports exhibiting the condition of our agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, would present a fund of information of great practical value to the country. While I make no suggestion as to details, I venture the opinion that an agricultural and statistical bureau might profitably be organized.

The execution of the laws for the suppression of the African slave trade has been confided to the Department of the Interior. It is a subject of gratulation that the efforts which have been made for the suppression of this inhuman traffic have been recently attended with unusual success. Five vessels being fitted out for the slave trade have been seized and condemned. Two mates of vessels engaged in the trade, and one person in equipping a vessel as a slaver, have been convicted and subjected to the penalty of fine and imprisonment, and one captain, taken with a cargo of Africans on board his vessel, has been convicted of the highest grade of offence under our laws, the punishment of which is death.

The Territories of Colorado, Dakotah, and Nevada, created by the last Congress, have been organized, and civil administration has been inaugurated therein under auspices especially gratifying, when it is considered that the leaven of treason was found existing in some of these new countries when the Federal officers arrived there.

The abundant natural resources of these Territories, with the security and protection afforded by organized government, will doubtless invite to them a large immigration when peace shall restore the business of the country to its accustomed channels. I submit the resolutions of the legislature of Colorado, which evidence the patriotic spirit of the people of the Territory. So far the authority of the United States has been upheld in all the Territories, as it is hoped it will be in the future. I commend their interests and defence to the enlightened and generous care of Congress.

I recommend to the favorable consideration of Congress the interests of the District of Columbia. The insurrection has been the cause of much suffering and sacrifice to its inhabitants, and as they have no representative in Congress, that body should not overlook their just claims upon the Government.

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At your late session a joint resolution was adopted authorizing the President to take measures for facilitating a proper representation of the industrial interests of the United States at the exhibition of the industry of all nations to be holden at London in the year 1862. I regret to say I have been unable to give personal attention to this subject—a subject at once so interesting in itself, and so extensively and intimately connected with the material prosperity of the world. Through the Secretaries of State and of the Interior a plan or system has been devised, and partly matured, and which will be laid before you.

Under and by virtue of the act of Congress entitled "An act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes," approved August 6, 1861, the legal claims of certain persons to the labor and service of certain other persons have become forfeited; and numbers of the latter, thus liberated, are already dependent on the United States, and must be provided for in some way. Besides this, it is not impossible that some of the States will pass similar enactments for their own benefit respectively, and by operation of which persons of the same class will be thrown upon them for disposal. In such case I recommend that Congress provide for accepting such persons from such States, according to some mode of valuation, in lieu, *pro tanto*, of direct taxes, or upon some other plan to be agreed on with such States respectively; that such persons, on such acceptance by the General Government, be at once deemed free; and that, in any event, steps be taken for colonizing both classes, (or the one first mentioned, if the other shall not be brought into existence,) at some place or places in a climate congenial to them. It might be well to consider, too, whether the free colored people already in the United States could not, so far as individuals may desire, be included in such colonization.

To carry out the plan of colonization may involve the acquiring of territory, and also the appropriation of money beyond that to be expended in the territorial acquisition. Having practised the acquisition of territory for nearly sixty years, the question of constitutional power to do so is no longer an open one with us. The power was questioned at first by Mr. Jefferson, who, however, in the purchase of Louisiana, yielded his scruples on the plea of great expediency. If it be said that the only legitimate object of acquiring territory is to furnish homes for white men, this measure effects that object; for the emigration of colored men leaves additional room for white men remaining or coming here. Mr. Jefferson, however, placed the importance of procuring Louisiana more on political and commercial grounds than on providing room for population.

On this whole proposition, including the appropriation of money with the acquisition of territory, does not the expediency amount to absolute necessity—that, without which the Government itself cannot be perpetuated?

The war continues. In considering the policy to be adopted for suppressing the insurrection, I have been anxious and careful that the inevitable conflict for this purpose shall not degenerate into a violent and remorseless revolutionary struggle. I have, therefore, in every case, thought it proper to keep the integrity of the Union prominent as the primary object of the contest on our part, leaving all questions which are not of vital military importance to the more deliberate action of the Legislature.

In the exercise of my best discretion I have adhered to the blockade of the ports held by the insurgents, instead of putting in force, by proclamation, the law of Congress enacted at the late session for closing those ports.

So, also, obeying the dictates of prudence, as well as the obligations of law, instead of transcending, I have adhered to the act of Congress to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes. If a new law upon the same subject shall be proposed, its propriety will be duly considered. The Union must be preserved; and hence, all indispensable means must be employed. We should not be in haste to determine that radical and extreme measures, which may reach the loyal as well as the disloyal, are indispensable.

The inaugural address at the beginning of the Administration, and the message to Congress at the late special session, were both mainly devoted to the domestic controversy out of which the insurrection and consequent war have sprung. Nothing now occurs to add or subtract, to or from, the principles or general purposes stated and expressed in those documents.

The last ray of hope for preserving the Union peaceably, expired at the assault upon Fort Sumter; and a general review of what has occurred since may not be unprofitable. What was painfully uncertain then, is much better defined and more distinct now; and the progress of events is plainly in the right direction. The insurgents confidently claimed a strong support from north of Mason and Dixon's line; and the friends of the Union were not free from apprehension on the point. This, however, was soon settled definitely, and on the right side. South of the line, noble little Delaware led off right from the first. Maryland was made to seem against the Union. Our soldiers were assaulted, bridges were burned, and railroads torn up within her limits; and we were many days, at one time, without the ability to bring a single regiment over her soil to the capital. Now her bridges and railroads are repaired and open to the Government; she already gives seven regiments to the cause of the Union, and none to the enemy; and her people, at a regular election, have sustained the Union by a larger majority and a larger aggregate vote than they ever before gave to any candidate or any question. Kentucky, too, for some time in doubt, is now decidedly, and, I think, unchangeably, ranged on the side of the Union. Missouri is comparatively quiet, and, I believe, cannot again be overrun by the insurrectionists. These three States of Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, neither of which would promise a single soldier at first, have now an aggregate of not less than forty thousand in the field for the Union; while, of their citizens, certainly not more than a third of that number, and they of doubtful whereabouts and doubtful existence, are in arms against it. After a somewhat bloody struggle of months, winter closes on the Union people of Western Virginia, leaving them masters of their own country.

An insurgent force of about fifteen hundred, for months dominating the narrow peninsular region, constituting the counties of Accomac and Northampton, and known as eastern shore of Virginia, together with some contiguous parts of Maryland, have laid down their arms; and the people there have renewed their allegiance to, and accepted the protection of, the old flag. This leaves no armed insurrectionist north of the Potomac, or east of the Chesapeake.

Also we have obtained a footing at each of the isolated points on the southern coast, of Hatteras, Port Royal, Tybee Island, near Savannah, and Ship Island; and we likewise have some general accounts of popular movements, in behalf of the Union, in North Carolina and Tennessee.

These things demonstrate that the cause of the Union is advancing steadily and certainly southward.

Since your last adjournment, Lieutenant-General Scott has retired from the head of the army. During his long life, the nation has not been unmindful of his merit; yet, on calling to mind how faithfully, ably, and brilliantly he has served the country, from a time far back in our history, when few of the now living had been born, and thenceforward continually, I cannot but think we are still his debtors. I submit, therefore, for your consideration, what further mark of recognition is due to him, and to ourselves as a grateful people.

With the retirement of General Scott came the executive duty of appointing, in his stead, a general-in-chief of the army. It is a fortunate circumstance that neither in council nor country was there, so far as I know, any difference of opinion as to the proper person to be selected. The retiring chief repeatedly expressed his judgment in favor of General McClellan for the position; and in this the nation seemed to give

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a unanimous concurrence. The designation of General McClellan is, therefore, in considerable degree, the selection of the country as well as of the Executive; and hence there is better reason to hope there will be given him the confidence and cordial support thus, by fair implication, promised, and without which he cannot, with so full efficiency, serve the country.

It has been said that one bad General is better than two good ones; and the saying is true, if taken to mean no more than that an army is better directed by a single mind, though inferior, than by two superior ones, at variance and cross-purposes with each other.

And the same is true in all joint operations, wherein those engaged can have none but a common end in view, and can differ only as to the choice of means. In a storm at sea, no one on board can wish the ship to sink; and yet, not unfrequently all go down together, because too many will direct, and no single mind can be allowed to control.

It continues to develop that the insurrection is largely, if not exclusively, a war upon the first principle of popular government—the rights of the people. Conclusive evidence of this is found in the most grave and maturely-considered public documents, as well as in the general tone of the insurgents. In those documents we find the abridgment of the existing right of suffrage, and the denial to the people of all right to participate in the selection of public officers, except the legislative, boldly advocated, with labored arguments to prove that large control of the people in government is the source of all political evil. Monarchy itself is sometimes hinted at as a possible refuge from the power of the people.

In my present position, I could scarcely be justified were I to omit raising a warning voice against this approach of returning despotism.

It is not needed, nor fitting here, that a general argument should be made in favor of popular institutions; but there is one point, with its connections, not so hackneyed as most others, to which I ask a brief attention. It is the effort to place capital on an equal footing with, if not above, labor, in the structure of government. It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital; that nobody labors unless somebody else, owning capital, somehow by the use of it induces him to labor. This assumed, it is next considered whether it is best that capital shall hire laborers, and thus induce them to work by their own consent, or buy them, and drive them to it without their consent. Having proceeded so far, it is naturally concluded that all laborers are either hired laborers, or what we call slaves. And further, it is assumed that whoever is once a hired laborer is fixed in that condition for life.

Now, there is no such relation between capital and labor as assumed; nor is there any such thing as a free man being fixed for life in the condition of a hired laborer. Both these assumptions are false, and all inferences from them are groundless.

Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration. Capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights. Nor is it denied that there is, and probably always will be, a relation between labor and capital, producing mutual benefits. The error is in assuming that the whole labor of community exists within that relation. A few men own capital, and that few avoid labor themselves, and, with their capital, hire or buy another few to labor for them. A large majority belong to neither class—neither work for others, nor have others working for them. In most of the Southern States, a majority of the whole people of all colors are neither slaves nor masters; while in the Northern, a large majority are neither hirers nor hired. Men, with their families—wives, sons, and daughters—work for themselves, on their farms, in their houses, and in their shops, taking the whole product to themselves, and asking no favors of capital on the one hand, nor of hired laborers or slaves on the other. It is not forgotten that a considerable number of persons mingle their own labor with capital—that is, they labor with their own hands, and also buy or hire others to labor for them; but this is only a mixed, and not a distinct class. No principle stated is disturbed by the existence of this mixed class.

Again: as has already been said, there is not of necessity any such thing as the free hired laborer being fixed to that condition for life. Many independent men everywhere in these States, a few years back in their lives, were hired laborers. The prudent, penniless beginner in the world labors for wages awhile, saves a surplus with which to buy tools or land for himself, then labors on his own account another while, and at length hires another new beginner to help him. This is the just, and generous, and prosperous system, which opens the way to all, gives hope to all, and consequent energy, and progress, and improvement of condition to all. No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty—none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned. Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them, till all of liberty shall be lost.

From the first taking of our national census to the last, are seventy years; and we find our population, at the end of the period, eight times as great as it was at the beginning. The increase of those other things which men deem desirable has been even greater. We thus have, at one view, what the popular principle, applied to government through the machinery of the States and the Union, has produced in a given time; and also what, if firmly maintained, it promises for the future. There are already among us those who, if the Union be preserved, will live to see it contain two hundred and fifty millions. The struggle of today is not altogether for to-day; it is for a vast future also. With a reliance on Providence all the more firm and earnest, let us proceed in the great task which events have devolved upon us.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Inaugural Address *of President Jefferson Davis.*

Gentlemen of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, Friends, and Fellow-Citizens:

Called to the difficult and responsible station of Chief Executive of the Provisional Government which you have instituted, I approach the discharge of the duties assigned me with an humble distrust of my abilities, but with a sustaining confidence in the wisdom of those who are to guide and aid me in the administration of public affairs, and an abiding faith in the virtue and patriotism of the people. Looking forward to the speedy establishment of a permanent Government to take the place of this, and which by its greater moral and physical power will be better able to combat with the many difficulties which arise from the conflicting interests of separate nations, I enter upon the duties of the office to which I have been chosen, with the hope that the beginning of our career as a Confederacy may not be obstructed by hostile opposition to our enjoyment of the separate existence and independence which we have asserted, and which, with the blessing of Providence, we intend to maintain.

Our present condition, achieved in a manner unprecedented in the history of nations, illustrates the American idea that Governments rest upon the consent of the governed, and that it is the right of the people to alter and abolish Governments whenever they become destructive to the ends for which they were established. The declared compact of the Union from which we have withdrawn was to establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity; and when in the judgment of the sovereign States now com-

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posing this Confederacy, it has been perverted from the purposes for which it was ordained, and ceased to answer the ends for which it was established, a peaceful appeal to the ballot-box declared that, so far as they were concerned, the Government created by that compact should cease to exist. In this they merely asserted the right which the Declaration of Independence of 1776 defined to be inalienable. Of the time and occasion of its exercise they as sovereigns were the final judges, each for itself. The impartial, enlightened verdict of mankind will vindicate the rectitude of our conduct; and He who knows the hearts of men will judge of the sincerity with which we labored to preserve the Government of our fathers in its spirit.

The right solemnly proclaimed at the birth of the States, and which has been affirmed and reaffirmed in the bills of rights of the States subsequently admitted into the Union of 1789, undeniably recognizes in the people the power to resume the authority delegated for the purposes of Government. Thus the sovereign States here represented, proceeded to form this Confederacy; and it is by the abuse of language that their act has been denominated revolution. They formed a new alliance, but within each State its Government has remained. The rights of person and property have not been disturbed. The agent through whom they communicated with foreign nations is changed, but this does not necessarily interrupt their international relations. Sustained by the consciousness that the transition from the former Union to the present Confederacy has not proceeded from a disregard on our part of our just obligations or any failure to perform every constitutional duty, moved by no interest or passion to invade the rights of others, anxious to cultivate peace and commerce with all nations, if we may not hope to avoid war, we may at least expect that posterity will acquit us of having needlessly engaged in it. Doubly justified by the absence of wrong on our part, and by wanton aggression on the part of others, there can be no cause to doubt the courage and patriotism of the people of the Confederate States will be found equal to any measures of defence which soon their security may require.

An agricultural people, whose chief interest is the export of a commodity required in every manufacturing country, our true policy is peace, and the freest trade which our necessities will permit. It is alike our interest and that of all those to whom we would sell and from whom we would buy, that there should be the fewest practicable restrictions upon the interchange of commodities. There can be but little rivalry between ours and any manufacturing or navigating community, such as the northeastern States of the American Union. It must follow, therefore, that mutual interest would invite good-will and kind offices. If, however, passion or lust of dominion should cloud the judgment or inflame the ambition of those States, we must prepare to meet the emergency and maintain by the final arbitrament of the sword the position which we have assumed among the nations of the earth.

We have entered upon a career of independence, and it must be inflexibly pursued through many years of controversy with our late associates of the Northern States. We have vainly endeavored to secure tranquillity and obtain respect for the rights to which we were entitled. As a necessity, not a choice, we have resorted to the remedy of separation, and henceforth our energies must be directed to the conduct of our own affairs, and the perpetuity of the Confederacy which we have formed. If a just perception of mutual interest shall permit us peaceably to pursue our separate political career, my most earnest desire will have been fulfilled. But if this be denied us, and the integrity of our territory and jurisdiction be assailed, it will but remain for us with firm resolve to appeal to arms and invoke the blessing of Providence on a just cause.

As a consequence of our new condition, and with a view to meet anticipated wants, it will be necessary to provide a speedy and efficient organization of the branches of the Executive Department having special charge of foreign intercourse, finance, military affairs, and postal service. For purposes of defence the Confederate States may, under ordinary circumstances, rely mainly upon their militia; but it is deemed advisable in the present condition of affairs, that there should be a well-instructed, disciplined army, more numerous than would usually be required on a peace establishment. I also suggest that, for the protection of our harbors and commerce on the high seas, a navy adapted to those objects will be required. These necessities have, doubtless, engaged the attention of Congress.

With a Constitution differing only from that of our fathers in so far as it is explanatory of their well-known intent, freed from sectional conflicts, which have interfered with the pursuit of the general welfare, it is not unreasonable to expect that the States from which we have recently parted may seek to unite their fortunes to ours, under the Government which we have instituted. For this your Constitution makes adequate provision, but beyond this, if I mistake not, the judgment and will of the people are, that union with the States from which they have separated is neither practicable nor desirable. To increase the power, develop the resources, and promote the happiness of the Confederacy, it is requisite there should be so much homogeneity that the welfare of every portion would be the aim of the whole. Where this does not exist antagonisms are engendered which must and should result in separation.

Actuated solely by a desire to preserve our own rights, and to promote our own welfare, the separation of the Confederate States has been marked by no aggression upon others, and followed by no domestic convulsion. Our industrial pursuits have received no check, the cultivation of our fields progresses as heretofore, and even should we be involved in war, there would be no considerable diminution in the production of the staples which have constituted our exports, in which the commercial world has an interest scarcely less than our own. This common interest of producer and consumer can only be intercepted by an exterior force which should obstruct its transmission to foreign markets, a course of conduct which would be detrimental to manufacturing and commercial interests abroad.

Should reason guide the action of the Government from which we have separated, a policy so detrimental to the civilized world, the Northern States included, could not be dictated by even a stronger desire to inflict injury upon us; but if it be otherwise, a terrible responsibility will rest upon it, and the suffering of millions will bear testimony to the folly and wickedness of our aggressors. In the mean time there will remain to us, besides the ordinary remedies before suggested, the well-known resources for retaliation upon the commerce of an enemy.

Experience in public stations of a subordinate grade to this which your kindness has conferred, has taught me that care and toil and disappointments are the price of official elevation. You will see many errors to forgive, many deficiencies to tolerate; but you shall not find in me either want of zeal or fidelity to the cause that is to me the highest in hope and of most enduring affection. Your generosity has bestowed upon me an undeserved distinction, one which I neither sought nor desired. Upon the continuance of that sentiment, and upon your wisdom and patriotism, I rely to direct and support me in the performance of the duties required at my hands.

We have changed the constituent parts but not the system of our Government. The Constitution formed by our fathers is that of these Confederate States. In their exposition of it, and in the judicial construction it has received, we have a light which reveals its true meaning. Thus instructed as to the just interpretation of that instrument, and ever remembering that all offices are but trusts held for the people, and that delegated powers are to be strictly construed, I will hope

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by due diligence in the performance of my duties, though I may disappoint your expectation, yet to retain, when retiring, something of the good-will and confidence which will welcome my entrance into office.

It is joyous in the midst of perilous times to look around upon a people united in heart, when one purpose of high resolve animates and actuates the whole, where the sacrifices to be made are not weighed in the balance, against honor, right, liberty, and equality. Obstacles may retard, but they cannot long prevent the progress of a movement sanctioned by its justice and sustained by a virtuous people. Reverently let us invoke the God of our fathers to guide and protect us in our efforts to perpetuate the principles which by his blessing they were able to vindicate, establish, and transmit to their posterity; and with a continuance of His favor, ever gratefully acknowledged, we may hopefully look forward to success, to peace, to prosperity.

MESSAGE *of Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States, April* 29, 1861.

Gentlemen of Congress:

It is my pleasing duty to announce to you that the Constitution framed for the establishment of a permanent Government of the Confederate States of America has been ratified by the several conventions of each of those States which were referred to to inaugurate the said Government in its full proportions and upon its own substantial basis of the popular will.

It only remains that elections should be held for the designation of the officers to administer it.

There is every reason to believe that at no distant day other States, identical in political principles and community of interests with those which you represent, will join this Confederacy, giving to its typical constellation increased splendor—to its Government of free, equal, and sovereign States, a wider sphere of usefulness, and to the friends of constitutional liberty a greater security for its harmonious and perpetual existence.

It was not, however, for the purpose of making this announcement that I have deemed it my duty to convoke you at an earlier day than that fixed by yourselves for your meeting.

The declaration of war made against this Confederacy, by Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, in his proclamation, issued on the 15th day of the present month, renders it necessary, in my judgment, that you should convene at the earliest practicable moment to devise the measures necessary for the defence of the country.

The occasion is, indeed, an extraordinary one. It justifies me in giving a brief review of the relations heretofore existing between us and the States which now unite in warfare against us, and a succinct statement of the events which have resulted, to the end that mankind may pass intelligent and impartial judgment on our motives and objects.

During the war waged against Great Britain by her colonies on this continent, a common danger impelled them to a close alliance, and to the formation of a Confederation by the terms of which the colonies, styling themselves States, entered severally into a firm league of friendship with each other for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever.

In order to guard against any misconstruction of their compact, the several States made an explicit declaration in a distinct article—that each State retain its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power of jurisdiction and right which is not by this said Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled under this contract of alliance.

The war of the Revolution was successfully waged, and resulted in the treaty of peace with Great Britain in 1783, by the terms of which the several States were each by name recognized to be independent.

The articles of confederation contained a clause whereby all alterations were prohibited, unless confirmed by the Legislatures of every State after being agreed to by the Congress; and in obedience to this provision, under the resolution of Congress of the 21st of February, 1787, the several States appointed delegates for the purpose of revising the articles of confederation, and reporting to Congress and the several Legislatures such alterations and provisions therein as shall, when agreed to in Congress, and confirmed by the States, render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of the Government, and the preservation of the Union.

It was by the delegates chosen by the several States under the resolution just quoted, that the Constitution of the United States was formed in 1787, and submitted to the several States for ratification, as shown by the seventh article, which is in these words: "The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same."

I have italicised certain words in the resolutions just made for the purpose of attracting attention to the singular and marked caution with which the States endeavored in every possible form to exclude the idea that the separate and independent sovereignty of each State was merged into one common government or nation; and the earnest desire they evinced to impress on the Constitution its true character—that of a compact between independent States—the Constitution of 1787, however, admitting the clause already recited from the articles of confederation, which provided in explicit terms that each State reclaimed its sovereignty and independence.

Some alarm was felt in the States, when invited to ratify the Constitution, lest this omission should be construed into an abandonment of their cherished principles, and they refused to be satisfied until amendments were added to the Constitution, placing beyond any pretence of doubt the reservation by the States of their sovereign rights and powers not expressly delegated to the United States by the Constitution.

Strange, indeed, must it appear to the impartial observer, that it is none the less true that all these carefully worded clauses proved unavailing to prevent the rise and growth in the Northern States of a political school which has persistently claimed that the Government set above and over the States, an organization created by the States, to secure the blessings of liberty and independence against foreign aggression, has been gradually perverted into a machine for their control in their domestic affairs.

The creature has been exalted above its Creator—the principals have been made subordinate to the agent appointed by themselves.

The people of the Southern States, whose almost exclusive occupation was agriculture, early perceived a tendency in the Northern States to render a common Government subservient to their own purposes by imposing burthens on commerce as protection to their manufacturing and shipping interests.

Long and angry controversies grew out of these attempts, often successful, to benefit one section of the country at the expense of the other, and the danger of disruption arising from this cause was enhanced by the fact that the Northern population was increasing, by emigration and other causes, more than the population of the South.

By degrees, as the Northern States gained preponderance in the National Congress, self-interest taught their people to yield ready assent to any plausible advocacy of their right as majority to govern the minority. Without control, they learn to listen with impatience to the suggestion of any constitutional impediment to the exercise of their will, and so utterly have the principles of the Constitution been corrupted in the Northern mind, that, in the inaugural address delivered by President Lincoln in March last, he asserts a

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maxim which he plainly deems to be undeniable, that the theory of the Constitution requires, in all cases, that the majority shall govern. And in another memorable instance the same Chief Magistrate did not hesitate to liken the relations between States and the United States to those which exist between the country and the State in which it is situated, and by which it was created.

This is the lamentable and fundamental error in which rests the policy that has culminated in his declaration of war against these Confederate States.

In addition to the long-continued and deep-seated resentment felt by the Southern States at the persistent abuse of the powers they had delegated to the Congress for the purpose of enriching the manufacturing and shipping classes of the North at the expense of the South, there has existed for nearly half a century another subject of discord, involving interests of such transcendent magnitude as at all times to create the apprehension in the minds of many devoted lovers of the Union that its permanence was impossible.

When the several States delegated certain powers to the United States Congress, a large portion of the laboring population were imported into the colonies by the mother country. In twelve out of the fifteen States, negro slavery existed, and the right of property existing in slaves was protected by law; this property was recognized in the Constitution, and provision was made against its loss by the escape of the slave.

The increase in the number of slaves by foreign importation from Africa was also secured by a clause forbidding Congress to prohibit the slave trade anterior to a certain date, and in no clause can there be found any delegation of power to the Congress to authorize it in any manner to legislate to the prejudice, detriment, or discouragement of the owners of that species of property, or excluding it from the protection of the Government.

The climate and soil of the Northern States soon proved unpropitious to the continuance of slave labor, while the reverse being the case at the South, made unrestricted free intercourse between the two sections unfriendly.

The Northern States consulted their own interests by selling their slaves to the South and prohibiting slavery between their limits. The South were willing purchasers of property suitable to their wants, and paid the price of the acquisition, without harboring a suspicion that their quiet possession was to be disturbed by those who were not only in want of constitutional authority, but by good faith as vendors, from disquieting a title emanating from themselves.

As soon, however, as the Northern States, that prohibited African slavery within their limits, had reached a number sufficient to give their representation a controlling vote in the Congress, a persistent and organized system of hostile measures against the rights of the owners of slaves in the Southern States was inaugurated and gradually extended. A series of measures was devised and prosecuted for the purpose of rendering insecure the tenure of property in slaves.

Fanatical organizations, supplied with money by voluntary subscriptions, were assiduously engaged in exciting amongst the slaves a spirit of discontent and revolt. Means were furnished for their escape from their owners, and agents secretly employed to entice them to abscond.

The constitutional provision for their rendition to their owners was first evaded, then openly denounced as a violation of conscientious obligations and religious duty. Men were taught that it was a merit to elude, disobey, and violently oppose the execution of the laws enacted to secure the performance of the promise contained in the constitutional compact. Often owners of slaves were mobbed and even murdered in open day solely for applying to a magistrate for the arrest of a fugitive slave.

The dogmas of the voluntary organization soon obtained control of the Legislatures of many of the Northern States, and laws were passed for the punishment, by ruinous fines, and long-continued imprisonment in gaols and penitentiaries, of citizens of the Southern States who should dare ask of the officers of the law for the recovery of their property. Emboldened by success on the theatre of agitation and aggression, against the clearly expressed constitutional rights of the Congress, Senators and Representatives were sent to the common councils of the nation, whose chief title to this distinction consisted in the display of a spirit of ultra fanaticism, and whose business was, not to promote the general welfare, or ensure domestic tranquillity—but to awaken the bitterest hatred against the citizens of sister States by violent denunciations of their institutions.

The transaction of public affairs was impeded by repeated efforts to usurp powers not delegated by the Constitution, for the purpose of impairing the security of property in slaves, and reducing those States which held slaves to a condition of inferiority.

Finally, a great party was organized for the purpose of obtaining the administration of the Government, with the avowed object of using its power for the total exclusion of the slave States from all participation in the benefits of the public domain acquired by all the States in common, whether by conquest or purchase, surrounding them entirely by States in which slavery should be prohibited, thus rendering the property in slaves so insecure as to be comparatively worthless, and thereby annihilating in effect property worth thousands of millions of dollars.

This party, thus organized, succeeded in the month of November last in the election of its candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

In the mean time, under the mild and genial climate of the Southern States, and the increasing care for the well-being and comfort of the laboring classes, dictated alike by interest and humanity, the African slaves had augmented in number from about six hundred thousand, at the date of the adoption of the constitutional compact, to upwards of four millions.

In a moral and social condition they had been elevated from brutal savages into docile, intelligent, and civilized agricultural laborers, and supplied not only with bodily comforts, but with careful religious instruction, under the supervision of a superior race. Their labor had been so directed as not only to allow a gradual and marked amelioration of their own condition, but to convert hundreds of thousands of square miles of the wilderness into cultivated lands covered with a prosperous people. Towns and cities had sprung into existence, and rapidly increased in wealth and population under the social system of the South.

The white population of the Southern slave-holding States had augmented from about 1,250,000 at the date of the adoption of the Constitution, to more than 8,500,000 in 1860, and the productions of the South in cotton, rice, sugar, and tobacco, for the full development and continuance of which the labor of African slaves was and is indispensable, had swollen to an amount which formed nearly three-fourths of the export of the whole United States, and had become absolutely necessary to the wants of civilized man.

With interests of such overwhelming magnitude imperilled, the people of the Southern States were driven by the conduct of the North to the adoption of some course of action to avoid the dangers with which they were openly menaced. With this view, the Legislatures of the several States invited the people to select delegates to conventions to be held for the purpose of determining for themselves what measures were best to be adopted to meet so alarming a crisis in their history.

Here it may be proper to observe that, from a period as early as 1798, there had existed in all of the States of the Union a party almost uninterruptedly in the majority, based upon the creed that each State was, in the last resort, the sole judge as well of its wrongs as of the mode and measures of redress. Indeed, it is obvious that under the law of nations this principle is

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an axiom as applied to the relations of independent sovereign States, such as those which had united themselves under the constitutional compact.

The Democratic party of the United States repeated, in its successful canvass in 1856, the deduction made in numerous previous political contests, that it would faithfully abide by, and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia Legislatures of 1799, and that it adopts those principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed.

The principles thus emphatically announced embrace that to which I have already adverted—the right of each State to judge of, and redress the wrongs of which it complains. Their principles were maintained by overwhelming majorities of the people of all the States of the Union at different elections, especially in the election of Mr. Jefferson in 1805, Mr. Madison in 1809, and Mr. Pierce in 1852. In the exercise of a right so ancient, so well established, and so necessary for self-preservation, the people of the Confederate States in their conventions determined that the wrongs which they had suffered, and the evils with which they were menaced, required that they should revoke the delegation of powers to the Federal Government which they had ratified in their several conventions. They consequently passed ordinances resuming all their rights as sovereign and independent States, and dissolved their connection with the other States of the Union. Having done this, they proceeded to form a new compact among themselves by new articles of confederation, which have been also ratified by conventions of the several States, with an approach to unanimity far exceeding that of the conventions which adopted the Constitution of 1787. They have organized their new Government in all its departments. The functions of the executive, legislative, and judicial magistrates are performed in accordance with the will of the people, as displayed not merely in a cheerful acquiescence, but in the enthusiastic support of the Government thus established by themselves; and but for the interference of the Government of the United States, this legitimate exercise of a people to self-government has been manifested in every possible form.

Scarce had you assembled in February last, when, prior even to the inauguration of the chief-magistrate you had elected, you expressed your desire for the appointment of commissioners, and for the settlement of all questions of disagreement between the two Governments upon principles of right, justice, equity, and good faith.

It was my pleasure as well as my duty to coöperate with you in this work of peace. Indeed, in my address to you on taking the oath of office, and before receiving from you the communication of this resolution, I had said that "as a necessity, not as a choice, we have resorted to the remedy of separating, and henceforth our energies must be directed to the conduct of our own affairs, and the perpetuity of the Confederacy which we have formed. If a just perception of mutual interest shall permit us to peaceably pursue our separate political career, my most earnest desire will then have been fulfilled."

It was in furtherance of these accordant views of the congress and the executive, that I made choice of three discreet, able, and distinguished citizens, who repaired to Washington. Aided by their cordial coöperation and that of the Secretary of State, every effort compatible with self-respect and the dignity of the Confederacy was exhausted before I allowed myself to yield to the conviction that the Government of the United States was determined to attempt the conquest of this people, and that our cherished hopes of peace were unobtainable.

On the arrival of our commissioners in Washington on the 5th of March, they postponed, at the suggestion of a friendly intermediator, doing more than giving informal notice of their arrival. This was done with a view to afford time to the President of the United States, who had just been inaugurated, for the discharge of other pressing official duties in the organization of his administration, before engaging his attention to the object of their mission.

It was not until the 15th of the month that they officially addressed the Secretary of State, informing him of the purpose of their arrival, and stating in the language of their instructions their wish to make to the Government of the United States overtures for the opening of negotiations, assuring the Government of the United States that the President, Congress, and people of the Confederate States desired a peaceful solution of these great questions—that it was neither their interest nor their wish to make any demand which is not founded on the strictest principles of justice, nor to do any act to injure their late confederates.

To this communication no formal reply was received until the 8th of April. During the interval, the commissioners had consented to waive all questions of form, with the firm resolve to avoid war if possible. They went so far even as to hold, during that long period, unofficial intercourse through an intermediary, whose high position and character inspired the hope of success, and through whom constant assurances were received from the Government of the United States of its peaceful intentions—of its determination to evacuate Fort Sumter; and further, that no measure would be introduced changing the existing status prejudicial to the Confederate States; that in the event of any change in regard to Fort Pickens, notice would be given to the commissioners.

The crooked path of diplomacy can scarcely furnish an example so wanting in courtesy, in candor and directness, as was the course of the United States Government towards our commissioners in Washington. For proof of this I refer to the annexed documents marked, taken in connection with further facts which I now proceed to relate.

Early in April the attention of the whole country was attracted to extraordinary preparations for an extensive military and naval expedition in New York and other Northern ports. These preparations commenced in secrecy, for an expedition whose destination was concealed, and only became known when nearly completed, and on the 5th, 6th, and 7th of April, transports and vessels of war with troops, munitions, and military supplies, sailed from northern ports bound southward.

Alarmed by so extraordinary a demonstration, the commissioners requested the delivery of an answer to their official communication of the 12th of March, and the reply dated on the 15th of the previous month, from which it appears that during the whole interval, whilst the commissioners were receiving assurances calculated to inspire hope of the success of their mission, the Secretary of State and the President of the United States had already determined to hold no intercourse with them whatever—to refuse even to listen to any proposals they had to make, and had profited by the delay created by their own assurances, in order to prepare secretly the means for effective hostile operations.

That these assurances were given, has been virtually confessed by the Government of the United States, by its act of sending a messenger to Charleston to give notice of its purpose to use force if opposed in its intention of supplying Fort Sumter.

No more striking proof of the absence of good faith in the confidence of the Government of the United States towards the Confederacy can be required, than is contained in the circumstances which accompanied this notice.

According to the usual course of navigation, the vessels composing the expedition, and designed for the relief of Fort Sumter, might be looked for in Charleston harbor on the 9th of April. Yet our commissioners in Washington were detained under assurances that notice should be given of any military movement. The notice was not addressed to them, but a messenger was sent to Charleston to give notice to the Governor of South Carolina, and the notice was so given at a late hour on the 8th of April, the eve

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of the very day on which the fleet might be expected to arrive.

That this manœuvre failed in its purpose was not the fault of those who controlled it. A heavy tempest delayed the arrival of the expedition, and gave time to the commander of our forces at Charleston to ask and receive instructions of the Government. Even then, under all the provocation incident to the contemptuous refusal to listen to our commissioners, and the treacherous course of the Government of the United States, I was sincerely anxious to avoid the effusion of blood, and directed a proposal to be made to the commander of Fort Sumter, who had avowed himself to be nearly out of provisions, that we would abstain from directing our fire on Fort Sumter if he would promise to not open fire on our forces unless first attacked. This proposal was refused. The conclusion was, that the design of the United States was to place the besieging force at Charleston between the simultaneous fire of the fleet. The fort should, of course, be at once reduced. This order was executed by General Beauregard with skill and success, which were naturally to be expected from the well-known character of that gallant officer; and, although the bombardment lasted some thirty-three hours, our flag did not wave over the battered walls until after the appearance of the hostile fleet off Charleston.

Fortunately, not a life was lost on our side, and we were gratified in being prepared. The necessity of an useless effusion of blood, by the prudent caution of the officers who commanded the fleet, in abstaining from the evidently futile effort to enter the harbor for the relief of Major Anderson, was spared.

I refer to the report of the Secretary of War, and the papers accompanying it, for further particulars of this brilliant affair.

In this connection I cannot refrain from a well-deserved tribute to the noble State, the eminently soldierly qualities of whose people were conspicuously displayed. The people of Charleston for months had been irritated by the spectacle of a fortress held within their principal harbor as a standing menace against their peace and independence—built in part with their own money—its custody confided with their long consent to an agent who held no power over them other than such as they had themselves delegated for their own benefit, intended to be used by that agent for their own protection against foreign attack. How it was held out with persistent tenacity as a means of offence against them by the very Government which they had established for their own protection, is well known. They had beleaguered it for months, and felt entire confidence in their power to capture it, yet yielded to the requirements of discipline, curbed their impatience, submitted without complaint to the unaccustomed hardships, labors, and privations of a protracted siege, and when at length their patience was relieved by the signal for attack, and success had crowned their steady and gallant conduct, even in the very moment of triumph they evinced a chivalrous regard for the feelings of the brave but unfortunate officer who had been compelled to lower his flag.

All manifestations or exultations were checked in his presence. Their commanding general, with their cordial approval and the consent of his Government, refrained from imposing any terms that would wound the sensibility of the commander of the fort. He was permitted to retire with the honors of war, to salute his flag, to depart freely with all his command, and was escorted to the vessel on which he embarked with the highest marks of respect from those against whom his guns had so recently been directed.

Not only does every event connected with the siege reflect the highest honor on South Carolina, but the forbearance of her people and of this Government from making any harangue of a victory obtained under circumstances of such peculiar provocation, attest to the fullest extent the absence of any purpose beyond securing their own tranquillity, and the sincere desire to avoid the calamities of war.

Scarcely had the President of the United States received intelligence of the failure of the scheme which he had devised for the reinforcement of Fort Sumter, when he issued the declaration of war against this Confederacy, which has prompted me to convoke you. In this extraordinary production, that high functionary affects total ignorance of the existence of an independent Government, which, possessing the entire and enthusiastic devotion of its people, is exercising its functions without question over seven sovereign States—over more than five millions of people—and over a territory whose area exceeds five hundred thousand square miles.

He terms sovereign States "combinations too powerful to be suppressed in the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshals by law."

He calls for an army of seventy-five thousand men to act as the posse comitatus in aid of the process of the courts of justice in States where no courts exist, whose mandates and decrees are not cheerfully obeyed and respected by a willing people.

He avows that the first service to be assigned to the forces which have been called out will not be to execute the processes of courts, but to capture forts and strongholds situated within the admitted limits of this Confederacy, and garrisoned by its troops, and declares that this effort is intended to maintain the perpetuity of popular Government.

He concludes by commanding the persons composing the "combinations" aforesaid, to wit, the five millions of inhabitants of these States, to retire peaceably to their respective abodes within twenty days.

Apparently contradictory as are the terms of this singular document, one point was unmistakably evident. The President of the United States calls for an army of seventy-five thousand men, whose first service was to be to capture our forts. It was a plain declaration of war which I was not at liberty to disregard, because of my knowledge that under the Constitution of the United States the President was usurping a power granted exclusively to the Congress.

He is the sole organ of communication between that country and foreign powers. The law of nations did not permit me to question the authority of the Executive of a foreign nation to declare war against this Confederacy. Although I might have refrained from taking active measures for our defence, if the States of the Union had all imitated the action of Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, by denouncing it as an unconstitutional usurpation of power to which they refuse to respond, I was not at liberty to disregard the fact that many of the States seemed quite content to submit to the exercise of the powers assumed by the President of the United States, and were actively engaged in levying troops for the purpose indicated in the proclamation. Deprived of the aid of Congress, at the moment I was under the necessity of confining my action to a call on the States for volunteers for the common defence, in accordance with the authority you had confided to me before your adjournment.

I deemed it proper further to issue a proclamation, inviting applications from persons disposed to aid in our defence in private armed vessels on the high seas, to the end that preparations might be made for the immediate issue of letters of marque and reprisal, which you alone, under the Constitution, have the power to grant.

I entertain no doubt that you will concur with me in the opinion, that in the absence of an organized navy, it will be eminently expedient to supply their place with private armed vessels, so happily styled by the publicists of the United States the militia of the sea, and so often and justly relied on by them as an efficient and admirable instrument of defensive warfare.

I earnestly recommend the immediate passage of a law authorizing me to accept the numerous proposals already received.

I cannot close this review of the acts of the Government of the United States without referring to a proc-

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lamation issued by their President under date of the 19th inst., in which, after declaring that an insurrection has broken out in this Confederacy against the Government of the United States, he announces a blockade of all the ports of these States, and threatens to punish as pirates all persons who shall molest any vessel of the United States under letters of marque issued by this Government. Notwithstanding the authenticity of this proclamation, you will concur with me that it is hard to believe that it could have emanated from a President of the United States.

Its announcement of a mere paper blockade is so manifestly a violation of the law of nations, that it would seem incredible that it could have been issued by authority; but conceding this to be the case, so far as the Executive is concerned, it will be difficult to satisfy the people of these States that their late confederates will sanction its declarations—will determine to ignore the usages of civilized nations, and will inaugurate a war of extermination on both sides, by treating as pirates open enemies acting under the authority of commissions issued by an organized government.

If such proclamation was issued, it could only have been published under the sudden influence of passion, and we may rest assured that mankind will be spared the horrors of the conflict it seems to invite.

For the details of the administration of the different departments, I refer to the reports of the secretaries of each, which accompany this Message.

The State Department has furnished the necessary instructions for those commissioners who have been sent to England, France, Russia, and Belgium, since your adjournment, to ask our recognition as a member of the family of nations, and to make with each of these powers treaties of amity and commerce.

Further steps will be taken to enter into like negotiations with the other European powers, in pursuance to resolutions passed at your last session.

Sufficient time has not yet elapsed since the departure of these commissioners for the receipt of any intelligence from them.

As I deem it desirable that commissioners or other diplomatic agents should also be sent at an early period to the independent American powers south of our Confederacy, with all of whom it is our interest and earnest wish to maintain the most cordial and friendly relations, I suggest the expediency of making the necessary appropriations for that purpose.

Having been officially notified by the public authorities of the State of Virginia that she had withdrawn from the Union and desired to maintain the closest political relations with us which it was possible at this time to establish, I commissioned the Hon. Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederate States, to represent this Government at Richmond.

I am happy to inform you that he has concluded a convention with the State of Virginia, by which that honored Commonwealth, so long and justly distinguished among her sister States, and so dear to the hearts of thousands of her children in the Confederate States, has united her power and her fortunes with ours and become one of us. This convention, together with the ordinance of Virginia adopting the Provisional Constitution of the Confederacy, will be laid before you for your constitutional action.

I have satisfactory assurances from other of our late confederates that they are on the point of adopting similar measures; and I cannot doubt that, ere you shall have been many weeks in session, the whole of the slaveholding States of the late Union will respond to the call of honor and affection, and by uniting their fortunes with ours, promote our common interests and secure our common safety.

In the Treasury Department, regulations have been devised and put into execution for carrying out the policy indicated in your legislation, on the subject of the navigation of the Mississippi River, as well as for the collection of the revenue on the frontier.

Free transit has been secured for vessels and merchandise passing through the Confederate States, and delay and inconvenience have been avoided as far as possible.

In organizing the revenue service for the various railways entering our territory, as fast as experience shall indicate the possibility of improvement in these regulations, no effort will be spared to free commerce from all unnecessary embarrassments and obstructions.

Under your act authorizing a loan, proposals were issued inviting subscriptions for five millions of dollars, and the call was answered by the prompt subscription of eight millions by our own citizens, and not a single bid was made under par.

The rapid development of the purpose of the President of the United States to invade our soil, capture our forts, blockade our ports, and wage war against us, induced me to direct that the entire subscription should be accepted. It will now become necessary to raise means to a much larger amount to defray the expenses of maintaining our independence and repelling invasion.

I invite your special attention to this subject. The financial condition of the Government, with the suggestion of ways and means for the supply of the Treasury, will be presented to you in a separate communication.

To the department of Justice you have confided not only the organization and supervision of all matters connected with the courts of justice, but also those connected with patents and with the bureau of the public printing.

Since your adjournment all the courts, with the exception of those of Mississippi and Texas, have been organized by the appointment of marshals and district attorneys, and are now prepared for the exercise of their functions. In the two States just named the gentlemen confirmed as judges declined to accept the appointment, and no nominations have yet been made to fill the vacancies.

I refer you to the report of the Attorney-General, and concur in his recommendation for immediate legislation, especially on the subject of patent rights. Early provision should be made to secure to the subjects of foreign nations the full enjoyment of their property in valuable inventions, and to extend to our own citizens protection not only for their own inventions, but for such as may have been assigned to them or may hereafter be assigned by persons not alien enemies.

The patent office business is much more extensive and important than had been anticipated. The applications for patents, although confined under the laws exclusively to citizens of our Confederacy, already average seventy per month, showing the necessity for the prompt organization of a bureau of patents.

The Secretary of War, in his report and accompanying documents, conveys full information concerning the forces, regular, volunteer, and provisional, raised and called for under the several acts of Congress—their organization and distribution; also, an account of the expenditures already made, and the further estimates for the fiscal year ending on the 18th of February, 1862, rendered necessary by recent events.

I refer to the report, also, for a full history of the occurrences in Charleston harbor, prior to, and including the, bombardment and reduction of Fort Sumter, and of the measures subsequently taken for common defence on receiving the intelligence of the declaration of war against us, made by the President of the United States.

There are now in the field at Charleston, Pensacola, Forts Morgan, Jackson, St. Philip, and Pulaski, 19,000 men, and 16,000 are now en route for Virginia. It is proposed to organize and hold in readiness for instant action, in view of the present exigencies of the country, an army of 100,000 men. If further force be needed, the wisdom and patriotism of the Congress will be confidently appealed to for authority to call into the field additional numbers of our noble-spirited volunteers, who are constantly tendering their services far in excess of our wants.

The operations of the Navy Department have been

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necessarily restricted by the fact that sufficient time has not yet elapsed for the purchase or construction of more than a limited number of vessels adapted to the public service. Two vessels have been purchased and manned, the Sumter and McRea, and are now being prepared for sea, at New Orleans, with all possible despatch. Contracts have also been made at that city, with two different establishments, for the casting of ordnance—cannon, shot, and shell—with the view to encourage the manufacture of these articles, so indispensable for our defence, at as many points within our territory as possible. I call your attention to the recommendation of the Secretary for the establishment of a magazine and laboratory for the preparation of ordnance stores and the necessary appropriation required for that purpose.

Hitherto such stores have been prepared at the navy yards, and no appropriation was made at your last session for this object.

The Secretary also calls attention to the fact that no provision has been made for the payment of invalid pensions to our citizens. Many of these persons are advanced in life—they have no means of support—and by the secession of these States have been deprived of their claims against the Government of the United States.

I recommend the appropriation of the sum necessary to pay these pensioners as well as those of the army, whose claim can scarcely exceed $20,000 per annum.

The Postmaster-General has already succeeded in organizing his department to such an extent as to be in readiness to assume the direction of our postal affairs on the occurrence of the contingency contemplated by the act of 15th March, 1861, or even sooner if desired by Congress.

The various books and circulars have been prepared, and measures taken to secure supplies of blanks, postage stamps, stamped envelopes, mail bags, locks, keys, &c.

He presents a detailed classification and arrangement of the clerical force, and asks for its increase.

An Auditor of the Treasury for this Department is necessary, and a plan is submitted for the organization of his bureau.

The great number and magnitude of the accounts of this department require an increase of the clerical force in the accounting branch of the Treasury. The revenues of this department are collected and distributed in modes peculiar to itself, and require a special bureau to secure a proper accountability in the administration of its finances.

I call your attention to the additional legislation required for this department—to the recommendation for changes in the law fixing the rates of postage on newspapers and sealed packages of certain kinds, and specially to the recommendation of the Secretary, in which I concur, that you provide at once for the assumption by him of the control of our entire postal service.

In the military organization of the States, provision is made for Brigadier and Major-Generals, but in the army of the Confederate States the highest grade is that of a Brigadier-General; hence it will no doubt sometimes occur that, where troops of the Confederacy do duty with the militia, the General selected for the command and possessed of the views and purposes of this Government, will be superseded by an officer of the militia, not having the same advantages.

To avoid contingencies in the least objectionable manner, I recommend that additional rank be given to the General of the Confederate army; and concurring in the policy of having but one grade of Generals in the army of the Confederacy, I recommend that the law of its organization be amended so that the grade be that of General.

To secure thorough military education, it is deemed essential that officers should enter upon the study of their profession at an early period of life, and have elementary instruction in a military school.

Until such school shall be established it is recommended that cadets be appointed and attached to companies until they shall have attained the age and shall have acquired the knowledge to fit them for the duties of lieutenants.

I also call your attention to an omission in the law organizing the army, in relation to military chaplains, and recommend that provision be made for their appointment.

In conclusion, I congratulate you on the fact that in every portion of our country there has been exhibited the most patriotic devotion to our common cause. Transportation companies have freely tendered the use of their lines for troops and supplies.

The presidents of the railroads of the Confederacy, in company with others who control lines of communication with States that we hope soon to greet as sisters assembled in convention in this city, have not only reduced largely the rates heretofore demanded for mail service and conveyance of troops and munitions, but have voluntarily proffered to receive their compensation at their reduced rates in the bonds of the Confederacy, for the purpose of leaving all the resources of the Government at its own disposal for the common defence.

Requisitions for troops have been met with such alacrity that the numbers tendering their services have in every instance greatly exceeded the demand. Men of the highest official and social position are serving as volunteers in the ranks. The gravity of age, the zeal of youth, rival each other in the desire to be foremost in the public defence; and though at no other point than the one heretofore noticed have they been stimulated by the excitement incident to actual engagement and the hope of distinction for individual deportment, they have borne, what for new troops is the most severe ordeal, patient toil, constant vigil, and all the exposure and discomfort of active service, with a resolution and fortitude such as to command the approbation and justify the highest expectation of their conduct when active valor shall be required in place of steady endurance.

A people thus united and resolute cannot shrink from any sacrifice which they may be called on to make, nor can there be a reasonable doubt of their final success, however long and severe may be the test of their determination to maintain their birthright of freedom and equality as a trust which it is their first duty to transmit unblemished to their posterity.

A bonnteous Providence cheers us with the promise of abundant crops.

The fields of grain which will, within a few weeks, be ready for the sickle, give assurance of the amplest supply of food, whilst the corn, cotton, and other staple productions of our soil afford abundant proof that up to this period the season has been propitious.

We feel that our cause is just and holy.

We protest solemnly, in the face of mankind, that we desire peace at any sacrifice, save that of honor.

In independence we seek no conquest, no aggrandizement, no cession of any kind from the States with which we have lately confederated. All we ask is to be let alone—that those who never held power over us shall not now attempt our subjugation by arms. This we will, we must resist, to the direst extremity.

The moment that this pretension is abandoned, the sword will drop from our grasp, and we shall be ready to enter into treaties of amity and commerce that cannot but be mutually beneficial.

So long as this pretension is maintained, with a firm reliance on that Divine Power which covers with its protection the just cause, we will continue to struggle for our inherent right to freedom, independence, and self-government. JEFFERSON DAVIS.

MONTGOMERY, *April* 29, 1861.

MESSAGE *of President Davis at the Session of the Confederate Congress, held at Richmond, July* 20, 1861.

Gentlemen of the Congress of the Confederate States of America:

My Message addressed to you at the commencement of the last session contained such full information of

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the state of the Confederacy as to render it unnecessary that I should now do more than call your attention to such important facts as have occurred during the recess, and the matters connected with the public defence.

I have again to congratulate you on the accession of new members to our Confederation of free and equally sovereign States. Our loved and honored brethren of North Carolina and Tennessee have consummated the action foreseen and provided for at your last session, and I have had the gratification of announcing, by proclamation, in conformity with law, that these States were admitted into the Confederacy. The people of Virginia, also, by a majority previously unknown in our history, have ratified the action of her Convention uniting her fortunes with ours. The States of Arkansas, North Carolina, and Virginia have likewise adopted the permanent Constitution of the Confederate States, and no doubt is entertained of its adoption by Tennessee, at the election to be held early in next month.

I deemed it advisable to direct the removal of the several executive departments, with their archives, to this city, to which you have removed the seat of Government. Immediately after your adjournment, the aggressive movements of the enemy required prompt, energetic action. The accumulation of his forces on the Potomac sufficiently demonstrated that his efforts were to be directed against Virginia, and from no point could necessary measures for her defence and protection be so effectively decided, as from her own capital. The rapid progress of events, for the last few weeks, has fully sufficed to lift the veil, behind which the true policy and purposes of the Government of the United States had been previously concealed. Their odious features now stand fully revealed. The Message of their President, and the action of their Congress during the present month, confess their intention of the subjugation of these States, by a war, by which it is impossible to attain the proposed result, while its dire calamities, not to be avoided by us, will fall with double severity on themselves.

Commencing in March last, with the affectation of ignoring the secession of seven States, which first organized this Government; persevering in April in the idle and absurd assumption of the existence of a riot, which was to be dispersed by a *posse comitatus;* continuing in successive months the false representation that these States intended an offensive war, in spite of conclusive evidence to the contrary, furnished as well by official action as by the very basis on which this Government is constituted, the President of the United States and his advisers succeeded in deceiving the people of these States into the belief that the purpose of this Government was not peace at home, but conquest abroad; not defence of its own liberties, but subversion of those of the people of the United States. The series of manœuvres by which this impression was created; the art with which they were devised, and the perfidy with which they were executed, were already known to you; but you could scarcely have supposed that they would be openly avowed, and their success made the subject of boast and self-laudation in an executive message. Fortunately for truth and history, however, the President of the United States details, with minuteness, the attempt to reinforce Fort Pickens, in violation of an armistice of which he confessed to have been informed, but only by rumors, too vague and uncertain to fix the attention of the hostile expedition despatched to supply Fort Sumter, admitted to have been undertaken with the knowledge that its success was impossible. The sending of a notice to the Governor of South Carolina of his intention to use force to accomplish his object, and then quoting from his inaugural address the assurance that "there could be no conflict unless these States were the aggressors," he proceeds to declare his conduct, as just related by himself, was the performance of a promise, so free from the power of ingenious sophistry as that the world should not be able to misunderstand it; and in defiance of his own statement that he gave notice of the approach of a hostile fleet, he charges these States with becoming the assailants of the United States, without a gun in sight, or in expectancy, to return their fire, save only a few in the fort. He is, indeed, fully justified in saying that the case is so free from the power of ingenious sophistry that the world will not be able to misunderstand it. Under cover of this unfounded pretence, that the Confederate States are the assailants, that high functionary, after expressing his concern that some foreign nations had so shaped their action as if they supposed the early destruction of the national Union probable, abandons all further disguise, and proposes to make this contest a short and decisive one, by placing at the control of the Government for the work at least four hundred thousand men, and four hundred millions of dollars. The Congress, concurring in the doubt thus intimated as to the sufficiency of the force demanded, has increased it to half a million of men.

These enormous preparations in men and money, for the conduct of the war, on a scale more grand than any which the new world ever witnessed, is a distinct avowal, in the eyes of civilized man, that the United States are engaged in a conflict with a great and powerful nation. They are at last compelled to abandon the pretence of being engaged in dispersing rioters and suppressing insurrections, and are driven to the acknowledgment that the ancient Union has been dissolved. They recognize the separate existence of these Confederate States, by an interdictive embargo and blockade of all commerce between them and the United States, not only by sea, but by land; not only in ships, but in cars; not only with those who bear arms, but with the entire population of the Confederate States. Finally, they have repudiated the foolish conceit that the inhabitants of this Confederacy are still citizens of the United States; for they are waging an indiscriminate war upon them all, with savage ferocity, unknown in modern civilization.

In this war, rapine is the rule; private houses, in beautiful rural retreats, are bombarded and burnt; grain crops in the field are consumed by the torch, and, when the torch is not convenient, careful labor is bestowed to render complete the destruction of every article of use or ornament remaining in private dwellings after their inhabitants have fled from the outrages of brute soldiery. In 1781 Great Britain, when invading the revolted colonies, took possession of every district and county near Fortress Monroe, now occupied by the troops of the United States. The houses then inhabited by the people, after being respected and protected by avowed invaders, are now pillaged and destroyed by men who pretend that Virginians are their fellow-citizens. Mankind will shudder at the tales of the outrages committed on defenceless families by soldiers of the United States, now invading our homes; yet these outrages are prompted by inflamed passions and the madness of intoxication. But who shall depict the horror they entertain for the cool and deliberate malignancy which, under the pretext of suppressing insurrection, (said by themselves to be upheld by a minority only of our people,) makes special war on the sick, including children and women, by carefully-devised measures to prevent them from obtaining the medicines necessary for their cure. The sacred claims of humanity, respected even during the fury of actual battle, by careful diversion of attack from hospitals containing wounded enemies, are outraged in cold blood by a Government and people that pretend to desire a continuance of fraternal connections. All these outrages must remain unavenged by the universal reprehension of mankind. In all cases where the actual perpetrators of the wrongs escape capture, they admit of no retaliation. The humanity of our people would shrink instinctively from the bare idea of urging a like war upon the sick, the women, and the children of an enemy. But there are other savage practices which have been resorted to by the Government of the United States, which do admit of repression by retaliation, and I have been driven to the necessity of enforcing the repression. The prisoners of war taken by the

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enemy on board the armed schooner Savannah, sailing under our commission, were, as I was credibly advised, treated like common felons, put in irons, confined in a jail usually appropriated to criminals of the worst dye, and threatened with punishment as such. I had made application for the exchange of these prisoners to the commanding officer of the enemy's squadron off Charleston, but that officer had already sent the prisoners to New York when application was made. I therefore deemed it my duty to renew the proposal for the exchange to the constitutional commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, the only officer having control of the prisoners. To this end, I despatched an officer to him under a flag of truce, and, in making the proposal, I informed President Lincoln of my resolute purpose to check all barbarities on prisoners of war by such severity of retaliation on prisoners held by us as should secure the abandonment of the practice. This communication was received and read by an officer in command of the United States forces, and a message was brought from him by the bearer of my communication, that a reply would be returned by President Lincoln as soon as possible. I earnestly hope this promised reply (which has not yet been received) will convey the assurance that prisoners of war will be treated, in this unhappy contest, with that regard for humanity, which has made such conspicuous progress in the conduct of modern warfare. As measures of precaution, however, and until this promised reply is received, I still retain in close custody some officers captured from the enemy, whom it had been my pleasure previously to set at large on parole, and whose fate must necessarily depend on that of prisoners held by the enemy. I append a copy of my communication to the President and commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the report of the officer charged to deliver my communication. There are some other passages in the remarkable paper to which I have directed your attention, having reference to the peculiar relations which exist between this Government and the States usually termed Border Slave States, which cannot properly be withheld from notice. The hearts of our people are animated by sentiments towards the inhabitants of these States, which found expression in your enactment refusing to consider them enemies, or authorize hostilities against them. That a very large portion of the people of these States regard us as brethren; that, if unrestrained by the actual presence of large armies, subversion of civil authority, and declaration of martial law, some of them, at least, would joyfully unite with us; that they are, with almost entire unanimity, opposed to the prosecution of the war waged against us, are facts of which daily-recurring events fully warrant the assertion that the President of the United States refuses to recognize in these, our late sister States, the right of refraining from attack upon us, and justifies his refusal by the assertion that the States have no other power than that reserved to them in the Union by the Constitution. Now, one of them having ever been a State of the Union, this view of the constitutional relations between the States and the General Government is a fitting introduction to another assertion of the Message, that the Executive possesses power of suspending the writ of habeas corpus, and of delegating that power to military commanders at their discretion. And both these propositions claim a respect equal to that which is felt for the additional statement of opinion in the same paper, that it is proper, in order to execute the laws, that some single law, made in such extreme tenderness of citizens' liberty that practically it relieves more of the guilty than the innocent, should to a very limited extent be violated. We may well rejoice that we have forever severed our connection with a Government that thus trampled on all principles of constitutional liberty, and with a people in whose presence such avowals could be hazarded. The operations in the field will be greatly extended by reason of the policy which heretofore has been secretly entertained, and is now avowed and acted on by us. The forces hitherto raised provide amply for the defence of seven States which originally organized in the Confederacy, as is evidently the fact, since, with the exception of three fortified islands, whose defence is efficiently aided by a preponderating naval force, the enemy has been driven completely out of these stations; and now, at the expiration of five months from the formation of the Government, not a single hostile foot presses their soil. These forces, however, must necessarily prove inadequate to repel invasion by the half million of men now proposed by the enemy, and a corresponding increase of our forces will become necessary. The recommendations for the raising of this additional force will be contained in the communication of the Secretary of War, to which I need scarcely invite your earnest attention.

In my Message delivered in April last, I referred to the promise of the abundant crops with which we were cheered. The grain crops, generally, have since been harvested, and the yield has proven to be the most abundant ever known in our history. Many believe the supply adequate to two years' consumption of our population. Cotton, sugar, tobacco, forming a surplus of the production of our agriculture, and furnishing the basis of our commercial interchange, present the most cheering promises ever known. Providence has smiled on the labor which extracts the teeming wealth of our soil in all parts of our Confederacy.

It is the more gratifying to be able to give you this, because, in need of large and increased expenditure in support of our army, elevated and purified by a sacred cause, they maintain that our fellow-citizens, of every condition of life, exhibit most self-sacrificing devotion. They manifest a laudable pride of upholding their independence, unaided by any resources other than their own, and the immense wealth which a fertilized and genial climate has accumulated in this Confederacy of agriculturists, could not be more strongly displayed than in the large revenues which, with eagerness, they have contributed at the call of their country. In the single article of cotton, the subscriptions to the loan proposed by the Government cannot fall short of fifty millions of dollars, and will probably exceed that sum; and scarcely an article required for the consumption of our army is provided otherwise than by subscription to the produce loan, so happily devised by your wisdom. The Secretary of the Treasury, in his report submitted to you, will give you the amplest details connected with that branch of the public service; but it is not alone in their prompt pecuniary contributions that the noble race of freemen who inhabit these States evidence how worthy they are of those liberties which they so well know how to defend. In numbers far exceeding those authorized by your laws, they have pressed the tender of their services against the enemy. Their attitude of calm and sublime devotion to their country, the cool and confident courage with which they are already preparing to meet the invasion, in whatever proportions it may assume; the assurance that their sacrifices and their services will be renewed from year to year with unfailing purpose, until they have made good to the uttermost their rights to self-government; the generous and almost unequivocal confidence which they display in their Government during the pending struggle, all combine to present a spectacle, such as the world has rarely, if ever, seen. To speak of subjugating such a people, so united and determined, is to speak in a language incomprehensible to them; to resist attack on their rights or their liberties is with them an instinct. Whether this war shall last one, or three, or five years, is a problem they leave to be solved by the enemy alone. It will last till the enemy shall have withdrawn from their borders; till their political rights, their altars, and their homes are freed from invasion. Then, and then only, will they rest from this struggle, to enjoy in peace the blessings which, with the favor of Providence, they have secured by the aid of their own strong hearts and steady arms.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

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MESSAGE *of President Davis at the Session of the Confederate Congress, held at Richmond, November* 18, 1861.

To the Congress of the Confederate States:

The few weeks which have elapsed since your adjournment have brought us so near the close of the year that we are now able to sum up its general results. The retrospect is such as should fill the hearts of our people with gratitude to Providence for His kind interposition in their behalf. Abundant yields have rewarded the labor of the agriculturist, whilst the manufacturing interest of the Confederate States was never so prosperous as now. The necessities of the times have called into existence new branches of manufactures, and given a fresh impulse to the activity of those heretofore in operation. The means of the Confederate States for manufacturing the necessaries and comforts of life within themselves increase as the conflict continues, and we are gradually becoming independent of the rest of the world for the supply of such military stores and munitions as are indispensable for war.

The operations of the army, soon to be partially interrupted by the approaching winter, have afforded a protection to the country, and shed a lustre upon its arms, through the trying vicissitudes of more than one arduous campaign, which entitle our brave volunteers to our praise and our gratitude.

From its commencement up to the present period the war has been enlarging its proportions and expanding its boundaries so as to include new fields. The conflict now extends from the shores of the Chesapeake to the confines of Missouri and Arizona; yet sudden calls from the remotest points for military aid have been met with promptness enough not only to avert disaster in the face of superior numbers, but also to roll back the tide of invasion from the border.

When the war commenced the enemy were possessed of certain strategic points and strong places within the Confederate States. They greatly exceeded us in numbers, in available resources, and in the supplies necessary for war. Military establishments had been long organized, and were complete; the navy, and, for the most part, the army, once common to both, were in their possession. To meet all this we had to create not only an army in the face of war itself, but also military establishments necessary to equip and place it in the field. It ought, indeed, to be a subject of gratulation that the spirit of the volunteers and the patriotism of the people have enabled us, under Providence, to grapple successfully with these difficulties.

A succession of glorious victories at Bethel, Bull Run, Manassas, Springfield, Lexington, Leesburg, and Belmont, has checked the wicked invasion which greed of gain and the unhallowed lust of power brought upon our soil, and has proved that numbers cease to avail when directed against a people fighting for the sacred right of self-government and the privileges of freemen. After seven months of war the enemy have not only failed to extend their occupancy of our soil, but new States and Territories have been added to our Confederacy, while, instead of their threatened march of unchecked conquest, they have been driven, at more than one point, to assume the defensive; and, upon a fair comparison between the two belligerents as to men, military means, and financial condition, the Confederate States are relatively much stronger now than when the struggle commenced.

Since your adjournment the people of Missouri have conducted the war, in the face of almost unparalleled difficulties, with a spirit and success alike worthy of themselves and of the great cause in which they are struggling. Since that time Kentucky, too, has become the theatre of active hostilities. The Federal forces have not only refused to acknowledge her right to be neutral, and have insisted upon making her a party to the war, but have invaded her for the purpose of attacking the Confederate States. Outrages of the most despotic character have been perpetrated upon her people; some of her most eminent citizens have been seized and borne away to languish in foreign prisons without knowing who were their accusers, or the specific charges made against them; while others have been forced to abandon their homes, their families, and property, and seek a refuge in distant lands.

Finding that the Confederate States were about to be invaded through Kentucky, and that her people, after being deceived in to a mistaken security, were unarmed, and in danger of being subjugated by the Federal forces, our armies were marched into that State to repel the enemy, and prevent their occupation of certain strategetic points, which would have given them great advantages in the contest—a step which was justified not only by the necessities of self-defence on the part of the Confederate States, but also by a desire to aid the people of Kentucky. It was never intended by the Confederate Government to conquer or coerce the people of that State; but, on the contrary, it was declared by our Generals that they would withdraw their troops if the Federal Government would do likewise. Proclamation was also made of the desire to respect the neutrality of Kentucky, and the intention to abide by the wishes of her people as soon as they were free to express their opinions.

These declarations were approved by me, and I should regard it as one of the best effects of the march of our troops into Kentucky if it should end in giving to her people liberty of choice, and a free opportunity to decide their own destiny according to their own will.

The army has been chiefly instrumental in prosecuting the great contest in which we are engaged; but the navy has also been effective in full proportion to its means. The naval officers, deprived to a great extent of an opportunity to make their professional skill available at sea, have served with commendable zeal and gallantry on shore and upon inland waters, further detail of which will be found in the reports of the Navy and of War.

In the transportation of the mails many difficulties have arisen, which will be found fully developed in the report of the Postmaster-General. The absorption of the ordinary means of transportation for the movement of troops and military supplies, the insufficiency of the rolling stock of railroads for the accumulation of business, resulting both from military operations and the obstruction of water communication by the presence of the enemy's fleet; the failure and even refusal of contractors to comply with the terms of their agreements; the difficulties inherent in inaugurating so vast and complicated a system as that which requires postal facilities for every town and village in a territory so extended as ours, have all combined to impede the best directed efforts of the Postmaster-General, whose zeal, industry, and ability have been taxed to the utmost extent. Some of these difficulties can only be overcome by time and an improved condition of the country upon the restoration of peace; but others may be remedied by legislation, and your attention is invited to the recommendations contained in the report of the head of that Department.

The condition of the Treasury will doubtless be a subject of anxious inquiry on your part. I am happy to say that the financial system already adopted has worked well so far, and promises good results for the future. To the extent that Treasury notes may be issued, the Government is enabled to borrow money without interest, and thus facilitate the conduct of the war. This extent is measured by the portion of the field of circulation which these notes can be made to occupy. The proportion of the field thus occupied depends again upon the amount of the debts for which they are receivable; and dues, not only to the Confederate and State Governments, but also to corporations and individuals, are payable in this medium; a large amount of it may be circulated at par.

There is every reason to believe that the Confederate Treasury note is fast becoming such a medium. The provision that these notes shall be convertible into Confederate stock, bearing eight per cent. interest, at the pleasure of the holder, ensures them against a depreciation below the value of that stock, and no con-

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siderable fall in that value need be feared so long as the interest shall be punctually paid. The punctual payment of this interest has been secured by the act passed by you at the last session, imposing such a rate of taxation as must provide sufficient means for that purpose.

For the successful prosecution of this war, it is indispensable that the means of transporting troops and military supplies be furnished, as far as possible, in such manner as not to interrupt the commercial intercourse between our people, nor place a check on their productive energies. To this end the means of transportation from one section of country to the other must be carefully guarded and improved. And this should be the object of anxious care on the part of State and Confederate Governments, so far as they may have power over the subject.

We have already two main systems of through transportation from the North to the South—one from Richmond, along the seaboard; the other through Western Virginia to New Orleans. A third might be secured by completing a link of about forty miles between Danville, in Virginia, and Greensborough, in North Carolina. The construction of this comparatively short line would give us a through route from North to South in the interior of the Confederate States, and give us access to a population and to military resources from which we are now, in a great measure, debarred. We should increase greatly the safety and capacity of our means for transporting men and military supplies.

If the construction of the road should, in the judgment of Congress, as it is in mine, be indispensable for the most successful prosecution of the war, the action of the Government will not be restrained by the constitutional objection which would attach to a work for commercial purposes; and attention is invited to the practicability of securing its early completion by giving the needful aid to the company organized for its construction and administration.

If we husband our means and make a judicious use of our resources, it would be difficult to fix a limit to the period during which we could conduct a war against the adversary whom we now encounter. The very efforts which he makes to isolate and invade us must exhaust his means, whilst they serve to complete the circle and diversify the productions of our industrial system. The reconstruction which he seeks to effect by arms becomes daily more and more palpably impossible. Not only do the causes which induced us to separate still exist in full force, but they have been strengthened, and whatever doubt may have lingered in the minds of any must have been completely dispelled by subsequent events.

If, instead of being a dissolution of a league, it were indeed a rebellion in which we are engaged, we might find ample vindication for the course we have adopted in the scenes which are now being enacted in the United States. Our people now look with contemptuous astonishment on those with whom they have been so recently associated. They shrink with aversion from the bare idea of renewing such a connection. When they see a President making war without the assent of Congress; when they behold judges threatened because they maintain the writ of habeas corpus, so sacred to freemen; when they see justice and law trampled under the armed heel of military authority, and upright men and innocent women dragged to distant dungeons upon the mere edict of a despot; when they find all this tolerated and applauded by a people who had been in the full enjoyment of freedom but a few months ago, they believe that there must be some radical incompatibility between such a people and themselves. With such a people we may be content to live at peace, but the separation is final, and for the independence we have asserted, we will accept no alternative.

The nature of the hostilities which they have waged against us must be characterized as barbarous whenever it is understood. They have bombarded undefended villages without giving notice to women and children to enable them to escape, and in one instance selected the night as the period when they might surprise them most effectually whilst asleep and unsuspicious of danger. Arson and rapine, the destruction of private houses and property, and injuries of the most wanton character, even upon non-combatants, have marked their forays along their borders and upon our territory. Although we ought to have been admonished by these things that they were disposed to make war upon us in the most cruel and relentless spirit, yet we were not prepared to see them fit out a large naval expedition with the confessed purpose not only to pillage, but to incite a servile war in our midst.

If they convert their soldiers into incendiaries and robbers, and involve us in a species of war which claims non-combatants, women, and children as its victims, they must expect to be treated as outlaws and enemies of mankind. There are certain rights of humanity which are entitled to respect even in war, and he who refuses to regard them forfeits his claims, if captured, to be considered as a prisoner of war, but must expect to be dealt with as an offender against all law, human and divine.

But not content with violating our rights under the law of nations at home, they have extended these injuries to us within other jurisdictions. The distinguished gentlemen whom, with your approval, at the last session, I commissioned to represent the Confederacy at certain foreign Courts, have been recently seized by the captain of a United States ship-of-war, on board a British steamer, on their voyage from the neutral Spanish port of Havana to England. The United States have thus claimed a general jurisdiction over the high seas, and, entering a British ship sailing under its country's flag, violated the rights of embassy, for the most part held sacred even amongst barbarians, by seizing our Ministers whilst under the protection and within the dominions of a neutral nation.

These gentlemen were as much under the jurisdiction of the British Government upon that ship, and beneath its flag, as if they had been upon its soil; and a claim on the part of the United States to seize them in the streets of London would have been as well-founded as that to apprehend them where they were taken. Had they been malefactors, and citizens even of the United States, they could not have been arrested on a British ship or on British soil, unless under the express provisions of a treaty, and according to the forms therein provided for the extradition of criminals.

But rights the most sacred seem to have lost all respect in their eyes. When Mr. Faulkner, a former Minister of the United States to France, commissioned before the secession of Virginia, his native State, returned in good faith to Washington to settle his accounts and fulfil all the obligations into which he had entered, he was perfidiously arrested and imprisoned in New York, where he now is. The unsuspecting confidence with which he reported to his Government was abused, and his desire to fulfil his trust to them was used to his injury.

In conducting this war, we have sought no aid and proposed no alliances, offensive and defensive, abroad. We have asked for a recognized place in the great family of nations, but in doing so we have demanded nothing for which we did not offer a fair equivalent. The advantages of intercourse are mutual amongst nations, and in seeking to establish diplomatic relations, we were only endeavoring to place that intercourse under the regulation of public law. Perhaps we had the right, if we had chosen to exercise it, to ask to know whether the principle that "blockades, to be binding, must be effectual," so solemnly announced by the great Powers of Europe at Paris, is to be generally enforced or applied only to particular parties.

When the Confederate States, at your last session, became a party to the declaration reaffirming this principle of international law, which has been recognized so long by publicists and Governments, we certainly supposed that it was to be universally enforced.

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The customary laws of nations are made up of their practice rather than their declarations; and if such declarations are only to be enforced in particular instances, at the pleasure of those who make them, then the commerce of the world, so far from being placed under the regulation of a general law, will become subject to the caprice of those who execute or suspend it at will. If such is to be the course of nations in regard to this law, it is plain that it will thus become a rule for the weak and not for the strong.

Feeling that such views must be taken by the neutral nations of the earth, I have caused the evidence to be collected which proves completely the utter inefficiency of the proclaimed blockade of our coast, and shall direct it to be laid before such Governments as shall afford us the means of being heard. But, although we should be benefited by the enforcement of this law so solemnly declared by the great Powers of Europe, we are not dependent on that enforcement for the successful prosecution of the war. As long as hostilities continue, the Confederate States will exhibit a steadily increasing capacity to furnish their troops with food, clothing, and arms.

If they should be forced to forego many of the luxuries and some of the comforts of life, they will at least have the consolation of knowing that they are thus daily becoming more and more independent of the rest of the world. If, in this process, labor in the Confederate States should be gradually diverted from those great Southern staples which have given life to so much of the commerce of mankind into other channels, so as to make them rival producers instead of profitable customers, they will not be the only or even chief losers by this change in the direction of their industry.

Although it is true that the cotton supply from the Southern States could only be totally cut off by the subversion of our social system, yet it is plain that a long continuance of this blockade might, by a diversion of labor and investment of capital in other employments, so diminish the supply as to bring ruin upon all those interests of foreign countries which are dependent on that staple. For every laborer who is diverted from the culture of cotton in the South, perhaps four times as many elsewhere, who have found subsistence in the various employments growing out of its use, will be forced also to change their occupation.

While the war which is waged to take from us the right of self-government can never attain that end, it remains to be seen how far it may work a revolution in the industrial system of the world, which may carry suffering to other lands as well as to our own. In the mean time we shall continue this struggle in humble dependence upon Providence, from whose searching scrutiny we cannot conceal the secrets of our hearts, and to whose rule we confidently submit our destinies. For the rest we shall depend upon ourselves. Liberty is always won where there exists the unconquerable will to be free, and we have reason to know the strength that is given by a conscious sense not only of the magnitude but of the righteousness of our cause.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

RICHMOND, *November* 13, 1861.

A PROCLAMATION OF NEUTRALITY.

VICTORIA R.

Whereas, We are happily at peace with all Sovereigns, Powers, and States;

And whereas hostilities have unhappily commenced between the Government of the United States of America and certain States styling themselves "the Confederate States of America;"

And whereas we, being at peace with the Government of the United States, have declared our Royal determination to maintain a strict and impartial neutrality in the contest between the said contending parties;

"We, therefore, have thought fit, by and with the advice of our Privy Council, to issue this our Royal Proclamation:

And we do hereby strictly charge and command all our loving subjects to observe a strict neutrality in and during the aforesaid hostilities, and to abstain from violating or contravening either the laws and statutes of the realm in this behalf, or the law of nations in relation thereto, as they will answer to the contrary at their peril.

And *whereas*, in and by a certain statute made and passed in the fifty-ninth year of His Majesty King George III., entitled "an act to prevent the enlisting or engagement of His Majesty's subjects to serve in a foreign service, and the fitting out or equipping, in His Majesty's dominions, vessels for warlike purposes, without His Majesty's license," it is, among other things, declared and enacted as follows:

"That if any natural born subject of His Majesty, his heirs and successors, without the leave or license of His Majesty, his heirs or successors, for that purpose first had and obtained, under the sign manual of His Majesty, his heirs or successors, or signified by Order in Council, or by proclamation of His Majesty, his heirs or successors, shall take or accept, or shall agree to take or accept, any military commission, or shall otherwise enter into the military service as a commissioned or non-commissioned officer, or shall enlist or enter himself to enlist, or shall agree to enlist or to enter himself to serve as a soldier, or to be employed, or shall serve in any warlike or military operation in the service of, or for, or under, or in aid of any foreign Prince, State, Potentate, Colony, Province, or part of any Province or people, or of any person or persons, exercising or assuming to exercise the powers of government in or over any foreign country, colony, province, or part of any province or people, either as an officer or soldier, or in any other military capacity; or if any natural born subject of His Majesty shall, without such leave or license as aforesaid, accept, or agree to take or accept, any commission, warrant or appointment, as an officer, or shall enlist or enter himself, or shall agree to enlist or enter himself, to serve as a sailor or marine, or to be employed or engaged, or shall serve in and on board any ship or vessel of war, or in and on board any ship or vessel used or fitted out, or equipped, or intended to be used for any warlike purpose, in the service of, or for, or under, or in aid of any foreign power, prince, State, potentate, colony, province, or part of any province or people, or of any person or persons exercising or assuming to exercise the powers of government in or over any foreign country, colony, province, or part of any province or people; or, if any natural born subject of His Majesty shall, without such leave and license as aforesaid, engage, contract, or agree to go, or shall go, to any foreign State, country, colony, province, or part of any province, or to any place beyond the seas, with an intent or in order to enlist or enter himself to serve, or with intent to serve, in any warlike or military operation whatever, whether by land or by sea, in the service of, or for, or under, or in aid of any foreign prince, State, potentate, colony, province, or part of any province or people, or in the service of, or for, or under, or in aid of any person or persons exercising or assuming to exercise the powers of government in or over any foreign country, colony, province, or part of any province, or people, either as an officer or a soldier, or in any other military capacity, or an officer or sailor, or marine in any such ship or vessel as aforesaid, although no enlisting money, or pay, or reward shall have been or shall be in any or either of the cases aforesaid actually paid to or received by him, or by any person to or for his use or benefit; or if any person whatever, within the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or any part of His Majesty's dominions elsewhere, or in any country, colony, settlement, island or place belonging to or subject to His Majesty, shall hire, retain, engage, or procure, or shall attempt or endeavor to hire, retain, engage, or procure any person or persons whatever to enlist, or enter, or engage to enlist, or to serve or to be employed in any such service or employment

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as aforesaid, as an officer, soldier, sailor or marine, either in land or sea service, for or under or in aid of any foreign prince, State, potentate, colony, province, or part of any province or people, or for, or under, or in aid of any person or persons exercising or assuming to exercise any powers of government as aforesaid, or to go or to agree to go or embark from any part of His Majesty's dominions, for the purpose or with intent to be enlisted, entered, engaged or employed as aforesaid, whether any enlisting money, pay, or reward shall have been or shall be actually given or received, or not; in any or either of such cases every person so offending shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon being convicted thereof, upon any information or indictment, shall be punishable by fine and imprisonment, or either of them, at the discretion of the Court before which such offender shall be convicted."

And it is in and by the said act further enacted:

"That if any person, within any part of the United Kingdom or in any part of His Majesty's dominions beyond the seas, shall without the leave and license of His Majesty, for that purpose first had and obtained as aforesaid, equip, furnish, fit out, or arm, or attempt or endeavor to equip, furnish, fit out, or arm, or procure to be equipped, furnished, fitted out, or armed, or shall knowingly aid, assist, or be concerned in the equipping, furnishing, fitting out, or arming of any ship or vessel, with intent or in order that such ship or vessel shall be employed in the service of any foreign prince, State, or potentate, or of any foreign colony, province, or part of any province or people, or of any person or persons exercising or assuming to exercise any powers of government in or over any foreign State, colony, province, or part of any province or people, as a transport or store ship, or with intent to cruise or commit hostilities against any prince, State, or potentate, or against the subjects or citizens of any prince, State, or potentate, or against the persons exercising or assuming to exercise the powers of government in any colony, province, or part of any province or country, or against the inhabitants of any foreign colony, province, or part of any province or country, with whom His Majesty shall not then be at war; or shall, within the United Kingdom, or any of His Majesty's dominions, or in any settlement, colony, territory, island, or place belonging or subject to His Majesty, issue or deliver any commission for any ship or vessel to the intent that such ship or vessel shall be employed as aforesaid, every such person so offending shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall upon conviction thereof, upon any information or indictment, be punished by fine and imprisonment, or either of them, at the discretion of the Court in which such offender shall be convicted; and every such ship or vessel, with the tackle, apparel, and furniture, together with all the materials, arms, ammunition and stores which may belong to or be on board of any such ship or vessel, shall be forfeited; and it shall be lawful for any officer of His Majesty's Customs or Excise, or any officer of His Majesty's navy, who is by law empowered to make seizures, for any forfeiture incurred under any of the laws of Customs or Excise, or the laws of trade and navigation, to seize such ships and vessels aforesaid, and in such places and in such manner in which the officers of His Majesty's Customs or Excise and the officers of His Majesty's navy are empowered respectively to make seizures under the laws of Customs and Excise, or under the laws of trade and navigation; and that every ship and vessel, with the tackle, apparel, and furniture, together with all the materials, arms, ammunition, and stores which may belong to or be on board of such ship or vessel, may be prosecuted and condemned in the like manner, and in such courts as ships or vessels may be prosecuted and condemned for any breach of the laws made for the protection of the revenues of Customs and Excise, or of the laws of trade and navigation."

And it is in and by the said act further enacted:

"That if any person in any part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or in any part of His Majesty's dominions beyond the seas, without leave and license of His Majesty, for that purpose first had and obtained as aforesaid, shall, by adding to the number of the guns of such vessel, or by changing those on board for other guns, or by the addition of any equipment for war, increase or augment, or procure to be increased or augmented, or shall be knowingly concerned in increasing or augmenting the warlike force of any ship or vessel of war or cruiser, or other armed vessel, which at the time of her arrival in any part of the United Kingdom, or any of His Majesty's dominions, was a ship of war, cruiser, or armed vessel in the service of any foreign prince, State, or potentate, or of any person or persons exercising or assuming to exercise any powers of government in or over any colony, province, or part of any province or people belonging to the subjects of any such prince, State, or potentate, or to the inhabitants of any colony, province, or part of any province or country under the control of any person or persons so exercising or assuming to exercise the powers of government, every such person so offending shall be deemed guilty of a disdemeanor, and shall, upon being convicted thereof, upon any information or indictment, be punished by fine and imprisonment, or either of them, at the discretion of the Court before which such offender shall be convicted."

Now, in order that none of our subjects may unwarily render themselves liable to the penalties imposed by the said statute, we do hereby strictly command, that no person or persons whatsoever do commit any act, matter or thing whatsoever, contrary to the provisions of the said statute, upon pain of the several penalties by the said statute imposed, and of our high displeasure.

And we do hereby further warn all our loving subjects, and all persons whatsoever entitled to our protection, that if any of them shall presume, in contempt of this Royal Proclamation, and of our high displeasure, to do any acts in derogation of their duty as subjects of a neutral sovereign, in the said contest, or in violation or contravention of the law of nations in that behalf—as, for example and more especially, by entering into the military service of either of the said contending parties as commissioned or non-commissioned officers or soldiers; or by serving as officers, sailors, or marines on board any ship or vessel of war or transport of or in the service of either of the said contending parties; or by serving as officers, sailors, or marines on board any privateer bearing letters of marque of or from either of the said contending parties; or by engaging to go or going to any place beyond the seas with intent to enlist or engage in any such service, or by procuring or attempting to procure, within Her Majesty's dominions, at home or abroad, others to do so; or by fitting out, arming, or equipping, any ship or vessel to be employed as a ship-of-war, or privateer, or transport, by either of the said contending parties; or by breaking, or endeavoring to break, any blockade lawfully and actually established by or on behalf of either of the said contending parties; or by carrying officers, soldiers, despatches, arms, military stores or materials, or any article or articles considered and deemed to be contraband of war according to the law of modern usage of nations, for the use or service of either of the said contending parties, all persons so offending will incur and be liable to the several penalties and penal consequences by the said statute, or by the law of nations, in that behalf imposed or denounced.

And we do hereby declare that all our subjects and persons entitled to our protection who may misconduct themselves in the premises will do so at their peril and of their own wrong, and that they will in no wise obtain any protection from us against any liability or penal consequences, but will, on the contrary, incur our high displeasure by such misconduct.

Given at our Court at the White Lodge, Richmond Park, this 13th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1861, and in the 24th year of our reign.

GOD save the QUEEN.

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DECREE OF THE QUEEN OF SPAIN.

Taking into consideration the relations which exist between Spain and the United States of America, and the desirability that the reciprocal sentiments of good intelligence should not be changed by reason of the grave events which have taken place in that republic, I have resolved to maintain the most strict neutrality in the contest begun between the Federal States of the Union and the States confederated at the South; and in order to avoid the damage which might come to my subjects and to navigation, and to commerce, from the want of clear provisions to which to adjust their conduct in consonance with my council of ministers, I do decree the following:

Art. 1. It is forbidden in all the ports of the monarchy to arm, provide, or equip any privateer vessel, whatever may be the flag she displays.

Art. 2. It is forbidden in like manner to the owners, masters, or captains of merchant vessels to accept letters of marque, or contribute in any way whatsoever to the armament or equipment of vessels of war or privateers.

Art. 3. It is forbidden to vessels of war or privateers with their prizes, to enter or to remain for more than twenty-four hours in the ports of the monarchy, except in case of stress of weather. Whenever this last shall occur, the authorities will keep watch over the vessel and oblige her to get out to sea the soonest possible without permitting her to take in any stores except the purely necessary for the moment, but in no case arms nor supplies for war.

Art. 4. Articles proceeding from prizes shall not be sold in the ports of the monarchy.

Art. 5. The transportation under the Spanish flag of all articles of commerce is guaranteed, except when they are directed to blockaded ports. The transportation of effects of war is forbidden, as well as the carrying of papers or communications for belligerents. Transgressors shall be responsible for their acts, and shall have no right to the protection of my Government.

Art. 6. It is forbidden to all Spaniards to enlist in the belligerent armies, or take service on board of vessels of war or privateers.

Art. 7. My subjects will abstain from every act which, in violation of the laws of the kingdom, can be considered as contrary to neutrality.

Art. 8. Those who violate the foregoing provisions shall have no right to the protection of my Government; shall suffer the consequences of the measures which the belligerents may dictate, and shall be punished according to the laws of Spain.

Palace, on the seventeenth of June, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one.

SIGNED WITH THE ROYAL HAND.

The Minister of State,

SATURNINO CARDERON COLLANTES.

DECREE OF THE KING OF PORTUGAL.

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.
PALACE OF NECESSIDADES, *July* 29, 1861.

It being proper, in view of the circumstances at present existing in regard to the United States of America, to carry into effect the principles established in the declaration of Paris of April 16, 1856, made by the representatives of the powers that signed the treaty of peace of the 30th of March of that year, to which declaration my Government acceded, and likewise, for the same reason, to adopt other measures which I deem opportune, I have been pleased, after hearing the Council of State, to decree as follows:

Article 1. In all the ports and waters of this kingdom, as well on the continent and in the adjacent islands as in the ultramarine provinces, Portuguese subjects and foreigners are prohibited from fitting out vessels destined for privateering.

Art. 2. In the same ports and waters referred to in the preceding article is, in like manner, prohibited the entrance of privateers and of the prizes made by privateers, or by armed vessels.

§ The cases of overruling necessity, (*força maior,*) in which, according to the law of nations, hospitality is indispensable, are excepted from this regulation, without permission, however, being allowed, in any manner, for the sale of any objects proceeding from prizes.

The Ministers and Secretaries of State in all the departments will thus understand, and cause it to be executed. KING.

MARQUEZ DE LOULÉ.
ALBERTO ANTONIO DE MORAES CARVALHO.
VISCONDE DE SÁ DA BANDEIRA.
CARLOS BENTO DA SILVA.
THIAGO AUGUSTO VELLOSO DE HORTA.
ANTONIO JOSÉ D'AVILA.

VIEWS OF THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.

ST. PETERSBURG, *July* 10, 1861.

SIR: From the beginning of the conflict which divides the United States of America, you have been desired to make known to the Federal Government the deep interest with which our august master was observing the development of a crisis which puts in question the prosperity and even the existence of the Union.

The Emperor profoundly regrets to see that the hope of a peaceful solution is not realized, and that American citizens, already in arms against each other, are ready to let loose upon their country the most formidable of the scourges of political society—a civil war.

For the more than eighty years that it has existed, the American Union owes its independence, its towering rise, and its progress, to the concord of its members, consecrated, under the auspices of its illustrious founder, by institutions which have been able to reconcile union with liberty. This union has been fruitful. It has exhibited to the world the spectacle of a prosperity without example in the annals of history.

It would be deplorable that, after so conclusive an experience, the United States should be hurried into a breach of the solemn compact which, up to this time, has made their power.

In spite of the diversity of their constitutions and of their interests, and perhaps, even, because of this diversity, Providence seems to urge them to draw closer the traditional bond which is the basis and the very condition of their political existence. In any event, the sacrifices which they might impose upon themselves to maintain it are beyond comparison with those which dissolution would bring after it. United, they perfect themselves; isolated, they are paralyzed.

The struggle which unhappily has just arisen, can neither be indefinitely prolonged nor lead to the total destruction of one of the parties. Sooner or later it will be necessary to come to some settlement, whatsoever it may be, which may cause the divergent interests now actually in conflict to coexist.

The American nation would then give a proof of high political wisdom in seeking in common such a settlement before a useless effusion of blood, a barren squandering of strength and of public riches, and acts of violence and reciprocal reprisals shall have come to deepen an abyss between the two parties to the confederation, to end definitively in their mutual exhaustion, and in the ruin, perhaps irreparable, of their commercial and political power.

Our august master cannot resign himself to admit such deplorable anticipations. His Imperial Majesty still places his confidence in that practical good sense of the citizens of the Union who appreciate so judiciously their true interests. His Majesty is happy to believe that the members of the Federal Government, and the influential men of the two parties, will seize all occasions, and will unite all their efforts to calm the effervescence of the passions. There are no interests so divergent that it may not be possible to reconcile them by laboring to that end with zeal and perseverance in a spirit of justice and moderation.

If, within the limits of your friendly relations, your language and your councils may contribute to this

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result, you will respond, sir, to the intentions of his Majesty, the Emperor, in devoting to this the personal influence which you may have been able to acquire during your long residence at Washington, and the consideration which belongs to your character as the representative of a sovereign animated by the most friendly sentiments towards the American Union. This Union is not simply, in our eyes, an element essential to the universal political equilibrium. It constitutes, besides, a nation to which our august master and all Russia have pledged the most friendly interest; for the two countries, placed at the extremities of the two worlds, both in the ascending period of their development, appear called to a natural community of interests and of sympathies, of which they have already given mutual proofs to each other.

I do not wish here to approach any of the questions which divide the United States. We are not called upon to express ourselves in this contest. The preceding considerations have no other object than to attest the lively solicitude of the Emperor in presence of the dangers which menace the American Union, and the sincere wishes which his Majesty entertains for the maintenance of that great work, so laboriously raised, which appeared so rich in its future.

It is in this sense, sir, that I desire you to express yourself, as well to the members of the General Government as to influential persons whom you may meet, giving them the assurance that in every event the American nation may count upon the most cordial sympathy on the part of our august master during the important crisis which it is passing through at present.

Receive, sir, the expression of my very distinguished consideration. GORTCHAKOFF.

Mr. De Stoeckl, &c., &c., &c.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA.

We, the people of the Confederate States, each State acting in its sovereign and independent character, in order to form a permanent federal government, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity—invoking the favor and guidance of Almighty God—do ordain and establish this Constitution for the Confederate States of America.

Article I. Sec. 1.—All legislative powers herein delegated shall be vested in a Congress of the Confederate States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Sec. 2.—The House of Representatives shall be chosen every second year by the people of the several States; and the electors in each State shall be citizens of the Confederate States, and have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature; but no person of foreign birth, not a citizen of the Confederate States, shall be allowed to vote for any officer, civil or political, State or Federal.

2. No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years, and be a citizen of the Confederate States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Confederacy, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all slaves. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the Confederate States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every fifty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of South Carolina shall be entitled to choose six; the State of Georgia, ten; the State of Alabama, nine; the State of Florida, two; the State of Mississippi, seven; the State of Louisiana, six; and the State of Texas, six.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State, the Executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment; except that any judicial or other federal officer resident and acting solely within the limits of any State, may be impeached by a vote of two-thirds of both branches of the Legislature thereof.

Sec. 3.—The Senate of the Confederate States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen for six years by the Legislature thereof, at the regular session next immediately preceding the commencement of the term of service; and each Senator shall have one vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled, in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year; and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year; so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a Senator, who shall have not attained the age of thirty years, and be a citizen of the Confederate States; and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of the State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice-President of the Confederate States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the Confederate States.

6. The Senate shall have sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the Confederate States is tried, the Chief-Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit, under the Confederate States; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable to and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment according to law.

Sec. 4.—The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof, subject to the provisions of this Constitution; but the Congress may, at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the times and places of choosing Senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year; and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall, by law, appoint a different day.

Sec. 5.—Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties as each House may provide.

2. Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds of the whole number, expel a member.

3. Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, except

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ing such part as may in its judgment require secrecy, and the ayes and noes of the members of either House, on any question, shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SEC. 6.—The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the Confederate States. They shall, in all cases except treason and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the Confederate States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the Confederate States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office. But Congress may, by law, grant to the principal officer in each of the Executive Departments a seat upon the floor of either House, with the privilege of discussing any measure appertaining to his department.

SEC. 7.—All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed both Houses shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the Confederate States; if he approve he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it with his objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases, the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress, by their adjournment, prevent its return; in which case it shall not be a law. The President may approve any appropriation and disapprove any other appropriation in the same bill. In such case he shall, in signing the bill, designate the appropriations disapproved; and shall return a copy of such appropriations, with his objections, to the House in which the bill shall have originated; and the same proceedings shall then be had as in case of other bills disapproved by the President.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of both Houses may be necessary, (except on questions of adjournment,) shall be presented to the President of the Confederate States; and before the same shall take effect shall be approved by him; or being disapproved by him, may be re-passed by two-thirds of both Houses, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in case of a bill.

SEC. 8.—The Congress shall have power—

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, for revenue necessary to pay the debts, provide for the common defence, and carry on the Government of the Confederate States; but no bounties shall be granted from the treasury; nor shall any duties or taxes on importations from foreign nations be laid to promote or foster any branch of industry; and all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the Confederate States.

2. To borrow money on the credit of the Confederate States.

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes: but neither this, nor any other clause contained in the Constitution, shall be construed to delegate the power to Congress to appropriate money for any internal improvement intended to facilitate commerce; except for the purpose of furnishing lights, beacons, and buoys, and other aids to navigation upon the coasts, and the improvement of harbors, and the removing of obstructions in river navigation; in all which cases, such duties shall be laid on the navigation facilitated thereby, as may be necessary to pay the costs and expenses thereof.

4. To establish uniform laws of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the Confederate States, but no law of Congress shall discharge any debt contracted before the passage of the same.

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures.

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the Confederate States.

7. To establish post-offices and post-routes; but the expenses of the Post-office Department, after the first day of March, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and sixty-three, shall be paid out of its own revenues.

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries.

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court.

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations.

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water.

12. To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years.

13. To provide and maintain a navy.

14. To make rules for government and regulation of the land and naval forces.

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Confederate States; suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the Confederate States; reserving to the States, respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.

17. To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of one or more States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the Confederate States; and to exercise a like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings, and

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the Confederate States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SEC. 9.—The importation of negroes of the African race, from any foreign country, other than the slave-holding States or Territories of the United States of America, is hereby forbidden; and Congress is required to pass such laws as shall effectually prevent the same.

2. Congress shall also have power to prohibit the

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introduction of slaves from any State not a member of, or Territory not belonging to, this Confederacy.

3. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

4. No bill of attainder, or *ex post facto* law, or law denying or impairing the right of property in negro slaves, shall be passed.

5. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

6. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State, except by a vote of two-thirds of both Houses.

7. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another.

8. No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

9. Congress shall appropriate no money from the treasury except by a vote of two-thirds of both Houses, taken by yeas and nays, unless it be asked and estimated for by some one of the heads of departments, and submitted to Congress by the President; or for the purpose of paying its own expenses and contingencies; or for the payment of claims against the Confederate States, the justice of which shall have been judicially declared by a tribunal for the investigation of claims against the Government, which it is hereby made the duty of Congress to establish.

10. All bills appropriating money shall specify in federal currency the exact amount of each appropriation and the purposes for which it is made; and Congress shall grant no extra compensation to any public contractor, officer, agent, or servant, after such contract shall have been made or such service rendered.

11. No title of nobility shall be granted by the Confederate States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emoluments, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

12. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

13. A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

14. No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war, but in a manner prescribed by law.

15. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrant shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized.

16. No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war, or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall any private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

17. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

18. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved; and no fact so tried by a jury shall be otherwise reexamined in any court of the Confederacy, than according to the rules of the common law.

19. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel or unusual punishment inflicted.

20. Every law, or resolution having the force of law, shall relate to but one subject, and that shall be expressed in the title.

SEC. 10.—No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisals; coin money; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, or *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts; or grant any title of nobility.

2. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the Confederate States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of Congress.

3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, except on sea-going vessels, for the improvement of its rivers and harbors navigated by the said vessels; but such duties shall not conflict with any treaties of the Confederate States with foreign nations; and any surplus of revenue, thus derived, shall, after making such improvement, be paid into the common treasury; nor shall any State keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay. But when any river divides or flows through two or more States, they may enter into compacts with each other to improve the navigation thereof.

ARTICLE II. SEC. 1.—The Executive power shall be vested in a President of the Confederate States of America. He and the Vice-President shall hold their offices for the term of six years; but the President shall not be reëligible. The President and Vice-President shall be elected as follows:

2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the Confederate States, shall be appointed an elector.

3. The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign, and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the Government of the Confederate States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person shall have such a majority, then, from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But, in choosing the President, the votes

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shall be taken by States, the Representative from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in case of the death, or other constitutional disability of the President.

4. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary for a choice.

5. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the Confederate States.

6. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the Confederate States.

7. No person except a natural born citizen of the Confederate States, or a citizen thereof at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, or a citizen thereof born in the United States prior to the 20th December, 1860, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the limits of the Confederate States, as they may exist at the time of his election.

8. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President; and the Congress may, by law, provide for the case of the removal, death, resignation, or inability both of the President and the Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall then act accordingly until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

9. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected; and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the Confederate States, or any of them.

10. Before he enters on the execution of the duties of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the Confederate States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution thereof."

SEC. 2.—The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the Confederate States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the Confederate States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the Executive Departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the Confederate States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, Judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the Confederate States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The principal officer in each of the Executive Departments, and all persons connected with the diplomatic service, may be removed from office at the pleasure of the President. All other civil officers of the Executive Department may be removed at any time by the President, or other appointing power, when their services are unnecessary, or for dishonesty, incapacity, inefficiency, misconduct, or neglect of duty; and when so removed, the removal shall be reported to the Senate, together with the reasons therefor.

4. The President shall have power to fill all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of the next session; but no person rejected by the Senate shall be reappointed to the same office during their ensuing recess.

SEC. 3.—The President shall, from time to time, give to the Congress information of the state of the Confederacy, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them; and, in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he may think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the Confederate States.

SEC. 4.—The President and Vice-President, and all civil officers of the Confederate States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, or conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III. SEC. 1.—The judicial power of the Confederate States shall be vested in one Superior Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SEC. 2.—The judicial power shall extend to all cases arising under the Constitution, the laws of the Confederate States, or treaties made or which shall be made under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty or maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the Confederate States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State, where the State is plaintiff; between citizens claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects; but no State shall be sued by a citizen or subject of any foreign State.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury, and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SEC. 3.—Treason against the Confederate States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason

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shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV. SEC. 1.—Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may, by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SEC. 2.—The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States, and shall have the right of transit and sojourn in any State of this Confederacy, with their slaves and other property; and the right of property in said slaves shall not be thereby impaired.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime against the laws of such State, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No slave or other person held to service or labor in any State or Territory of the Confederate States, under the laws thereof, escaping or unlawfully carried into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such slave belongs, or to whom such service or labor may be due.

SEC. 3.—Other States may be admitted into this Confederacy by a vote of two-thirds of the whole House of Representatives, and two-thirds of the Senate, the Senate voting by States; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations concerning the property of the Confederate States, including the lands thereof.

3. The Confederate States may acquire new territory; and Congress shall have power to legislate and provide governments for the inhabitants of all territory belonging to the Confederate States, lying without the limits of the several States, and may permit them, at such times, and in such manner as it may by law provide, to form States to be admitted into the Confederacy. In all such territory, the institution of negro slavery, as it now exists in the Confederate States, shall be recognized and protected by Congress and by the territorial government; and the inhabitants of the several Confederate States and Territories shall have the right to take to such territory any slaves lawfully held by them in any of the States or Territories of the Confederate States.

4. The Confederate States shall guarantee to every State that now is or hereafter may become a member of this Confederacy, a Republican form of Government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the Legislature, (or of the Executive when the Legislature is not in session,) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V. SEC. 1.—Upon the demand of any three States, legally assembled in their several Conventions, the Congress shall summon a Convention of all the States, to take into consideration such amendments to the Constitution as the said States shall concur in suggesting at the time when the said demand is made; and should any of the proposed amendments to the Constitution be agreed on by the said Convention—voting by States—and the same be ratified by the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, or by conventions in two-thirds thereof—as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the general Convention—they shall thenceforward form a part of this Constitution. But no State shall, without its consent, be deprived of its equal representation in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI. SEC. 1.—The Government established by this Constitution is the successor of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America, and all the laws passed by the latter shall continue in force until the same shall be repealed or modified; and all the officers appointed by the same shall remain in office until their successors are appointed and qualified, or the offices abolished.

2. All debts contracted and engagements entered into before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the Confederate States under this Constitution as under the Provisional Government.

3. This Constitution, and the laws of the Confederate States made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the Confederate States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

4. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the Confederate States and of the several States, shall be bound, by oath or affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office of public trust under the Confederate States.

5. The enumeration, in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people of the several States.

6. The powers not delegated to the Confederate States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people thereof.

ARTICLE VII. SEC. 1.—The ratification of the Conventions of five States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

When five States shall have ratified this Constitution in the manner before specified, the Congress, under the Provisional Constitution, shall prescribe the time for holding the election of President and Vice-President, and for the meeting of the electoral college, and for counting the votes and inaugurating the President. They shall also prescribe the time for holding the first election of members of Congress under this Constitution, and the time for assembling the same. Until the assembling of such Congress, the Congress under the provisional Constitution shall continue to exercise the legislative powers granted them; not extending beyond the time limited by the Constitution of the Provisional Government.

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RAILWAY, SUBTERRANEAN. A quick and safe means of communication beneath the overcrowded streets of London has always been the great ideal of engineers, and is now in course of accomplishment by Mr. John Fowler. The present powers of the Company only allow them to carry their line from Paddington to Finsbury-circus, a distance of four and a half miles; and of this length more than three miles, extending from Paddington to the Victoria-street Station, are in many parts quite complete, and in others nearly so, with perfect working junctions with the Great Western and Northern Railways. It commences at the Pad-

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dington Station, and is continued thence, in an almost direct line, towards the New-road, passing beneath the Edgware-road at right angles, and intersecting in the same manner Lissongrove-road and Upper Baker-street, skirting along, beneath, and just outside the southern extremity of Regent's Park. Thence it passes under the houses at the eastern extremity of Park-crescent, continues beneath Tottenham-court-road into the New-road, and, passing close by Euston-square, turns at King's-cross to effect a junction with the up and down lines of the Great Northern Railway. From King's-cross a great part of the line is an open cutting, except for a length of about 600 yards beneath Baguigge-wells-road and Coppice-row, where again, for the length we have said, a tunnel intervenes. From this to the Victoria-street Station it is nearly all a fair open cutting. From the station to be erected in Victoria-street, the line is to have two branches, one intersecting Holborn-hill, or rather Skinner-street, and continuing its course due south under the site of the old Fleet Prison, effecting a junction with the Chatham and Dover line, which is to cross the Thames at Blackfriars. The other and more important branch—in fact, the main line—is to be continued under the ground north of Smithfield and south of Charter-house-square, and will pass beneath Barbican into Finsbury circus. At this terminus it is intended, for the present at least, to stop. As it is, even completed to the Victoria-street Station, and communicating with the Chatham and Dover-bridge when finished, the facilities which it will offer to rapid travelling will be immense. A person starting from Brighton or Dover will be put down almost at his own door at Bayswater, instead of, as now, taking almost as much time to travel from London-bridge to Bayswater as to perform a long journey by rail. In like manner, those coming from the North—Edinburgh, Liverpool, or Manchester—will be able to book direct through to Dover or Southampton without the loss of a minute on their journey. It is not too much to say that for passengers pressed for time the two or three miles' interval between the northern and southern stations of the metropolis is equal in actual delay to 200 or 300 miles' distance on an unbroken journey. By the condition of taking the line underground, sewers were not to be interfered with, gas-pipes and water-pipes not to be touched, churches to be avoided, and houses to be left secure. With these drawbacks, Mr. Fowler was at liberty to take his tunnel through a labyrinth of sewers and gas and water mains if he could. At every step, vestries, gas and water companies, and the Board of Works had to be consulted, and but for the kind and liberal spirit in which the Company was met, and the fair efforts which were everywhere made by these bodies to help them over their great difficulties, the railway could never have been made at all.

The following are the constructive details of the portion of the line completed: To the Victoria-street Station the line is nearly 3½ miles long, having stations at Paddington, Edgware-road, Baker-street, Portland-road, Euston-square, King's-cross, and Victoria-street. From west to east the average slope downwards of the whole line is about 1 in 300 feet, though after entering the city it again rises, but there is no steeper gradient throughout than 1 in 100. Its greatest curve is of 200 yards' radius, and its greatest depth from the ground above to the rails not less than 54 feet, and there are not more than 1200 yards of straight line throughout. The span of the arch of the tunnel is 28½ feet; its form is elliptical, and its height 17 feet, except in the parts where there is great superincumbent pressure, when the form of the arch is altered to give it greater strength and to take the crown to a height of 19 feet. The foundations of the tunnel go from four to five feet into the solid ground on each side below the rails, except in some few places, where the close vicinity of very heavy buildings rendered extra strength necessary, and here the tunnel has been driven like a shaft, and is a solid ring of massive brickwork above and below; in fact, in all parts of the tunnel itself the most zealous care has been taken to ensure the structure, being everywhere greatly in excess of the strength it actually requires. Thus, even the lightest parts of the tunnel have six rings of brickwork, though railway arches of seven feet greater span are never built with more than five. The outer side of the arches is also filled in with solid beds of concrete, and the whole covered over with a layer of asphalte to keep it water-tight. In fact, the tunnel has been formed on what engineers call the "cut and cover" principle; that is, the ground has been opened to the base of the intended tunnel, the tunnel built, covered with concrete and asphalte, and filled in again with earth, and the roadway paved over as before. On this plan, and working in 12-feet lengths, the tunnel has actually been constructed at the rate of 72 feet a week, quicker than any work of the kind has ever yet been accomplished. It has not all, however, been completed at this rapid rate. Passing near churches and heavy buildings, the tunnel has been regularly driven in four-feet lengths by skilled miners; and such portions advanced but slowly. At the western extremity, where the soil was a fine gravel, the works were at one time greatly impeded by the water, which in that district is abundant everywhere at about 14 feet from the surface. This it was useless to try pumping out, as the pumps brought up sand and gravel as well as water, and would, had the attempt been persevered in, have brought up the very foundation of the surrounding houses also. It was necessary at last to make regular drains into the low-level sewers in order to keep the works free. Through the gravel and through the London clay the labor has been very easy, but

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in parts where there was light, loose, sandy soil, a great deal of difficulty was experienced. All the really difficult parts have now, however, been surmounted, and the tunnel built in the most solid manner. The lines of rails are laid through many lengths, each line being double gauge, intended for both the broad and narrow traffic. Where the junctions have been effected, at Paddington and King's-cross it was necessary at the point where the switch rails joined to widen the tunnel and at these parts make it, in fact, like the mouth of a trumpet. This was the most difficult operation ever attempted in either tunnelling or brickwork, but Mr. Fowler surmounted all the obstacles in a masterly manner.

What made the work at King's-cross more difficult than all, was that at precisely the most difficult part of all the junctions the great Fleet Ditch sewer crossed it right through the crown of the tunnel arch. As the sewer, of course, could not be disturbed, the obstacle was met by carrying it across, slung, as it were, in a powerful cast-iron trough, and there it now hangs, peering through the brickwork like a colossal main, and with all beneath it as dry and sweet-smelling as if Fleet Ditch—the fullest and foulest of all London sewers—were 100 miles away. The stations along the line already enumerated will, all but two, be open-air stations, and even those that are to be underground will be amply lit by daylight coming through apertures in the roof of the arch. But one of the greatest difficulties of all the many that had to be overcome consisted of constructing an engine that should be at once of great power and speed, capable of consuming its own smoke, and, above all, to give off no steam. Ordinary engines passing through tunnels so completely enclosed would in a very short time fill them with such a mixture of steam and smoke as would be very nearly suffocating, would make signals almost useless, and, in short, render the traffic not only disagreeable but dangerous. To avoid all these complicated evils Mr. Fowler has invented an engine which, while in the open air, works like a common locomotive, but when in the tunnel, consumes its own smoke, or rather makes none, and by condensing its own steam gives off not a particle of vapor.

In a trial trip, as long as this engine remained in the open air at Paddington, it fizzed and simmered like any other locomotive; but the instant it entered the tunnel it condensed its steam, and scarcely a mark of vapor was perceptible; while, from the flues into the smoke-box being damped, not the least smell of smoke was given off. As upon the success of this engine the practical working of the line depends, the result of the experiment was watched with a good deal of anxiety. It, however, was perfectly conclusive: not even the most distant lamps in the long vista down the sides of the tunnel were dimmed in the slightest degree—in short, nothing could have been more entirely complete and satisfactory. Having gone through the tunnel, the engine returned down the same track, and when in the centre of the tunnel, to show the difference, the engine was allowed to work on the usual plan, and in a few instants the whole place was full of vapor, which was so thick that even when the visitors returned through for the third time the lamps were still scarcely visible. The through trains from east to west and *vice versâ*, will be arranged to start every ten minutes, to accomplish the distance from end to end in thirteen minutes, at a rate of fares which, it is said, will compete with those of the cheapest omnibuses. If this is so, the line ought to prove remunerative to the shareholders, though whether it is so or not it must be an immense convenience to the public.

RATIONS FOR VOLUNTEERS. The amount of subsistence allowed to each volunteer, and known under the term "ration," previous to the extra session of Congress in July, 1861, was as follows:

¾ pound of pork or bacon, or 1½ pound of fresh or salt beef;
18 ounces of bread or flour, or 12 ounces of pilot bread, or 1½ pound of corn meal;
8 quarts of beans or peas, or 10 pounds of rice, or 140 ounces of desiccated potatoes, or 82 ounces of desiccated mixed vegetables;
10 pounds of coffee;
15 pounds of sugar;
4 quarts of vinegar;
1½ pound of adamantine candles;
4 pounds of soap, and
2 quarts of salt.
} To 100 Rations.

This ration has been found, by long experience in the regular army, to be ample.

At the extra session above mentioned, Congress increased it, until it is now as follows:

¾ pound of pork or bacon, or 1½ pound of fresh or salt beef;
22 ounces of bread or flour, or 1 pound of pilot bread;
8 quarts of beans, 10 pounds of rice or hominy, and 1 pound of potatoes three times a week, or a substitute therefor;
10 pounds of coffee;
15 pounds of sugar;
4 quarts of vinegar;
1½ pound of adamantine candles;
4 pounds of soap, and
2 quarts of salt.
} To 100 Rations.

Extra issues of molasses are occasionally made. This ration, if cared for, and properly cooked, is more than can be eaten.

RHODE ISLAND, one of the original thirteen States, and one of the New England States, is the smallest of the States of the Union. It lies on both sides of Narraganset Bay, chiefly on the western. It extends from 41° to 42° N. latitude, and from 71° 8′ to 71° 54′ W. longitude. The continental portion is 56 miles in extreme length, is 40 miles broad at the southern, and 20 at the northern end. The area is 1,225 square miles, including the bay, or 1,200 miles of land. Its surface is very diversified, considering its extent.

Its political division consists of only five counties. It has a coast line on the Atlantic

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ocean of forty miles; along Connecticut fifty miles; and along Massachusetts seventy miles; in all an outline of one hundred and sixty miles, extending from latitude 41° 18′ to 42° 1′ north.

It is, in proportion to its population, the greatest manufacturing section in the Union. The annual value of goods produced, by the census of 1850, was $22,117,688. This had more than doubled in 1860, according to the census of the year. The population of the State, which had been 76,931 in 1810, had risen to 174,621 in 1860. In politics the State has been eminently conservative. Although it gave 4,537 majority for Lincoln in 1860, it at the same time gave 1,460 for the conservative Governor Sprague. The Legislature meets semi-annually, in May and November. The present Senate is composed of 17 Conservatives, and 13 Republicans; the House of 45 Conservatives and 25 Republicans.

The large manufactories of Rhode Island seek markets in all sections of the Union, and she is largely dependent on the South for raw material.

The increasing difficulties with the South were in Rhode Island regarded with much solicitude. The threatened interruption to her trade, as well by cutting off raw material as by closing the market for many of her productions, was, although of vital interest, still apparently secondary to other considerations. The necessity for preserving the Union was of paramount importance, and Governor Sprague promptly took the initiative in respect to existing difficulties. In his Message to the Legislature, he was the first to propose the repeal of the Personal Liberty bills, which had been passed by Rhode Island, in common with many other States of the North, and which were so generally regarded as one of the main causes of dissatisfaction at the South. Accordingly, Gov. Sprague expressed himself to the effect that the offensive law would be rescinded "without hesitation, not from fear or cowardice, but from a brave determination, in the face of threats and sneers, to live up to the Constitution and all its guarantees, the better to testify their love for the Union, and the more firmly to exact allegiance to it from all others." The vote at the close of January, 1861, on the motion to repeal, was in the Senate—yeas 21, nays 9; in the House—yeas 49, nays 18.

This result was hailed by the friends of the Union as a harbinger of peace, the more so that Ohio and some other States had made a movement in the same direction, and that the peace conference called by Virginia was on the eve of assembling at the National Capital. At such a juncture, an indication of more moderate views at the North, even if confined to the limited sphere of Rhode Island, was enough to awaken hopes of an amicable settlement. These were not realized.

When, in the progress of affairs, the difficulties culminated in the fall of Fort Sumter, the Governor promptly tendered the Government the services of a thousand infantry and a battalion of artillery, and immediately convened the Legislature in extra session. It met on the 17th of April. The Senate passed a resolution of thanks to the Governor for his prompt action in support of the Government. In the House a bill was at once reported for providing the State's quota, and a bill was presented appropriating $500,000 for enlisting men into the services of the United States. The Providence banks came promptly forward with money. The Bank of Commerce offered $30,000, the State Bank $50,000, the Providence Bank $15,000, as loans to the State to aid in the outfit of the troops. Large offers from private citizens were also made to Gov. Sprague for similar purposes. The troops began immediately to move, and on the 20th the Rhode Island Marine Artillery, 8 guns, 110 horses, Col. Tompkins, passed through New York on their way to Washington. The enthusiasm in the State was great, and the citizens crowded forward into the ranks. The First Regiment, Col. Burnside, was ready to move. Many of the officers and men were of the wealthiest class. This regiment, 1,200 strong, when it left Providence, was accompanied by Gov. Sprague, as commander-in-chief of the Rhode Island forces. A. E. Burnside, the colonel, a native of Indiana, graduated at West Point, served in the Mexican war, resigned, and was employed with Gen. McClellan on the Illinois Central Railroad when the call for troops was made. The formation of troops went on rapidly. A second regiment, under the command of Col. John S. Slocum, was despatched soon after to Washington, and, with the First Regiment, took a conspicuous part at Bull Run, where Burnside earned his brigadier-general's commission. That disastrous day stimulated Rhode Island to new efforts. The Federal Government had made a call for more troops. Lieut.-Gov. Arnold issued the following proclamation:

STATE OF RHODE ISLAND, &c.
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, *July* 23, 1861.

To the People of Rhode Island:

All hearts are bowed in sorrow at the disastrous result of the battle of the 21st inst., at Bull Run, in Virginia.

The national arms have sustained a temporary defeat. This reverse is the more sad to us that it is accompanied by the loss of so many gallant officers and brave men who held the honor of Rhode Island second only to their love of country.

Colonel John S. Slocum, Major Sullivan Ballou, Captains Levi Tower and Samuel J. Smith, and Lieutenant Thomas Foy, of the Second Regiment, and Lieutenant Henry A. Prescott, of the First Regiment, have fallen. So far as yet known, this completes the list of fatal casualties among the officers; that of the privates is not yet received.

The State will embalm the memory of these noble men, as it preserves the fame of its heroes of Revolutionary days.

This reverse calls for renewed and vigorous effort on the part of all loyal citizens to maintain the Federal Government.

Therefore, I, Samuel G. Arnold, Lieutenant-Governor, do hereby call upon the good people of this

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State to come forward without delay and volunteer their services in defence of the Constitution and the laws.

Arrangements will at once be made for the commandants of the several military companies to enroll men to serve for three years or during the war, unless sooner discharged. Let the response to this call be prompt, decided, and such as will show that the martial spirit of our State is alike indomitable in victory or defeat. SAM'L G. ARNOLD, Lieut.-Gov.

By His Honor's command,
JOHN R. BARTLETT, Secretary of State.

Gov. Sprague convened the Legislature, and sent in a message, in which he said:

"When the action of this body was first taken, the State and the country felt that the war would, from the necessities of the case, be of short duration. Since that time events have transpired which have opened the eyes of the whole country to the magnitude of the rebellion which they are called upon to crush out. The repulse which the army has recently suffered has been owing to so many causes that it is impossible to attribute it to any one which we should regard as satisfactory—all of them pointing to the condition of things which we now behold. The State and the country, however, may feel assured, from the change in the programme at Washington, and by the people throughout the whole North, that the errors of the past will not be repeated in the future, and also that every movement for the future will hardly fail to result in success.

"The war will, of necessity, be a long one. We have been in error as to the strength of the enemy, and as to the long and persistent course which has been pursued by the South, tending towards this point. While we have been occupied in our business they have been creating revolution. We were under the impression that they were lacking in all the resources which go to raise and maintain armies; whereas, in almost every particular, we have found them superior to ourselves. We have found not only the physique of their men equal to ours, but their clothing, their arms, their subsistence, and their means of transportation—every thing that goes to make up military efficiency, superior to ours. And when we have been obliged to be the attacking force, marching under a Southern sun, exhausted, without provisions and without shelter, they have been encamped and in fortified positions, in a country unfriendly to us and friendly to them, where they could receive information of every movement of ours, and we could learn nothing whatever as to theirs.

"The probabilities are that in no case on the record of the world's history has an army been called into the field possessing so little knowledge of the strength and position of the enemy; and, such being the case, it was impossible for any troops in the position ours found themselves to have sustained themselves for any considerable length of time. It has opened the eyes of the country to the immensity of this struggle, and in that view of the subject the result may be bearable."

The Legislature was in session three days, and adjourned, having authorized a bounty of fifteen dollars for each recruit enlisted under the authority of the State, to be paid to him on being mustered into the service of the United States. A resolution was adopted directing the payment to the families of killed, wounded, or disabled soldiers, of the bounty to which those soldiers would be entitled by three months' service under the acts of April and May. The several towns were authorized to appropriate and raise money for bounties to soldiers and their families, on the same footing that money for town expenses is appropriated and raised; and their past action in this respect was confirmed.

An act was passed authorizing the General Treasurer, under advice of the Governor, to issue the bonds of the State, with semi-annual coupons at six per cent. interest, for an amount not exceeding $500,000, payable in ten years from the first of October next; but the State is privileged to redeem them at any time after five years. The sums allowed by the United States to the State in settlement of the war claims are by the present act devoted to the redemption of these bonds.

The General Treasurer was empowered to hire $500,000, or less, at not over six per cent., and to renew said loans from time to time; the money was to be expended in raising and equipping troops under the provisions of the military act passed in April. The Governor was authorized to employ a proper person to adjust military accounts between the State and the United States.

A resolution was adopted declaring that all political parties should unite in supporting the constitutionally elected Government of the United States in the present crisis, and pledging the best exertions and the entire resources of the State and its people to preserve the Union.

The thanks of the Assembly were by resolution tendered to the Governor for his vigorous conduct in camp and field, and he was presented with the piece of cannon belonging to the Second Rhode Island battery, and brought away from the battle field at Bull Run.

The Assembly, by resolution, thanked Ambrose E. Burnside, late Colonel of the First Regiment Rhode Island Volunteers, for his gallant services, and expressed its satisfaction that the National Government had recognized and rewarded those services; the resolution also signifies a wish that in his new capacity as brigadier-general he might be placed in immediate command of the Rhode Island regiments.

The call for troops was promptly responded to, and the State furnished six regiments and three batteries of artillery during the year. The enrolled militia of Rhode Island, (comprising all males between the ages of 18 and 45,) numbers 20,283, which is an increase over 1860 of 1,742. Her quota of troops, under the call for 500,000, was 4,057, but, according to the report of the Adjutant-General Mauran, she had

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sent in her own regiments 5,124, while 1,005 had enlisted in regiments belonging to other States, and in the navy.

This is a heavy draught, being equal to nearly one-third of the whole active male population.

The State of Rhode Island suffered perhaps more, proportionally to her population, than any other State, by reason of the short supply of cotton, and attention was immediately drawn to the prospects of "cottoning" flax. The Rhode Island Society for the Encouragement of Domestic Industry offered $500 for the best bale of flax cotton, fit for use on cotton machinery. In consequence, five competitors claimed the amount, but the committee decided that none of them met the requirements. Some of their samples would work with wool and in a small per cent. with cotton, giving the cloth greater body. The difficulty was to obtain a uniform thickness.

ROMNEY, is a village on the South Branch of the Potomac, 190 miles northwest of Richmond. It is the capital of Hampshire county. A few miles from Romney, near Mill Creek, an attack was made on a small body of Confederate troops by an Indiana regiment under Col. Wallace. The enemy retired through Romney on the road to Winchester. They abandoned their tents, arms, uniforms, &c. Some prisoners were taken, with a small loss on both sides.

RUSSIA. The most extensive though not the most populous empire of the world, possessing vast tracts of territory in the three continents of Europe, Asia, and North America; extending over 35° of latitude and 192° of longitude, and having an area of about 8,000,000 square miles, and a population of 72,961,811 inhabitants. Much of its territory is sterile, and either consists of snow-capped mountains, elevated sandy plains, or frigid and ice-clad wastes; but other portions are abundantly fertile, and yield vast quantities of grains and fruits; while its forests produce the best of timber, and its mountainous regions are prolific in mineral wealth beyond any other portion of the globe. Gold, silver, platinum, iron of extraordinary quality, copper, lead, tin, the precious malachite, beryl, onyx, agate, and other gems exist in great profusion in the mines of the Ural, the Altai, and the Siberian mountains.

The people are of numerous races and have rather formed a conglomeration of nations than a distinct nationality. In Russia in Europe the Muscovite race is perhaps more numerous than any other, but large portions of the population are composed of Poles, Swedes, Germans, Jews, the Slavonic races, Lapps, and Finns; in the south and southeast, Tartars and Turks of the Asiatic tribes, Georgians, Circassians, Armenians, &c., &c. In Asia, Tartars, Turks, Tunguses, and Chinese predominate, but there are many Persians of the old Aryan stock, as well as Samoiedes, and other tribes of the Finnish family; while in America the Esquimaux and other Arctic tribes of a similar origin are the principal inhabitants of the cold and cheerless region belonging to Russia.

The government is an absolute monarchy; the Czar or Emperor being in reality, as he is by title, *autocrat* of all the Russias. The people of European Russia have been divided into three classes; the nobility, who possess vast landed estates, and some of them immense wealth; the middle class, composed mainly of merchants, teachers, men of science, and master mechanics; and the serfs, who were slaves, but of late years attached to the soil. These last were again divided into two classes, serfs of the nobility and serfs of the crown. The Russian serf possesses extraordinary mechanical ingenuity, and a remarkable facility for the acquisition of languages and literature, and has extraordinary local attachments; but he is crafty and deceitful, and ages of servitude have developed in him the vices of the servile condition. The events of the year in Russia have been deeply interesting. At its commencement there were, perhaps, no more than the usual causes of disturbance: the chronic difficulties growing out of the forcible disintegration of Poland, which at frequent intervals assumed the acute form of insurrection or revolution; the restless condition of the serfs as the time of their long-looked-for emancipation drew nigh; the disaffection of the Tartar or Turkish tribes inhabiting the Crimean peninsula, who on some real or fancied grievance, growing out of the conflict of religions, they being bigoted Mohammedans, left their homes in a body and precipitated themselves upon the Christian population of Northeastern Turkey, driving them out, and claiming the protection of their co-religionists, the dominant power in Turkey—the calm preceding the storm, in the Caucasus, and which some months later broke out in a renewed and severe conflict; the occupation by Russia of a considerable portion of Independent Turkistan, and of the region south of the lower Amoor, rather by virtue of the arts of diplomacy than by the more costly method of invasion. This was the condition of the empire at the opening of the year.

In Poland an outbreak soon occurred. In 1856, at the close of the Crimean war, and soon after his own coronation, the Emperor Alexander II. had promised to Poland a general amnesty; liberty of conscience in religious matters; the restoration of the Polish language in the records and government of the kingdom, and instruction in it in the schools; and the reëstablishment of the suppressed universities. These promises had for the most part remained unfulfilled, and though the amiable and popular Gortchakoff (*see* GORTCHAKOFF) had been installed as Governor of Poland, and had done his utmost to beautify Warsaw, and restore it to more than its former stateliness, and in many ways the rigor of the iron-handed Nicholas had been softened under the administration of his successor, yet the Poles felt that they were grievously wronged.

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Before narrating the circumstances of the insurrection, it may be necessary to give a brief account of the Agronomic Society which has been to such an extent identified with it. The Count André Zamoiski, or Monsieur André, as the Poles call him, was a Polish patriot of noble and ancient family, who had taken part in the revolution of 1830, but after the taking of Warsaw in 1831, has been permitted to return to Poland. Unable to be of service otherwise to his country, he endeavored to promote its material progress; he established lines of steamboats upon the Vistula, and erected warehouses in Warsaw, but the improvement of agriculture was the subject to which he devoted most attention. Its processes, implements, and science were matter to which he directed his thoughts and efforts. In 1850, he obtained permission to publish a monthly agricultural journal at Warsaw, and in 1857 secured the sanction of the young emperor to the founding of the Agronomic Society. In 1859, he sought and received permission for the Society to hold an anniversary and public sittings for the discussion of agricultural topics. He had also been instrumental in the foundation of similar associations at Cracow and Leopol (in Galicia) in Austrian Poland, and at Posen in Prussian Poland, and maintained a constant communication with them. Those who have never lived under a despotic government can hardly realize with what almost childish eagerness the educated Poles joined these agricultural associations. In their discussions of agricultural topics they were measurably free, and if, occasionally, under the garb of a politico-economical doctrine, some great principle of liberty was enunciated, who could blame them? The Agronomic Society of Warsaw, in the third year of its existence, numbered 4,600 members, and its sessions were attended by hundreds of ladies of the highest rank and social position. The others, though younger, had a proportionally numerous membership. On the 25th of November, 1860, the anniversary of the revolution of 1830 had been celebrated in Warsaw, by funeral services in memory of the patriots, and by the chanting of national martial hyms. In January, 1861, masses were said for the dead poets, Mickiewicz, Krasinski, and Slowacki. The government tolerated these manifestations, and even permitted those who took part in them to wear the Polish national costume. On the 25th of February, a great crowd gathered around the old market at Warsaw, and the streets adjacent, to do honor to the memory of the Poles who fell at the battle of Grochow in 1831, and a procession passed through one of the streets, bearing flags with a white eagle on a red ground. The chief of Police, Colonel Trepoff, ordered them to disperse, but the order was received with shouts of derisive laughter, and the mounted police, irritated at their refusal, rode upon the procession with drawn sabres, and wounded a considerable number.

On the 27th of February, a funeral service was held in the church of the Carmelites in honor of Zawiska, a Polish patriot who was hung in 1833. From that church a portion of the crowd went to the hall of the Agronomic Society then holding its annual session, and attempted to draw it into the insurrectionary movement, but by the adroit management of its President, were prevented from doing so. Another portion were by accident thrown into confusion before the great gate of the church of the Bernardines, and the Russian general Zabolotskoi ordered the military force to fire upon them, unarmed as they were, and the Cossack guard to charge upon them; and, as a result, a number were killed and many wounded.

The people, though overwhelmed with grief, were now thoroughly indignant. On the evening of the day of this last massacre, the Polish committee addressed to the Emperor a remonstrance, closing with these words: "Cut off from every legal means of bringing before your throne her grievances, and the demonstration of her necessities, Poland is compelled to make her voice heard only by the cry to heaven of the martyrs, whom each day she offers as a holocaust." The Government apparently felt that it had gone too far, and conciliatory measures were adopted, unpopular officers were removed, and reforms promised. The funeral of the victims of the 27th of February passed off on the 2d of March without disturbance, the prudence of Count Zamoiski having secured the adjournment of the Agronomic Society, without any participation in the exciting scenes and topics of the day, having first passed a resolution in favor of giving the right of property to the serfs, a measure which the Emperor was known to have greatly at heart.

The danger seemed to have passed, when suddenly, on the 7th of April, an imperial decree was published suppressing the Agronomic Society. This new grievance roused all the former bitterness; again the crowds assembled in Warsaw, and gathered around the hall of the Society; and, on the 8th, the order was given to disperse them by armed force, and the charges of cavalry, and the deadly fire of the infantry again caused the death and wounding of more than a thousand citizens. The excitement spread throughout Poland, and even into some of the Russian governments, especially the Ukraine, where strong sympathy was expressed for the Poles. The Russian Government meanwhile adopted the most stringent and cruel measures. Soldiers were encamped in the principal streets, and cannon were placed in position to shell the city. The soldiers committed numberless outrages; the Circle of "The Resource," a favorite place of assembly for the principal citizens, was closed; the inhabitants were forbidden to wear, and the merchants to sell mourning goods; the Poles who resigned government offices were subjected to the severest penalties; great numbers were arrested, and especially all clergymen who manifested, as most of them did, their patriotic sympathies.

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Yet with a vacillation which irritated the people almost as much as its severities, the Government seemed to fear that it had been too harsh, and again indicated a desire to introduce reforms which should pacify the Poles. Public fêtes in honor of the Czar were held, but the Poles discountenanced them; the journals and the penny post which had been suppressed, were restored; the Circle of "The Resource" was again opened, and permission granted to make the annual pilgrimage to Czenstochowa, the holy city of Poland, on the 8th of May, but no one went. The taxes were lightened, and other measures which looked towards some reduction of the burdens of the country were adopted; but the people were firm in their demands for the restoration of the kingdom of Poland with its constitution, its rights, and its immunities, and appeared determined to take nothing less; and this the Emperor, though undoubtedly sincerely desirous of the pacification of Poland, that he might give his exclusive attention to the emancipation of the serfs, was unwilling to grant. On the 15th of Oct., 1861, the celebration of the birthday of Kosciusko led to further disturbances, and the imprisonment of a number of Poles, but the massacre of April was fortunately not repeated.

Russian serfdom dates from 1601, when, by an imperial ukase, the peasants on an estate were forbidden to leave the service of the landholder without his consent. Prior to the accession of Nicholas I. to the throne, in 1825, the serfs were wholly in the power of their masters, and were often treated with great cruelty. The life of the serf was of scarcely so much account as that of a dog or horse, and at the caprice of his master he was sold, given away, drowned, sent to Siberia, or otherwise disposed of. The ukase of 1827, by which the Emperor declared the serf an integral and inseparable portion of the soil, produced a sensible improvement in the condition of the class. A further amelioration ensued, from the system adopted by the Government of loaning money to the landholders on the pledge of their lands and serfs, and the eventual foreclosure of these mortgages, by which the lands became crown lands, and the serfs crown peasants. In this new relation, they were only required to pay to the Government one dollar a year for each male peasant, and were liable to the military conscription. But only about two-fifths of the serfs were in this way relieved from the oppression of their masters, and in order to remedy this, the Emperor, in 1845, conferred on them the power, hitherto withheld, of making contracts. Armed with this power, the serfs sought to purchase the lands on which they lived from their landholders, since by that purchase they themselves became free. They also in many cases loaned to the landholders money on the mortgage of their estates. But they had not, like the Government, the means of paying to the landholder the third part of the value of his property, on foreclosing the mortgage, and hence they lost their capital, and did not gain their liberty. The Government again interposed, and opened to them the imperial treasury for the loans they needed, in order to complete the purchase of the property, requiring only the payment of 3 per cent. interest, and 3 per cent. of the capital annually, secured by the mortgage of the property. In this way, in many cases, by payments spread over 30 years, they became free, and the proprietors of their lands; or, if they failed, they were at the worst only crown peasants, a far better position than their previous one. There were still, however, many large proprietors who were not in debt either to the Government or their serfs, and who refused to sell their lands to their serfs; and for these serfs there was no redress in the ukases already promulgated. For them the only hope of release from servitude, was by enlistment in the army, or in the case of females, marriage with a free man.

At the accession of the present Emperor, in 1855, there were in the empire 38,000,000 serfs, of whom 16,000,000 were crown peasants, and 22,000,000 belonged to private estates, or to the private lands of the crown. Notwithstanding the exhaustion of his finances by the Crimean war, Alexander II. was sincerely desirous of promoting the emancipation of the servile class, and to this he was prompted as well by motives of humanity as by the conviction of the material development in the physical condition of his empire which would be the result of the substitution of free for compulsory labor. In 1857 he promulgated a ukase, providing that the serfs were to be finally liberated within twelve years after settling the terms to be resolved on between them and the proprietors. For the purpose of framing the measures of emancipation in such a way as to avoid or overcome the many and serious difficulties which were involved in it, the Emperor appointed on the 15th of July, 1857, a superior committee composed of the most eminent men of the Empire, and of which his brother, Grand Duke Constantine, was president, to digest and mature a plan of emancipation which should harmonize the interests of the landed proprietors and the peasants, and should also provide for the release from servitude of the very considerable class of domestics, who, while serfs by birth, and servants by occupation, had no connection with the landed estates of the proprietors. This committee reported late in 1860 to the Grand Council of the Empire, by which their propositions were duly considered and approved, and on the 5th of March, O. S., (March 17, N. S.,) 1861, the Emperor issued his manifesto dated February 19, O. S., (March 3,) in which, after reciting the past disabilities and injustice which the serfs had endured, and the solicitude which he and his immediate predecessors had felt for the improvement of their condition, he proceeded to declare that thenceforth the landed proprietors must allow the serfs to cultivate their land at a fixed rental, and that they should be at liberty to purchase from

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the estates of the proprietors sufficient land for their support and that of their families; that at the end of two years they were to be free, and sooner if they purchased the full quantity of land to which they were entitled, for which purpose loans would be furnished, if needed, from the imperial treasury. The domestics (dvorovye) were to be free at the end of two years. It was further provided that, by amicable arrangements, the proprietors and serfs might shorten this period of temporary bondage, and adjust their mutual relations at once. For the settlement of any difficulties or disputes arising from this prospective emancipation, special courts were established, and a charter of rules drawn up, specifying the quantity of land to which the peasants should be entitled, the rental and other charges which might be exacted, and the terms and times of payment. The Emperor closed his manifesto with an earnest appeal to both classes, the proprietors and peasants, to maintain towards each other a spirit of mutual accommodation and good will, and to avoid all disputes or manifestations of hostility. A commission, of which the Grand Duke Constantine was president, was appointed to superintend the measures for emancipation.

While the measures thus initiated were wise and benevolent in intention, they were hardly so clear in their expression as was desirable, and it was found that they had excited expectations on the part of the serfs which the events did not justify, and that in several instances serious disturbances resulted.

The territorial acquisitions of Russia during the year, were of great magnitude and importance. In the article GEOGRAPHICAL EXPLORATIONS, we have alluded to the approaches made by that Government towards India in Independent Turkistan, and to their explorations, followed by the stationing of a resident commissioner in Chinese Turkistan. In the extreme east of Asia, they have acquired far larger and more important possessions. By a treaty negotiated with the Emperor of China in November, 1860, and ratified in 1861, the astute Russian Plenipotentiary, Mouravieff, secured the cession to Russia of the island of Saghalien, and that portion of Mantchooria lying east of the Oussouri River, as far south as the 42d parallel of north latitude. They also took possession of the principal port of the Japanese island of Yesso; and on the 13th of June, 1861, seized also the important island of Tsus-sima in the straits of Corea, which is fifty miles long and twelve wide, and commands the strait. This island, it is said, they purpose fortifying, when the Russian Government will have command of the entire western coast of Asia, from the 35th parallel northward.

The conduct of Russia towards the United States, since the commencement of the civil war, has been marked by courtesy and kindness. The desire of the Emperor for the maintenance of our institutions, and the suppression of the rebellion has been repeatedly expressed, and manifested by deeds as well as words. (*See* DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE.)

The finances of Russia are not in a remarkably prosperous condition. Her resources are immense, and her revenues large, but there has been for a number of years past an annual deficit, which has been met by new loans, and the credit of the empire not being of the best abroad, her loans have been either taken at home, or if negotiated abroad, have paid heavy rates of interest. The extreme reluctance of the Russian Government to make any thing like a full *exposé* of its financial condition has had an unfavorable effect upon its credit. To-day the best-informed financiers of Europe have very little positive knowledge concerning the debt or the present revenue or expenditure of the empire. A Russian authority, M. Ogareff, states the debt in 1861 as £82,410,000, or about $410,000,000; but as the same authority states the debt of 1860 at £87,876,920, which would indicate a reduction of $27,000,000 in a year, when no financier has any knowledge of the payment of any portion of the debt, his statements are to be received with some caution. The annual expenditure is supposed to range from $220,000,000 to $250,000,000.

With the exception of canals, for which the country was well adapted, and which are numerous and well constructed, Russia had not till quite recently, accomplished much in the way of internal improvement. A railway seventeen miles in length was, indeed, built in 1836, but no great enterprises of that kind were attempted till ten or twelve years later. The railway from St. Petersburg to Moscow was opened in 1851, and there are now lines completed or in course of construction to most of the principal towns of European Russia, and to Berlin. There were, at the end of 1861, 3,395 miles completed, and nearly as many more projected or in progress. A line of electric telegraph, to extend from St. Petersburg to Nikolaiev on the Pacific, near the mouth of the Amoor, was commenced in the spring of 1861, and was to be vigorously pushed forward to completion. It was expected that it would eventually be connected with the American line to San Francisco.

Education in Russia is confined mostly to those who are able to pay for it, and to the foundlings and other *protégés* of Government. The high schools, seminaries, colleges, and universities are well conducted, and the course of education in them is thorough; but the communal schools, where they exist, are of the poorest character, and impart no instruction of any value.

The empire is emerging, and with a rapidity which under all the circumstances is encouraging, from a barbarism which two centuries ago was nearly absolute, into a high degree of civilization; and though there are occasional and partial reactions, and the autocratic government under which it has remained, is gene-

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rally considered inimical to the highest moral and intellectual development, there is as little cause to blush for the progress of the nation since the commencement of the present century as can be found in the history of any nation of Europe for the same period.

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SCHLOSSER, FRIEDRICH CHRISTOPHE, a German historian, born in Jever, Nov. 17, 1776, died in Heidelberg, Sept. 23, 1861. He was educated at Göttingen, and after completing his university course, was for some years a private tutor. In 1808 he became associate rector of the school at Jever, but retained the position only a year, removing in 1809 to Frankfort-am-Main, that he might enjoy greater facilities for his historical studies. In 1812 he accepted a professorship in the New Lyceum at Frankfort, in 1814 was appointed city librarian, and in 1817 professor of history at Heidelberg. This professorship he retained till his death. His greatest and most widely known work was "History of the Eighteenth Century, and of the Nineteenth to the Overthrow of the French Empire," 8 vols., published at Heidelberg in 8 vols., (1823–46,) and translated by D. Davison and republished in England in 8 vols., (1843–52.) His other principal works were: "Lives of Beza and Peter Martyr," Heidelberg, 1809; "History of the Iconoclastic Cæsars of the Eastern Empire," Frankfort, 1812; "General View of the History of the Ancient World, and its Civilization," 3 vols., Frankfort, 1826–34; "The History of the World, in Consecutive Narration," 9 vols., 1817–24.

SCRIBE, EUGÈNE, a French dramatic writer, born at Paris, Dec. 24, 1791, died in the same city Feb. 20, 1861, of apoplexy. He was originally intended for the legal profession, but his guardian, the advocate Bennet, found his dramatic tastes so strong that he advised him to abandon the bar for the stage. His first drama, produced in 1811, and in which he was aided by his schoolfellow, De la Vigne, was highly successful, and his whole career as a dramatic writer has been crowned by equal success. He was the author of an immense number of dramas of very unequal merit, but all exhibiting a correct conception and great power of vigorous delineation of the life of the lower and middle classes. A selection of his dramas (translated) in seven volumes, was published in England in 1845, and many of them have been reproduced on the American as well as the English stage. "Fra Diavolo," "Robert le Diable," "Les Diamans de la Couronne," "The Finest Day of my Life," &c., are among those which will be most readily recognized.

SEWELL'S POINT is the projection of land on the right shore, where the Elizabeth River turns from a north to an easterly course, becoming then what is called Hampton Roads. It is on this river that Norfolk in Virginia is situated. The point was fortified immediately after the secession of Virginia. The battery placed here by her troops was the exterior of the line of batteries intended to guard the Elizabeth River, through which Norfolk is approached. This line of batteries consisted of seven, the heaviest of which was at Craney Island, mounting about thirty guns. Two batteries further inland mounted about twelve and fifteen guns respectively. The other batteries mounted from seven to ten guns. The battery at Sewell's Point commanded the vessels blockading James River, and if the guns were sufficiently heavy and effective, it could cause them to remove. A party being observed perfecting the earthworks, the gunboat Star opened fire upon them with two ten-inch guns and shell. Subsequently the Freeborn, Capt. Ward, arrived, and, taking a position near the shore, drove the defenders out of the works, and disabled the battery.

The Star was struck by five shots of small calibre, all of which took effect. One ball, a six-pounder, penetrated the hull on the larboard bow, a few inches above the water line. Two of her crew were injured, and one of them, a boy, seriously. This was the first skirmish between the floating batteries of the North and land batteries of the South. On the other side, Vice-President Stephens, in an address at Atlanta, Ga., on the 23d of May, spoke of the affair as resulting in "the vessel being repulsed and disabled."

SHAW, LEMUEL, LL. D., late Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, born at Barnstable, Mass., January, 1781, died at Boston, Mass., March 30, 1861. He was a graduate of Harvard College, and the following year was assistant teacher in one of the Boston public schools, and assistant editor of the "Boston Gazette." He studied law with David Everett, Esq., and was admitted to the bar in New Hampshire, Sept. 1804, and two months after, commenced practice in Boston, remaining in practice until his appointment as Chief-Justice. In 1816 he was elected a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, in which he was continued by reëlection for seven years, and was subsequently for four years a member of the Senate. In 1820 he was a member of the Convention for revising the Constitution. In Sept. 1830 he was appointed Chief-Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court, which office he held thirty years. He was an overseer of Harvard College about fifteen years, and thirty years in the Corporation. While in the Legislature he drew up an elaborate report concerning the lands of the United States, advocating their distribution to the old as well as to the new States, for the purposes of education. He was considered an able jurist, and his legal opinions were regarded as possessing great weight.

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SLAVES. This species of property, as it is known at the South, and this "class of persons held to service and labor," as it is designated at the North, was the occasion of much perplexity to the Government in the conduct of hostilities against the seceded States. The Constitution of the United States gives no authority, either express or implied, to the Federal Government to interfere with, control, or regulate the relations of master and slave in any State in which this social condition exists. On this point the people are almost unanimous * in their opinion. But when a number of the slave-holding States seceded, and a civil war ensued between them and the Federal Government, how were the relations of that Government to the slaves affected? The Government took the position that each State was a part of the Union, and that "insurgents" or "rebels" had undertaken to wrest its authority in certain States. Therefore the Constitution continued in full force over all the States, as between the Federal Government and its loyal citizens, and the arm of the Government was thereby stayed from interference with slaves of loyal citizens. In Western Virginia, which refused to become a part of the Confederate States, the relations of master and slaves were unaltered; so likewise in Kentucky, in Missouri, in Maryland and Delaware. But how was this state of servitude in its relations to the Government affected among disloyal citizens, those whose hands were raised to destroy the Government over them—could they claim the forbearance of the military power organized under the Constitution, when they were striving to destroy the Constitution itself? The development which this question received in the progress of events, is the answer which it is the province of history to give.

The slaves were first called contrabands.

This term, as used in law, has been almost entirely confined to property. Military or naval persons in the service of the enemy, his ambassadors and ministers sent to solicit assistance, comprise nearly the entire class heretofore known as such. But in those novel relations which exist in the conflict between the North and the South, a new class, composed of slaves, has appeared, to whom it has been applied. Even here it has its limitations. It should strictly embrace those who had been employed upon fortifications and other works of an enemy, and who come within the Union lines. The term was first given to certain able-bodied men who came within the lines of General Butler's camp, at Fortress Monroe. Upon the demand for their surrender, made by the officer of a Confederate force in the neighborhood, he replied that they were contraband of war, and as such would not be given up. He immediately notified the War Department of these proceedings.

Soon after, embarrassed by the rush of "contrabands" to his camp, General Butler writes again to the Secretary:

"Since I wrote my last, the question in regard to slave property is becoming one of very serious magnitude. The inhabitants of Virginia are using their negroes in the batteries, and are preparing to send their women and children South. The escapes from them are very numerous, and a squad has come in this morning, (May 27,) and my pickets are bringing their women and children. Of course these cannot be dealt with upon the theory on which I designed to treat the service of able-bodied men and women who might come within my lines, and of which I gave you a detailed account in my last despatch.

"I am in the utmost doubt what to do with this species of property. Up to this time I have had come within my lines men and women, with their children—entire families—each family belonging to the same owner. I have, therefore, determined to employ, as I can do very profitably, the able-bodied persons in the party, issuing proper food for the support of all, and charging against their services the expense of care and sustenance of the non-laborers, keeping a strict and accurate account as well of the services as of the expenditures, having the worth of the services and the cost of the expenditure determined by a board of survey hereafter to be detailed. I know of no other manner in which to dispose of this subject and the questions connected therewith. As a matter of property to the insurgents, it will be of very great moment—the number that I now have amounting, as I am informed, to what in good times would be of the value of sixty thousand dollars."

The Secretary of War immediately, on the 30th of May, replied, conveying the views of the Government at that time:

"Your action in respect to the negroes who came within your lines from the service of the rebels, is approved. The Department is sensible of the embarrassments which must surround officers conducting military operations in a State by the laws of which slavery is sanctioned. The Government cannot recognize the rejection by any State of the Federal obligations, nor can it refuse the performance of the Federal obligations resting upon itself. Among these Federal obligations, however, none can be more important than that of suppressing and dispersing armed combinations formed for the purpose of overthrowing its whole constitutional authority. While, therefore, you will permit no interference, by the persons under your command, with the relations of persons held to service under the laws of any State, you will, on the other hand, so long as any State within which your military operations are conducted is under the control of such armed combinations, refrain from surrendering to alleged mas-

* On the 11th of February, the House of Representatives in Congress passed the following resolution—yeas, 161; nays, none:

Resolved, That neither Congress, nor the people or Governments of the non-slaveholding States, have a constitutional right to legislate upon or interfere with slavery in any slaveholding State of the Union.

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ters any persons who may come within your lines. You will employ such persons in the services to which they may be best adapted, keeping an account of the labor by them performed, of the value of it, and the expenses of their maintenance. The question of their final disposition will be reserved for future determination."

On the 11th of July, the United States Marshal of Kansas writes to the Attorney-General, asking whether he should give his official services in the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law.

In reply, the Attorney-General says:

"It is the President's constitutional duty to 'take care that the laws be faithfully executed.' That means all the laws. He has no right to discriminate—no right to execute the laws he likes, and leave unexecuted those he dislikes. And of course you and I, his subordinates, can have no wider latitude of discretion than he has. Missouri is a State in the Union. The insurrectionary disorders in Missouri are but individual crimes, and do not change the legal *status* of the State, nor change its rights and obligations as a member of the Union.

"A refusal, by a ministerial officer, to execute any law which properly belongs to his office, is an official misdemeanor, of which I do not doubt the President would take notice."

At the extra session of Congress, a bill known as the Confiscation Act was passed, containing the following section:

And be it further enacted, That whenever hereafter, during the present insurrection against the Government of the United States, any person claimed to be held to labor or service under the law of any State shall be required or permitted by the person to whom such labor or service is claimed to be due, or by the lawful agent of such person, to take up arms against the United States, or shall be required or permitted by the person to whom such labor or service is claimed to be due, or his lawful agent, to work or to be employed in or upon any fort, navy yard, dock, armory, ship, intrenchment, or in any military or naval service whatsoever, against the Government and lawful authority of the United States, then, and in every such case, the person to whom such labor or service is claimed to be due shall forfeit his claim to such labor, any law of the State or of the United States to the contrary notwithstanding. And whenever thereafter the person claiming such labor or service shall seek to enforce his claim, it shall be a full and sufficient answer to such claim that the person whose service or labor is claimed had been employed in hostile service against the Government of the United States, contrary to the provisions of this act.

This was finally approved by the President on the 6th of August. On the 8th, the Secretary of War again writes to General Butler, giving very fully the views of the Government. The conclusion adopted was such as to convince citizens acknowledging the sovereignty of the United States Government that the principle laid down in the Constitution, that "private property shall not be taken for public uses without just compensation," was to be strictly observed, and the command to the troops against interference with the servants of peaceful citizens, "in house or field," was all that could be claimed of a just Government called to cope with a great enemy.

The Secretary thus proceeds: "It is the desire of the President that all existing rights, in all the States, be fully respected and maintained. The war now prosecuted on the part of the Federal Government is a war for the Union, and for the preservation of all constitutional rights of States and the citizens of the States in the Union. Hence no question can arise as to fugitives from service within the States and Territories in which the authority of the Union is fully acknowledged. The ordinary forms of judicial proceeding, which must be respected by military and civil authorities alike, will suffice for the enforcement of all legal claims. But in States wholly or partially under insurrectionary control, where the laws of the United States are so far opposed and resisted that they cannot be effectually enforced, it is obvious that rights dependent on the execution of those laws must temporarily fail; and it is equally obvious that rights dependent on the laws of the States within which military operations are conducted, must be necessarily subordinated to the military exigencies created by the insurrection, if not wholly forfeited by the treasonable conduct of parties claiming them. To this general rule rights to services can form no exception.

"The act of Congress approved August 6th, 1861, declares that if persons held to service shall be employed in hostility to the United States, the right to their services shall be forfeited, and such persons shall be discharged therefrom. It follows of necessity that no claim can be recognized by the military authorities of the Union to the services of such persons when fugitives.

"A more difficult question is presented in respect to persons escaping from the service of loyal masters. It is quite apparent that the laws of the State, under which only the services of such fugitives can be claimed, must needs be wholly, or almost wholly suspended, as to remedies, by the insurrection and the military measures necessitated by it, and it is equally apparent that the substitution of military for judicial measures, for the enforcement of such claims, must be attended by great inconveniences, embarrassments, and injuries.

"Under these circumstances it seems quite clear that the substantial rights of loyal masters will be best protected by receiving such fugitives, as well as fugitives from disloyal masters, into the service of the United States, and employing them under such organizations and in such occupations as circumstances may suggest or require. Of course a record should be kept, showing the name and description of the fugitives, the name and the character, as loyal or disloyal, of the master, and such facts as may be necessary to a correct understanding of the circumstances of each case after tranquillity shall have been restored. Upon the return of peace, Congress will doubtless properly provide for all

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the persons thus received into the service of the Union, and for just compensation to loyal masters. In this way only, it would seem, can the duty and safety of the Government and the just rights of all be fully reconciled and harmonized.

"You will therefore consider yourself as instructed to govern your future action, in respect to fugitives from service, by the principles herein stated, and will report from time to time, and at least twice in each month, your action in the premises to this Department. You will, however, neither authorize nor permit any interference, by the troops under your command, with the servants of peaceful citizens, in house or field, nor will you, in any way, encourage such servants to leave the lawful service of their masters; nor will you, except in cases where the public safety may seem to require it, prevent the voluntary return of any fugitive to the service from which he may have escaped."

It will be seen that these instructions are in harmony with the act of Congress above mentioned, and equally remote from emancipation by proclamation and heedless inaction in regard to such an important matter.

The leading principle of the instructions is that the existing war had no direct relation to slavery. It was a war for the restoration of the Union under the existing Constitution. National success would establish each State of the restored Union in full enjoyment of all those rights which it possessed prior to secession, except so far as they may have been inevitably damaged by it.

The whole subject of slavery in loyal States was to be left to the civil authorities. No action was contemplated in relation to it by military force or direction. No hindrance would be opposed to the exercise of the lawful authority of masters within or without the lines of the army.

In seceded States the military authorities were directed to refrain from all interference with servants lawfully employed in peaceful pursuits. But where servants were abandoned by their masters, or escape from them, the instructions did not allow the troops employed in suppressing the insurrection to be diverted from their legitimate duties for the purpose of determining claims to service, or of restoring slaves to masters. They simply directed that those who came within the lines and offered their services to the Government be received and employed, and that care be taken to preserve a record which would enable loyal masters, after the end of the war, to obtain indemnity from Congress for the loss of servants so received and employed.

Thus the rights of loyal masters were to be secured, and all interference with the internal institutions of a State avoided, as far as practicable; at the same time the Government would avail itself to a legitimate extent of the services of that portion of the servile population not otherwise lawfully employed. In using their services, the Federal Government followed the example of the Confederate authorities. Slaves and free negroes were pressed into service, organized into squads and companies, and compelled to labor on fortifications and in other employments. It was further argued, that if the blacks who resorted to the lines of the army, were repelled, they would either organize themselves as irregular partisans, or become hostile, and be employed against the Federal troops. If they were received, and organized and employed during the war, they would be under control and discipline, and all excesses, and all violent interference with peaceful industry or existing institutions, could be restrained and prevented.

On the 16th of August, the Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Caleb Smith, in an address to the citizens of Providence, Rhode Island, at a social festival, thus declared what was the position of the Government: "The minds of the people of the South have been deceived by the artful representations of demagogues, who have assured them that the people of the North were determined to bring the power of this Government to bear upon them for the purpose of crushing out this institution of slavery. I ask you, is there any truth in this charge? Has the Government of the United States, in any single instance, by any one solitary act, interfered with the institutions of the South? No, not one. The theory of this Government is, that the States are sovereign within their proper sphere. The Government of the United States has no more right to interfere with the institution of slavery in South Carolina, than it has to interfere with the peculiar institution of Rhode Island, whose benefits I have enjoyed."

On the 31st of August, Major-General Fremont, commanding the Western Department, which embraced Missouri and the portion of Kentucky west of the Cumberland River, issued a proclamation, (*see* MISSOURI,) of which the following are extracts:

> Circumstances, in my judgment, of sufficient urgency, render it necessary that the Commanding General of this Department should assume the administrative powers of the State. * * * * * *
>
> In order, therefore, to suppress disorders, to maintain, as far as now practicable, the public peace, and to give security and protection to the persons and property of loyal citizens, I do hereby extend and declare established martial law throughout the State of Missouri. The lines of the army of occupation in this State are for the present declared to extend from Leavenworth, by way of the posts of Jefferson City, Rolla, and Ironton, to Cape Girardeau, on the Mississippi River.
>
> All persons who shall be taken with arms in their hands within these lines shall be tried by court martial, and if found guilty, will be shot. The property, real and personal, of all persons in the State of Missouri who shall take up arms against the United States, or who shall be directly proven to have taken active part with their enemies in the field, is declared to be confiscated to the public use, and their slaves, if any they have, are hereby declared free men.

Emancipation of the slaves as proclaimed herein, attracted the immediate attention of the

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Government. A correspondence ensued between the President and Gen. Fremont, which is explained in the following letter from the former to the latter:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *September* 11, 1861.

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN C. FREMONT:

SIR: Yours of the 8th, in answer to mine of the 2d inst., was just received. Assured that you upon the ground could better judge of the necessities of your position than I could at this distance, on seeing your proclamation of August 30, I perceived no general objection to it; the particular clause, however, in relation to the confiscation of property and the liberation of slaves appeared to me to be objectionable in its nonconformity to the act of Congress, passed the 6th of last August, upon the same subjects, and hence I wrote you expressing my wish that that clause should be modified accordingly. Your answer just received expresses the preference on your part that I should make an open order for the modification, which I very cheerfully do. It is therefore ordered that the said clause of said proclamation be so modified, held and construed as to conform with, and not to transcend, the provisions on the same subject contained in the act of Congress entitled "An act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes," approved August 6, 1861, and the said act be published at length with this order. Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

The views of the Government were still further enforced by a letter of instructions from the Secretary of War to General T. W. Sherman, commanding the expedition against Port Royal, South Carolina. This letter is dated October 14th, and thus proceeds:

"In conducting military operations within States declared by the proclamation of the President to be in a state of insurrection, you will govern yourself, so far as persons held to service under the laws of such States are concerned, by the principles of the letters addressed by me to Major-General Butler on the 30th of May and the 8th of August, copies of which are herewith furnished to you. As special directions, adapted to special circumstances, cannot be given, much must be referred to your own discretion, as Commanding General of the expedition. You will, however, in general avail yourself of any persons, whether fugitives from labor or not, who may offer themselves to the National Government; you will employ such persons in such services as they may be fitted for, either as ordinary employees, or, if special circumstances seem to require it, in any other capacity, with such organization, in squads, companies, or otherwise, as you may deem most beneficial to the service. This, however, not to mean a general arming of them for military service. You will assure all loyal masters that Congress will provide just compensation to them for the loss of the services of the persons so employed. It is believed that the course thus indicated will best secure the substantial rights of loyal masters, and the benefits to the United States of the services of all disposed to support the Government, while it avoids all interference with the social systems of local institutions of every State, beyond that which insurrection makes unavoidable, and which a restoration of peaceful relations to the Union, under the Constitution, will immediately remove."

In a proclamation to the inhabitants of South Carolina, issued on the 8th of November, after landing his force at Port Royal, the General thus described his purpose so far as related to the slaves: "We have come among you with no feelings of personal animosity, no desire to harm your citizens, destroy your property, or interfere with any of your lawful laws, rights, or your social and local institutions, beyond what the causes herein briefly alluded to may render unavoidable."

Again he says: "We have come among you as loyal men, fully impressed with our constitutional obligations to the citizens of your State. Those obligations shall be performed as far as in our power; but be not deceived: the obligation of suppressing armed combinations against the constitutional authorities, is paramount to all others. If, in the performance of this duty, other minor but important obligations should be in any way neglected, it must be attributed to the necessities of the case, because rights dependent on the laws of the State must be necessarily subordinate to military exigencies created by insurrection and rebellion."

Again, on the 17th of November, the General commanding at Baltimore, John A. Dix, being about to send a force into the counties of Accomac and Northampton, Virginia, issued a proclamation to the inhabitants, in which he thus states the instructions to the troops: "Special directions have been given not to interfere with the condition of any persons held to domestic service, and in order that there may be no ground for mistake or pretext for misrepresentation, commanders of regiments and corps have been instructed not to permit any such persons to come within their lines."

In the Western Department of the army, after the retirement of Gen. Fremont, an order was issued by the commanding officer, General Halleck, prohibiting fugitives from entering the lines of the camps of the army. This order was strictly enforced.

The views expressed in the letter of the President to Gen. Fremont, in the letters of the Secretary of War, and in the proclamations of the Generals, must be regarded as explaining the position of the Government relative to this class of persons held to service or labor. This position was based upon the section of the Confiscation Act of Congress, passed August 6th. Although called a "Confiscation Act," it certainly has not that effect on slaves. Confiscation is the forfeiture of property for the benefit of the public treasury. But no such intention is disclosed in this act. The slave is described in constitutional language as "a person claimed to be held to labor or service under the law of any State"; and it is declared that when he is permitted, by the person making this claim, to be employed in any military or naval service, the claim shall be forfeited. The claim is not forfeited to the Government, nor does it pass

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over to any other person: but the fact of this prohibited employment is made "a full and sufficient answer to such claim." The operation of the statute seems to have been intended to be somewhat analogous to that of the statute of limitation, which does not destroy the debt, but takes away the action for its recovery. The act of Congress simply provides an effectual bar to any action on the claim of labor or service. It recognizes and acts upon that claim alone; it does not pretend to act upon the status of the individual, nor admit that there is any such peculiar status, aside from the immediate result of the claim. It cuts off the means of enforcing the claim, only when the person against whom it is made has been employed in hostile service; and it even seems to be the intention of the act that its operation shall be confined to those "required or permitted" by the claimants to render hostile service—not extending to such as may be impressed by the Confederate Government in opposition to the will of the claimants. (*See* DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES—Letter of the Southern Commissioners to Lord John Russell, dated August 14.)

Many plans were suggested for the adoption of the Government on this subject, all looking more or less directly to emancipation. The boldest and most startling was that which recommended the arming of the slaves. In a public address made to the regiment of First United States Chasseurs, by its colonel, Cochran, he argued the necessity of turning against the enemy their own weapons, and inquired "if the Government should hesitate to use against the rebels their own guns, and the munitions that it might find in such of their arsenals and magazines as might fall into our possession?" If it were an unquestionable right to do this, why should it not seize any of their property which they had used against us, and in turn apply it to their own destruction? He believed that the slaves, of whose labors the South had without scruple availed itself, should be made useful by the Government in its effort to put "down a causeless rebellion against its just authority. He was in favor of the extremest measures against the rebels, even to their absolute ruin, so that the National Government should be preserved, and afford its blessings to generations yet to come."

The Secretary of War, Mr. Cameron, being present, made a few remarks. He heartily approved every sentiment that had been uttered. They were sentiments which would not only lead our soldiers to victory, but which in the end would reconstruct our Constitution. "It was idle to talk of treating with the rebels upon their own terms. They must be met as enemies, and treated and punished as such, until they should learn to demean themselves as true and loyal citizens. Every means which God has placed in our hands, he said, it was our duty to use for the purpose of protecting ourselves." This proposition met with only a faint response among the people, they being at this time unwilling to adopt extreme measures.

The final disposition of the negroes driven by the state of affairs at the South into the Federal lines, and temporarily employed in their operations, will remain for future determination, according to the different aspects of the question presented in the cases of slaves belonging to loyal and disloyal masters. Colonization was suggested by the President in his Message at the second session of the Thirty-seventh Congress. (*See* PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.) An emigration to Hayti, or some other inter-tropical region, might so provide for the cases of both, that all injurious influences from their emancipation would be avoided, while loyal masters could be fully indemnified.

On the occupation of Beaufort, in South Carolina, and the adjoining country, by the Federal force under command of General Sherman, the Secretary of the Treasury issued the following orders respecting the disposal of cotton and other property captured, and also the services of the slaves:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *Saturday, Nov. 30, 1861.*

In order to the security and proper disposition of the productions of the soil, and all other property found within the limits of States, or parts of States, declared to be in insurrection against the United States, and now occupied, or to be hereafter occupied, by the troops and authority of the Union, the following regulations are established:

There shall be appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approbation of the President, agents to reside at such points or places as are, or may be, occupied by the forces of the United States, whose duties shall be to secure and prepare for market the cotton and such other products and property as may be found or brought within the lines of the army, or under the control of the Federal authorities.

To enable such agents to fulfil the duties devolved upon them, the military and naval authorities, under proper instructions, will render such military protection and aid as may be required to carry out the intentions of this Department.

Persons held to service for life under State laws who may be found within such limits, may be employed by the agent, who will prepare lists embracing the names, sex, and condition of such persons, and as near as may be, their respective ages, together with the name of any person claiming their services; which lists shall be in triplicate, one for the military commandant, one for the files of the agent, and one to be immediately forwarded to the Secretary of the Treasury.

The persons so listed will be organized for systematic labor in securing and preparing for market the cotton, rice, and other products found within the territory brought under Federal control. Pay rolls will be prepared, and a strict account of the labor daily performed by each person entered thereon, for which a proper compensation shall be allowed and paid to the laborers. The amount of such compensation will be fixed, in proportion to the service rendered, by the agent and approved by the military commandant by the Secretary of the Treasury.

An inventory of all horses, mules, and other stock, vehicles of transportation, and other property, will be carefully made, and a copy transmitted to the Secretary of the Treasury, signed by such agent.

A record of all products taken possession of will be made, and those of each plantation kept distinct. When prepared for shipment, the packages from the several plantations will be plainly marked and numbered, so as to be easily distinguished.

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An account of all provisions of whatsoever character found on each plantation will be taken, and such provisions will be used, so far as may be necessary, for the sustenance of the laborers thereon. Any deficiencies of subsistence will be supplied by the United States commissary, upon the requisition of the agent, to whom they will be charged, and for which he will account.

The cotton and other articles, when prepared for market, shall be shipped to New York, and, so far as practicable, by the returning Government transports; and all shipments shall be consigned to the designated agent at New York, unless otherwise specially directed by the Secretary of the Treasury.

A carefully detailed account will be kept by the agent of all supplies furnished by the Government, and of all expenditures made.

Each agent will transmit a weekly report of his proceedings to the Secretary of the Treasury, and render his accounts in duplicate monthly for settlement.

All requisitions, bills of lading, and invoices will be countersigned by the military commander or by such officer as he may designate for the purpose.

Each agent will so transact his business, and keep his accounts that as little injury as possible may accrue to private citizens who now maintain or may within reasonable time resume the character of loyal citizens of the United States.

S. P. CHASE, Secretary of the Treasury.

The following instructions to the Commander-in-Chief, Gen. McClellan, relative to the treatment of fugitive slaves coming within the lines of the army of the Potomac, were issued:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, *December* 4, 1861.

To Major-General Geo. B. McClellan, Washington:

GENERAL: I am directed by the President to call your attention to the following subject:

Persons claimed to be held to service or labor under the laws of the State of Virginia, and actually employed in hostile service against the Government of the United States, frequently escape from the lines of the enemy's forces, and are received within the lines of the army of the Potomac.

This Department understands that such persons afterwards coming into the city of Washington are liable to be arrested by the city police, upon the presumption, arising from color, that they are fugitives from service or labor.

By the 4th section of the act of Congress, approved August 6, 1861, entitled "An Act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes," such hostile employment is made a full and sufficient answer to any further claim to service or labor. Persons thus employed and escaping are received into the military protection of the United States, and their arrest as fugitives from service or labor should be immediately followed by the military arrest of the parties making the seizure.

Copies of this communication will be sent to the Mayor of the city of Washington, and to the Marshal of the District of Columbia, that any collision between the civil and military authorities may be avoided.

I am, General, your very obedient,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

SOUTH CAROLINA, one of the original States of the Union, is bounded on the north and northeast by North Carolina, southeast by the Atlantic Ocean, and southwest by Georgia, from which it is separated by the Savannah River. Its area is 30,213 square miles. Population in 1860, 703,812, of whom 301,271 were free, and 402,541 were slaves. The population on which the State would be entitled to send representatives to the Federal Congress is 542,795. The value of real and personal property in the State by the census of 1860 is $548,138,774. The assessed value of the real estate is $129,772,684. The Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and presidential electors are chosen by the Legislature. The Senate consists of 45 members, chosen by the people for four years, and the House of Representatives, of 124 members, chosen in the same manner for two years. The Constitution of the State was framed in 1790. (*See* NEW AMERICAN CYCLOPÆDIA.)

The Legislature of the State duly assembled on the 4th of November, 1860, and having chosen the presidential electors, adjourned.

The political views of South Carolina have always been openly and plainly declared by her public men. In the year 1850 it was proposed to convene a "Southern Congress" for the initiation of measures looking to the defence of the South. The subject was brought up in the Legislature of the State, and the debate shows the spirit which then prevailed in that body.

Mr. W. S. Lyles said he would not recapitulate the series of wrongs inflicted upon South Carolina, and the only question which he would consider was the remedy. The remedy is the union of the South and the formation of a Southern Confederacy. The friends of the Southern movement in the other States look to the action of South Carolina; and he would make the issue in a reasonable time, and the only way to do so was by secession. There would be no concert among the Southern States until a blow was struck.

Mr. Sullivan proceeded to discuss the sovereignty of the States and the right of secession, and denied the right or the power of the General Government to coerce the State in case of secession. He thought there "never would be a union of the South until this State strikes the blow and makes the issue."

Mr. F. D. Richardson would not recapitulate the evils which had been perpetrated upon the South. Great as they have been, they are comparatively unimportant when compared with the evils to which they would inevitably lead. "We must not consider what we have borne, but what we must bear hereafter. There is no remedy for these evils in the Government; we have no alternative left us, then, but to come out of the Government."

Mr. Preston said he was opposed to calling a convention, because he thought it would impede the action of the State on the questions now before the country. He thought it would impede progress towards disunion. All his objections to a convention of the people applied only to the proposition to call it now. He thought conventions dangerous things, except when the necessities of the country absolutely demand them. He said he had adopted the course he had taken on these weighty matters simply and entirely with the view of hastening the dissolution of this Union.

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Mr. Keitt said he would sustain the bill for electing delegates to a Southern Congress, because he thought "it would bring about a more speedy dissolution of the Union."

Such were the sentiments existing in the State in 1850. But the passage by Congress during that year of the so-called "compromise measures" appeared to be satisfactory to the South, and disunion views ceased to be advocated.

The last election for President was held on the 6th of November, 1860. On that day the vote of the State was given by the Legislature to John C. Breckinridge for President. On the next day the Legislature, being in session, the subject of withdrawal from the United States was taken up, and an act passed calling a State Convention to meet at Columbia on the 17th of December. Other measures were then introduced and adopted, the object of which was to place the State in a suitable position to meet the crisis about to be inaugurated. The Governor, Gist, in his Message at the commencement of the session, had called attention to the subject of a direct trade with Europe, the postal service of South Carolina as an independent State, slaves from Border States, an armory, the expected aid from other States, arming the State, &c. On the right of secession he expressed these views:

"It is true, no provision is made in the Constitution for dissolving the Union, and it is very probable that the patriots who framed the instrument had no idea that a loathsome fanaticism, pandered to by Northern politicians, would ever make it necessary for the safety of the South that they should dissolve the compact on account of its violation by the other section of the Confederacy; but it must be remembered as a rule of universal application, that a violation of a compact or agreement by one party, releases the other party from its binding obligation, and the only question is, who is to judge of the infraction?

"The simple statement of the case is this: Each State entered the Union under the Constitution; the Federal Government is the agent of the States, created for special purposes, and circumscribed in its action by the articles of agreement, or, in other words, the Constitution. Whenever the States, having power to control this agent, permit or command him to violate the compact, each State, not having surrendered its sovereignty, has a right to remonstrate or withdraw, as she may think proper, and no earthly power has a right to prevent her."

The military bill was the most important measure adopted at this time. It provided for maintaining an army of ten thousand men. There were in the State three hundred and eighty-two companies of infantry, fifty of cavalry, eighteen of artillery, and sixty-two rifle companies, being fifty-six regiments.

On the 10th of December Francis W. Pickens was chosen Governor of the State by the Legislature. Gov. Gist, previous to his retirement, sent a farewell Message to the Legislature, in which he thus spoke of the progress of events:

"We have progressed thus far with firm and even tread, with calmness and deliberation, but with a constancy of purpose not to be shaken by any danger or suffering. A single pause, or the least vacillation, and all will be lost. However anxious we may be for coöperation, however certain we may be of obtaining it, let us first move ourselves as the best means of effecting that object, and, having forever closed the door from which we have passed out of the Union, so that no insidious device of the enemy, or false promises, or pretended friends can avail to open it. Then, and not till then, may we with safety seek coöperation and unity with other States who have assumed their sovereignty, and are prepared to form a more perfect union, and share with us a common destiny. Every sentinel should remain at his post, and not relax a fibre until the great work is completed, the great battle fought, and the glorious victory achieved

"The delay of the convention for a single week to pass the ordinance of secession will have a blighting and chilling influence upon the action of the other Southern States. The opponents of the movement everywhere will be encouraged to make another effort to rally their now disorganized and scattered forces to defeat our action and stay our onward march. Fabius conquered by delay, and there are those of his school, though with a more unworthy purpose, who, shrinking from open and manly attack, use this veil to hide their deformity, and from a masked battery to discharge their missiles. But I trust they will strike the armor of truth, and fall harmless at our feet, and that by the 28th of December no flag but the Palmetto will float over any part of South Carolina."

Governor Pickens was inaugurated immediately after his election. He improved the occasion to declare the cause of the movement on the part of South Carolina to separate from the Union. In his view it was as follows:

"For seventy-three years this State has been connected by a Federal compact with co-States, under a bond of union for great national objects common to all. In recent years there has been a powerful party, organized upon principles of ambition and fanaticism, whose undisguised purpose is to divert the Federal Government from external and turn its power upon the internal interests and domestic institutions of these States. They have thus combined a party exclusively in the Northern States, whose avowed objects not only endanger the peace, but the very existence of nearly one-half of the States of this Confederacy. And in the recent election for President and Vice-President of these States, they have carried the election upon principles that make it no longer safe for us to rely upon the powers of the Federal Gov-

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ernment or the guarantees of the Federal compact. This is the great overt act of the people in the Northern States at the ballot-box, in the exercise of their sovereign power at the polls, from which there is no higher appeal recognized under our system of Government in its ordinary and habitual operations. They thus propose to inaugurate a Chief Magistrate, at the head of the army and navy, with vast powers, not to preside over the common interests and destinies of all the States alike, but upon issues of malignant hostility and uncompromising war to be waged upon the rights, the interests, and the peace of half the States of this Union.

"In the Southern States there are two entirely distinct and separate races, and one has been held in subjection to the other by peaceful inheritance from worthy and patriotic ancestors, and all who know the races well know that it is the only form of government that can preserve both, and administer the blessings of civilization with order and in harmony. Any thing tending to change and weaken the government and the subordination between the races, not only endangers the peace, but the very existence of our society itself. We have for years warned the Northern people of the dangers they were producing by their wanton and lawless course. We have often appealed to our sister States of the South to act with us in concert upon some firm and moderate system by which we might be able to save the Federal Constitution, and yet feel safe under the general compact of Union; but we could obtain no fair warning from the North, nor could we see any concerted plan proposed by any of our co-States of the South calculated to make us feel safe and secure.

"Under all these circumstances we now have no alternative left but to interpose our sovereign power as an independent State to protect the rights and ancient privileges of the people of South Carolina. This State was one of the original parties to the Federal compact of union. We agreed to it, as a State, under peculiar circumstances, when we were surrounded with great external pressure, for purposes of national protection, and to advance the interests and general welfare of all the States equally and alike. And when it ceases to do this, it is no longer a perpetual Union. It would be an absurdity to suppose it was a perpetual Union for our ruin."

After a few days the Legislature took a recess until the 17th of December, the day on which the State Convention was to assemble. Preparations for the Convention were commenced immediately after the bill was passed by the Legislature. Candidates for membership were immediately nominated. All were in favor of secession, and the only important distinction to be seen among them consisted in the personal character of individuals. Those who were known to be men of moderate and conservative views were generally successful over individuals of a radical and ultra stamp.

The Convention assembled in the Baptist church at Columbia, the capital of the State, at noon, on the 17th of December. Unlike the conventions of the other States, its sessions were at first held with open doors, and its proceedings published to the country. When the Convention was called to order, David F. Jamison was requested to act as president *pro tem.* Upon taking the chair, he made a brief address, in which he said:

"If any thing has been decided by the late election, it is that South Carolina must be taken out of this Confederation in as speedy a manner as possible. I trust that no outside pressure, no guarantees from abroad, will drive us from our purpose; for, gentlemen, there are two dangers which we are to avoid—overtures from abroad and disputations from within. I trust that the door now is forever closed from any further connection with our Northern Confederacy. What guarantees can they offer us more binding, more solemn, and with a higher sanction, than the present written compact between us? Has that sacred instrument protected us from the jealousy and aggressions of the Northern people, which commenced forty years ago, and which ended in the Missouri Compromise? Has it protected us from the cupidity and avarice of the Northern people, who for thirty-five years have imposed the burden of sustaining this Government chiefly upon the South? Has it saved us from abolition petitions, intended to annoy and insult us, on the very floors of Congress? Has not that instrument been trodden under their very feet by every Northern State, by placing on their books statutes nullifying the laws for the recovery of fugitive slaves? I trust, gentlemen, we will put no faith in paper guarantees. They are worthless, unless written in the hearts of the people. As there is no common bond between us, all attempts to continue us united will only prove futile to the least and smaller section of the country. Our greatest danger is from any division within our border. In inaugurating a great event like this, I trust we will go onward, and not be diverted from our purpose by any dictates from without, but to do what we are sent to do. I can at this time offer you nothing better in inaugurating such a movement than the counsel of him who inaugurated the French Revolution—to dare, and again to dare, and without end to dare."

It was next proposed that a list of the members should be made, and that each one should present his credentials and be sworn in. To this proposition Mr. Adams replied:

"Mr. President, I do not see how we can consistently do that, as a clause of the Constitution of South Carolina makes provision that we shall take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States. We come here to break down a Government, and not to take an oath to support it."

The names were called, but an oath was not administered to the delegates. For president

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of the Convention, on the fourth ballot, David F. Jamison received 118 votes, J. L. Orr 30, and James Chesnut, jr., 3. Mr. Jamison was elected.

A motion was next made that the Convention adjourn, to meet in Charleston on the afternoon of the next day, owing to the prevalence of small-pox in Columbia. This motion was opposed by W. Porcher Miles, who said:

"We would be sneered at. It would be asked on all sides, Is this the chivalry of South Carolina? They are prepared to face the world, but they run away from the small-pox. Sir, if every day my prospects of life were diminished by my being here, and if I felt the certain conviction that I must take this disease, I would do so, and die, if necessary. I am just from Washington, where I have been in constant, close, continual conference with our friends. Their unanimous, urgent request to us is, not to delay at all. The last thing urged on me, by our friends from Georgia, Mississippi, Florida, North Carolina, Alabama, Texas, and Louisiana, and every State that is with us in this great movement, was, take out South Carolina the instant you can. Now, sir, when the news reaches Washington that we met here, that a panic arose about a few cases of small-pox in the city, and that we forthwith scampered off to Charleston, the effect would be a little ludicrous, if I might be excused for that expression."

The motion was adopted, and the Convention assembled on the next day at Charleston.

The following committee was then appointed to draft an ordinance of secession: Messrs. Inglis, Rhett, sen., Chesnut, Orr, Maxcy Gregg, B. F. Dunkin, and Hutson, and another committee, as follows, to prepare an address to the people of the Southern States, viz.: Messrs. Rhett, sen., Calhoun, Finley, J. D. Wilson, W. F. De Saussure, Cheves, and Carn.

The following committees were also appointed, each to consist of thirteen members:

A Committee on Relations with the Slaveholding States of North America; a Committee on Foreign Relations; a Committee on Commercial Relations and Postal Arrangements; and a Committee on the Constitution of the State.

On the same day Mr. Magrath, of Charleston, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That so much of the Message of the President of the United States as relates to what he designates "the property of the United States in South Carolina," be referred to a committee of thirteen, to report of what such property consists, how acquired, and whether the purpose for which it was so acquired can be enjoyed by the United States after the State of South Carolina shall have seceded, consistently with the dignity and safety of the State. And that said committee further report the value of the property of the United States not in South Carolina; and the value of the share thereof to which South Carolina would be entitled upon an equitable division thereof among the United States.

Upon offering the resolution, he said:

"As I understand the Message of the President of the United States, he affirms it as his right and constituted duty and high obligation to protect the property of the United States within the limits of South Carolina, and to enforce the laws of the Union within the limits of South Carolina. He says he has no constitutional power to coerce South Carolina, while, at the same time, he denies to her the right of secession. It may be, and I apprehend it will be, Mr. President, that the attempt to coerce South Carolina will be made under the pretence of protecting the property of the United States within the limits of South Carolina. I am disposed, therefore, at the very threshold, to test the accuracy of this logic, and test the conclusions of the President of the United States. There never has been a day—no, not one hour—in which the right of property within the limits of South Carolina, whether it belongs to individuals, corporations, political community, or nation, has not been as safe under the Constitution and laws of South Carolina as when that right is claimed by one of our own citizens; and if there be property of the United States within the limits of South Carolina, that property, consistently with the dignity and honor of the State, can, after the secession of South Carolina, receive only that protection which it received before."

Mr. Miles, who had just returned from Washington, stated the position of affairs to be as follows:

"I will confine myself simply to the matter of the forts in the harbor of Charleston, and I will state what I conceive to be the real condition of things. I have not the remotest idea that the President of the United States will send any reënforcement whatsoever into these forts. I desire no concealment—there should be no concealment—but perfect frankness. I will state here that I, with some of my colleagues, in a conversation with the President of the United States, and subsequently in a written communication, to which our names were signed, after speaking of the great excitement about the forts, said thus to him:

Mr. President, it is our solemn conviction that, if you attempt to send a solitary soldier to these forts, the instant the intelligence reaches our people, (and we shall take care that it does reach them, for we have sources of information in Washington, so that no orders for troops can be issued without our getting information,) these forts will be forcibly and immediately stormed.

"We all assured him that, if an attempt was made to transport reënforcements, our people would take these forts, and that we would go home and help them to do it; for it would be suicidal folly for us to allow the forts to be manned. And we further said to him that a bloody result would follow the sending of troops to those forts, and that we did not believe that the authorities of South Carolina would do any thing prior to the meeting of this convention, and that we hoped and believed that nothing would be done after this body met until we had demanded of the General Govern-

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ment the recession of these forts. This was the substance of what we said. Now, sir, it is my most solemn conviction that there is no attempt going to be made to reënforce these forts."

Resolutions were offered and referred, which proposed a provisional government for the Southern States on the basis of the Constitution of the United States; also to send commissioners to Washington to negotiate for the cession of Federal property within the State, &c.; also, the election of five persons to meet delegates from other States for the purpose of forming a Confederacy, &c.

On the 20th the committee appointed to draft an ordinance of secession made the following report:

The committee appointed to prepare the draught of an Ordinance proper to be adopted by the Convention in order to effect the secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union respectfully report:

That they have had the matter referred to under consideration, and believing that they would best meet the exigencies of the great occasion, and the just expectations of the Convention by presenting in the fewest and simplest words possible to be used, consistent with perspicuity and all that is necessary to effect the end proposed and no more, and so excluding every thing which, however proper in itself for the action of the Convention, is not a necessary part of the great solemn act of secession, and may at least be effected by a distinct ordinance or resolution, they submit for the consideration of the Convention the following proposed draught:

An Ordinance to dissolve the Union between the State of South Carolina and other States united with her under the compact entitled "The Constitution of the United States of America."

We, the people of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinance adopted by us in Convention on the twenty-third day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, whereby the Constitution of the United States was ratified, and also all acts and parts of acts of the General Assembly of the State ratifying amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed, and the Union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of "The United States of America," is hereby dissolved.

The ordinance was then taken up and immediately passed by the unanimous vote of the convention.

After the passage of the ordinance of secession, the following ordinance was offered, in order to preserve the order of affairs under the altered political relations of the State:

Be it ordained by the People of South Carolina, by their Delegates in Convention assembled, That, until otherwise provided by the Legislature, the Governor shall be authorized to appoint collectors and other officers connected with the customs, for the ports within the State of South Carolina, and also all the postmasters within the said State; and that until such appointments shall have been made, the persons now charged with the duties of the said several offices shall continue to discharge the same, keeping an account of what moneys are received and disbursed by them respectively.

The debate which followed on this ordinance showed very distinctly that, however unanimous the convention was relative to the passage of the ordinance to secede, there still existed a great difference of opinion among the members as to its legal force and effect.

Judge Magrath, of Charleston, said: "I think the special matter of this ordinance should be immediately considered. To my understanding there is no collector of the port nor postmaster now within the limits of South Carolina. What you have done to-day has extinguished the authority of every man in South Carolina deriving his authority from the General Government. I am in favor of this body making such provisional arrangements as may be necessary in the interval which may exist between this moment and the time the Legislature may act. I am not, however, to be implicated as sanctioning the idea that there is no lawful authority within the limits of the State except the General Government."

Mr. Gregg: "After South Carolina has abrogated the Constitution of the United States, are the laws still in force? I think not. All the laws of Congress fall instantly to the ground on the passage of the act of secession."

Mr. Cheves: "An immense chasm has been made in law. It is necessary that, to avoid inconvenience to the people, we must make temporary arrangements to carry on the Government."

Mr. Gregg: "There is now no law on the subject of the collection of duties in South Carolina, now that we have accomplished the work of forty years."

Mr. Hayne: "The Congress of the United States is no longer our Government. It will be for our Legislature to say what laws of the United States shall be continued, and what not. The simple act of secession does not abrogate all laws. We have a great many laws on the statute-books which were passed by the Governor and privy council."

Mr. Gregg: "The congressional laws for the collection of the revenue are for the support of the Federal Government at Washington. All the post-office laws fall on our dissolution from that Government."

Mr. Miles: "We have now to deal with stern facts and realities. We must prevent confusion and anarchy in the derangement of our Government affairs. Things must for the present remain in *statu quo*, or confusion will arise."

Mr. Chesnut: "Two questions are involved: power and duty. We must prevent our people not only from inconveniences, but from a chaotic condition. We must revivify such laws as are best adapted to preserve us from calamities. As to our duty, will you turn the ship of State adrift? What becomes of her officers?"

Mr. Masyck: "There is no duty collector now for the ports. So, too, with the post-office. All are swept off by this act. My opinion is that the present system of postal arrangement is a nuisance. The public would be better served by private parties between the cities—like the system in Philadelphia and New York. Have a postage of one cent instead of three

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cents, and to less important places make it ten cents or more."

Mr. Calhoun: "We have pulled the temple down that has been built for three-quarters of a century. We must now clear the rubbish away and reconstruct another. We are now houseless and homeless. We must secure ourselves from storms."

Mr. Dunkin: "If that ordinance of secession be passed, things will still go on in the custom-house and post-office exactly as now until other arrangements are made by this convention. There is nothing in the ordinance to affect the dignity, honor, or welfare of the State of South Carolina. We must keep the wheels of Government going. The Constitution of the United States is not entirely abrogated by the ordinance. What is the legal tender for the payment of debts? Is it not the gold and silver of the United States?"

Mr. Carrel said the present officers of revenue would be continued till an act of the Legislature authorized otherwise.

Mr. Brown: "There is no longer any communication with the Government from which we are just separated."

Mr. Duncan: "The spirit of the ordinance is temporarily suspended till we treat with the General Government."

Mr. Gregg: "The President of the United States has thrown down the gauntlet in his Message. He has said it is his duty to collect the revenue, and that he will do it. On one side the Federal Government claims the right and declares its intention to execute the power of collecting the revenue in our ports. On the other side, we have declared that we are free. I desire no compromise. It is necessary, I maintain, that from fifteen to thirty per cent. of duties imposed by a Congress of the United States should continue to be levied; otherwise our people will suffer terrible calamity. As to the carrying of the mails, let the present contract be assumed by South Carolina instead of the United States."

Mr. Rhett: "This great revolution must go on with as little change as possible to the country. By making the Federal agents ours, the machinery will move on. The Federal laws of taxation must not exist over us. We are now contending for the great principle of taxation. I trust the present system of taxation has fallen forever."

Mr. Barnwell: "We have seceded from the United States and established our independence. We can't allow the United States to exercise authority over us any more. Let the postal convenience be sacrificed if necessary. There never was any thing purchased worth having, unless at the cost of sacrifice."

Mr. Masyck: "In regard to the mail, all restrictions must be removed. Let us appoint our own officers. Let the collector of the port battle with the difficulties as they come."

The Convention adjourned to meet at Institute Hall, and in the presence of the Governor, and both branches of the State Legislature, to sign the ordinance of secession.

At the close of the ceremonies the president of the Convention announced the secession of the State in these words: "The ordinance of secession has been signed and ratified, and I proclaim the State of South Carolina an independent Commonwealth." The ratified ordinance was then given to the Secretary of State to be preserved among its archives, and the assembly dissolved.

On the 21st the committee to prepare an address to the Southern States made a report, reviewing the injuries to South Carolina arising from her connection with the Federal Union. An ordinance was then adopted which prescribed the following oath, to be taken by all persons elected and appointed to any office.

"I do solemnly swear, (or affirm,) that I will be faithful and true allegiance bear to the Constitution of the State of South Carolina, so long as I may continue a citizen of the same, and that I am duly qualified under the laws of South Carolina, and will discharge the duties thereof to the best of my ability, and will preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of this State. So help me God."

In secret session, Messrs. Robert W. Barnwell, J. H. Adams, and James L. Orr were appointed commissioners to proceed to Washington, to treat for the delivery of the forts, magazines, light-houses, &c., within the limits of the State, also the apportionment of the public debts and a division of all other property held by the Government of the United States, as agent of the confederation of States, of which South Carolina was recently a member, and to negotiate all other arrangements proper to be adopted in the existing relations of the parties.

Mr. Memminger, then, from the special committee appointed to draught a "Declaration of the causes which justify the secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union," submitted a paper bearing this title, which was read to the Convention.

This paper commences by briefly referring to a portion of colonial history, the separation of the colonies from Great Britain, their organization into sovereign States, the adoption of the Federal Constitution, its ratification by the different States, including South Carolina, and then proceeds to declare the causes which have impelled South Carolina "to resume her separate and equal place among nations."

These causes are thus stated:

We hold that the Government thus established is subject to the two principles asserted in the Declaration of Independence; and we hold further that the mode of its formation subjects it to a third fundamental principle, namely, the law of compact. We maintain that in every compact between two or more parties the obligation is mutual; that the failure of one of the contracting parties to perform a material part of the agreement entirely releases the other, and that where no arbiter is provided, each party is remitted to his own judgment to determine the fact of failure, with all its consequences. In the present case that fact is established with certainty.

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We assert that fifteen of the States have deliberately refused for years past to fulfil their constitutional obligations, and we refer to their own statutes for the proof. The Constitution of the United States, in its fourth article, provides as follows:

No person held to labor or service in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

This stipulation was so material to the compact that without it that compact would not have been made. The greater number of the contracting parties held slaves, and the State of Virginia had previously declared her estimate of its value by making it the condition of her cession of the territory which now composes the States north of the Ohio River. The same article of the Constitution stipulates also for rendition by the several States of fugitives from justice from the other States.

The General Government, as the common agent, passed laws to carry into effect these stipulations of the States. For many years these laws were executed. But an increasing hostility on the part of the Northern States to the institution of slavery has led to a disregard of their obligations, and the laws of the General Government have ceased to effect the objects of the Constitution. The States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana,* Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa have enacted laws which either nullify the acts of Congress, or render useless any attempt to execute them. In many of these States the fugitive is discharged from the service or labor claimed, and in none of them has the State government complied with the stipulation made in the Constitution. The State of New Jersey, at an early day, passed a law for the rendition of fugitive slaves in conformity with her constitutional undertaking, but the current of anti-slavery feeling has led her more recently to enact laws which render inoperative the remedies provided by her own law and by the laws of Congress. In the State of New York even the right of transit for a slave has been denied by her tribunals; and the States of Ohio and Iowa have refused to surrender to justice fugitives charged with murder and with inciting servile insurrection in the State of Virginia. Thus the constitutional compact has been deliberately broken and disregarded by the non-slaveholding States, and the consequence follows that South Carolina is released from its obligation.

The ends for which the Constitution was framed are declared by itself to be "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the common welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." These ends it endeavored to accomplish by a Federal Government, in which each State was recognized as an equal, and had separate control over its own institutions. The right of property in slaves was recognized by giving to free persons distinct political rights; by giving them the right to represent, and burdening them with direct taxes for three-fifths of their slaves; by authorizing the importation of slaves for twenty years, and by stipulating for the rendition of fugitives from labor. We affirm that these ends for which this Government was instituted have been defeated, and the Government itself has been made destructive of them by the action of the non-slaveholding States. Those States have assumed the right of deciding upon the propriety of our domestic institutions; and have denied the rights of property established in fifteen of the States and recognized by the Constitution; they have denounced as sinful the institution of slavery; they have permitted the open establishment among them of societies whose avowed object is to disturb the peace and to cloin the property of the citizens of other States. They have encouraged and assisted thousands of our slaves to leave their homes; and those who remain have been incited by emissaries, books, and pictures to servile insurrection.

For twenty-five years this agitation has been steadily increasing, until it has now secured to its aid the power of a common Government. Observing the *forms* of the Constitution, a sectional party has found within that article establishing the Executive Department the means of subverting the Constitution itself. A geographical line has been drawn across the Union, and all the States north of that line have united in the election of a man to the high office of President of the United States whose opinions and purposes are hostile to slavery. He is to be entrusted with the administration of the common Government, because he has declared that that "Government cannot endure permanently half slave, half free," and that the public mind must rest in the belief that slavery is in the course of ultimate extinction. This sectional combination for the subversion of the Constitution has been aided in some of the States by elevating to citizenship persons who, by the supreme law of the land, are incapable of becoming citizens; and their votes have been used to inaugurate a new policy, hostile to the South, and destructive of its peace and safety.

The declaration concludes as follows:

We, therefore, the people of South Carolina, by our delegates in Convention assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, have solemnly declared that the Union heretofore existing between this State and the other States of North America is dissolved, and that the State of South Carolina has resumed her position among the nations of the world as a free, sovereign, and independent State, with full powers to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honors.

Such is the sum of the grievances which were published to the world as sufficient to justify the destruction of the Union. No State had any additional ones to allege in its own special case. The apprehensions declared to exist in the minds of the Southern people looked forward to such a radical change in their social condition as would involve the extinction of the white inhabitants of the State. On the well founded nature and justness of these apprehensions they professed to act. Admitting that they were truthful and certain to become realities, there is not a patriot in the world, who, if placed in such a position, would hesitate to rush to arms and contend to the last moment of existence. No outside or incidental circumstances would be needed to arouse to war a people thus placed. Was such the position of the Southern States? Was there that danger of impending ruin which their apprehensions portrayed? Facts and their own declarations deny it. The act of Congress to amend the Constitution denies any right of interference in the domestic institutions of a State. One of the citizens of South Carolina thus described the manner in which secession was effected, thereby showing that whatever apprehensions for the future existed among the people, they were in a very torpid state:

"I know of no instance in the history of the

* Neither Indiana nor Illinois have passed a personal liberty law.

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world in which a people have deliberately resolved upon an act of political dissolution. Even our fathers did not, and blood had been shed from Massachusetts to Georgia before there was the political intrepidity to assert their independence. And so it ever has been, that in States, as in men, the conservatisms of life have been stronger than the motives to destroy it. The stimulant of physical collision has been necessary to political movement, and blood has been ever required to the baptism of a regenerated nation. But in South Carolina we thought there was the chance of political action. For years we have been without the distractions of party issues; for years our attentions have been fixed upon the aggressions of the General Government. Our readiness to detect the danger was greater, perhaps, than that of the other States, and if any State could ever hope to act upon a political issue we could hope to act upon the issues presented by the election of Mr. Lincoln; but there were also fortuitous circumstances that concurred to aid us. It was a fortuitous circumstance that the Federal officers within our State were too spirited to hold commissions upon the implication of a willingness to perform the service aggression might exact, and upon the incident of that election were ready to renounce them. It was a fortuitous circumstance that our Legislature was in session, and was ready to respond to the feeling of our people. It was a fortuitous circumstance that no other event had occurred to preoccupy the public mind; and so it was that, as the feelings of our people became aroused, that as amid these circumstances there gleamed the hope of political action, we sprang to the occasion. We pressed the measure onward. We did all we could to inspire the popular heart to the great achievement, and we yet believe that in so acting only was there a possibility of success. If, instead of acting for ourselves, we had named some future time for the coöperation of the other States, we believe the measure would have failed. We believe that other Southern States themselves would have looked upon it as a backing-down, and would have lost the courage necessary to concurrence; and I myself believe that if the State of South Carolina had stated some distant day for future action, to see if other States would join us, and had thus allowed the public feeling to subside, she herself would have lost the spirit of adventure, and would have quailed from the shock of this great controversy; but we did not do so. We pressed sternly onward, trusting that other States, with a generous confidence befitting the occasion, would properly conceive our motives."

A debate ensued in the Convention upon this declaration of grievances, which manifested quite a diversity of sentiment on the causes of secession. (*See* CONFEDERATE STATES, page 122.)

On the 24th the address was adopted, after a motion to lay it on the table had failed by a vote of ayes 30, nays 124. On this day Gov. Pickens issued the following proclamation:

Whereas, The good People of this State, in Convention assembled, by an ordinance, unanimously adopted and ratified on the twentieth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty, repealed an ordinance of the people of this State adopted on the twenty-third day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, and have thereby dissolved the Union between the State of South Carolina and other States under the name of the United States of America:

I, therefore, as Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the State of South Carolina, by virtue of authority in me vested, do hereby proclaim to the world, that this State is, as she has a right to be, a separate, sovereign, free, and independent State, and, as such has a right to levy war, conclude peace, negotiate treaties, leagues, or covenants, and to do all acts, whatsoever, that rightfully appertain to a free and independent State.

Given under my hand and the seal of the State, at Charleston, this twenty-fourth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty, and in the eighty-fifth year of the sovereignty and independence of South Carolina. F. W. PICKENS.

On the 25th the committee on the relations with the slaveholding States of North America made a report, and concluded by recommending the adoption of the following resolutions:

Resolved, First, that this Convention do appoint a Commissioner to proceed to each of the slaveholding States that may assemble in Convention, for the purpose of laying our ordinance of secession before the same, and respectfully invite their coöperation in the formation with us of a Southern Confederacy.

Second, That our Commissioners aforesaid be further authorized to submit, on our part, the Federal Constitution as the basis of a Provisional Government for such States as shall have withdrawn their connection with the Government of the United States of North America.

Third. That the said Commissioners be authorized to invite the seceding States to meet in Convention at such time and place as may be agreed upon, for the purpose of forming a permanent Government for such States.

On the next day the Convention adopted an ordinance, making provisional arrangements for the continuance of commercial facilities in South Carolina. Custom-house officers were retained in office under the State authority; the Governor was authorized to fill all vacancies; the revenue collection and navigation laws of the United States were adopted until otherwise ordered; public documents, registers of vessels, &c., to be styled in the name of the State of South Carolina; and all duties collected to be paid into the State Treasury.

On the 27th an ordinance was adopted, authorizing the Governor to receive ambassadors, ministers, consuls, &c., and to appoint similar officers, &c.

The committee on the State Constitution on the 29th prepared an ordinance, transferring to the Legislature the powers lately vested in Congress, except during the existence of the Convention, when it shall not extend, without the Convention's direction, to duties on imports, post-offices, declaration of war, treaties, confederation, &c. The judicial powers of the United States courts are vested in the State courts. The General Assembly may direct that the court sitting in Charleston may have origi-

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nal jurisdiction in admiralty cases, with the right of appeal when exceeding in interest $2,000. In cases affecting the public ministers, the provisions are nearly the same as exist in the Federal courts. The act of Congress of March 3d, 1825, for the more effectual punishment of certain crimes, has been substituted by making all offences subject to the jurisdiction of the State courts.

The remaining sessions of the Convention were chiefly held in secret. Military measures were adopted.

An ordinance was passed, vesting all power necessary to make postal arrangements in the Legislature. Military officers in command of a volunteer or regular force raised under the orders of the Convention were allowed to hold seats in the Legislature.

Five thousand copies of the correspondence between the commissioners and the President of the United States were ordered to be printed.

The table, chair, and other appurtenances used on the night of signing the ordinance of secession, were ordered to be placed in the State House at Columbia, and the Convention adjourned on the 5th of January.

The forts in the harbor of Charleston early became an object of attention. If they were reënforced by the United States, it would require a bloody struggle on the part of South Carolina to obtain possession of them. On the other hand, an immediate seizure, before even a secession, would be an outrage which would occasion intense excitement against the State. After the passage of the ordinance of secession, when she declared herself an independent nation, her honor required that she should demand the surrender of the forts; and if this demand was not complied with, she could then proceed to capture them. An assurance was given to President Buchanan by the representatives in Congress from the State that the forts would not be attacked, and at his request it was made in writing, as follows: -

To His Excellency James Buchanan,
President of the United States.

In compliance with our statement to you yesterday, we now express to you our strong convictions that neither the constituted authorities, nor any body of the people of the State of South Carolina, will either attack or molest the United States forts in the harbor of Charleston, previously to the action of the Convention, and we hope and believe not until an offer has been made through an accredited representative, to negotiate for an amicable arrangement of all matters between the State and Federal Government, provided that no reënforcements shall be sent into those forts, and their relative military status shall remain as at present.

JOHN McQUEEN,
WM. PORCHER MILES,
M. L. BONHAM,
W. W. BOYCE,
LAWRENCE M. KEITT.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 9, 1860.

Still later, in the month of December, and after the passage of the ordinance of secession, the Governor, on being serenaded, on Dec. 21st, in the evening, expressed the following opinion as to war:

"That Convention is now assembled, and, under existing circumstances, it would be obviously improper in me to make any lengthy or protracted remarks. But, fellow-citizens, allow me to say to you that I hope and trust I am in possession of information that perhaps there may be no appeal to force on the part of the Federal authorities. But if I am mistaken in this, at least so far as I am concerned, we are prepared to meet any and every issue. I hope and trust that, under existing circumstances, there will be no imprudence; no rash appeals to counsels caught under the impulse of false rumors; that we will prove to the world that we are not only free and independent, but that we are entitled to be so by our virtues and our character. The Convention, in all human probability, will, in a few days, send the ordinance to Washington which proclaims you to be, as you have a right to be, a free and independent republic. And, until they present the claims of South Carolina to your forts and your public places now in possession of the Federal Government, it is our duty to sustain that Convention by showing that we are ready to await a free and fair demand. But if, in the meantime, there is any attempt to increase the forces that now garrison them, so far as I am concerned, it shall not be done without an appeal to arms. I sincerely desire that we shall triumphantly go through this great controversy without this appeal to arms. But, if it be necessary to vindicate the independence of my country, I vow to you here that all the power that I have shall be exerted to maintain to the last extremity the independence of South Carolina. Allow me to say that there is nothing at present in the present issue to excite the slightest alarm. Be firm, be united, be true to your country, and your country is safe. I desire to say nothing that is imprudent or rash. I desire coolness and calmness. I desire that every man shall be ready, standing at his post; ready to do his duty when the word is given to march. I tell you, as far as I am able, when necessary that word shall be given to march forward to honor and independence—now and forever."

The commissioners sent to Washington had a brief correspondence with President Buchanan on the 29th of December, but accomplished nothing. (*See* UNITED STATES.)

Active movements immediately commenced for resisting any attempt on the part of the United States to exercise Federal powers within the limits of the State. Rumors that vessels of war had started for Charleston harbor, and that the commissioners to Washington were on their way home, created great excitement in the State, and all thoughts of peaceable secession were abandoned. A collector for the port of Charleston was nominated to the Senate by President Buchanan, but that body failed to confirm the nomination.

Meantime, Governor Pickens organized his Cabinet, as follows: Secretary of State, A. G. Magrath; Secretary of War, D. F. Jamison;

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Secretary of the Treasury, C. G. Memminger; Postmaster-General, W. H. Harlee; Secretary of the Interior, A. C. Gurlington.

On the 31st of December, the State troops, which had been for some time acting as a guard to the arsenal, under orders from the Governor, took full possession, and relieved the United States officer who had been in charge. At half-past one o'clock on Sunday, the Federal flag was lowered after a salute of thirty-two guns. The State troops were drawn up in order and presented arms. The Palmetto flag was then run up, with a salute of one gun for South Carolina.

The arsenal contained at the time a large amount of arms and other stores. Meanwhile military preparations were actively pushed forward, and several volunteer companies from other Southern States tendered their services. Notice was given by the collector at Charleston that the masters of all vessels from ports outside of South Carolina must enter and clear at Charleston. Bank bills were also made receivable for duties.

The Legislature had continued its session, but no business of importance was transacted until after the adjournment of the State Convention. Under the military law, which had been passed, a call was made for volunteers by the Governor about the time that Fort Sumter was occupied by Major Anderson. This act required the Governor to receive one volunteer company from each battalion in the State, and two rifle companies from each infantry brigade, each company to consist, besides the commissioned and non-commissioned officers, of not less than sixty nor more than eighty-five men.

If volunteers in sufficient numbers did not present themselves, the order then required that a sufficient number be drafted into the service of the State—thus compelling them to perform military duty. The term of their service was not stated.

A loan of $400,000 was also authorized, which was taken by the banks of the State, which were also authorized to suspend specie payments.

About this time the United States Assistant Treasurer was ordered not to pay any further drafts of Major Anderson, then in command at Fort Sumter. (*See* SUMTER.) The money at this time in the hands of the Treasurer was $150,000.

The flag of the State, adopted by the Legislature, to whom the subject had been referred by the State Convention, consisted of a plain white ground with a green Palmetto tree in the centre, and a white crescent in the left upper corner on a square blue field.

On the 14th of January the Legislature unanimously passed a resolution declaring that any attempt by the Federal Government to reënforce Fort Sumter would be considered as an act of open hostility, and as a declaration of war. At the same time they adopted another resolution, approving the act of the troops who fired on the Star of the West, (*see* STAR OF THE WEST,) and also resolved to sustain the Governor in all measures necessary for defence.

The Governor proposed, for the defence of the coast, the purchase of three steam propellers of light draught, each to be manned by thirty-two seamen. One of the steamers should be stationed in Charleston harbor, one at Beaufort, and one at Georgetown. He also recommended that all inlets and mouths of rivers should be fortified with redoubts and ordnance, and that boats should keep up a constant communication between the several points as a protection against sudden invasion by lawless bands.

On the 16th an act passed the House, to stay the collection of all debts due by South Carolina to persons in the non-slaveholding States, until after December ensuing.

An act of treason to the State was detected at this time, and the criminal was arrested and confined for trial. The collector of the port at Georgetown, J. N. Merriman, was the person.

A letter was found, written by him, and addressed to President Buchanan, stating that he had just cleared vessels in the name of the United States, and that he would continue to do so. The letter urged upon the President to send a boat and men to collect the Federal revenue, and informed him of the progress made in the construction of the works near Georgetown, and promised to keep him informed from time to time in relation to the same. When arrested, he acknowledged himself the author of the letter.

The reply of South Carolina to the peace propositions of Virginia is to be found in these resolutions, adopted by her General Assembly of the Legislature.

Resolved unanimously, That the General Assembly of South Carolina tenders to the Legislature of Virginia their acknowledgments of the friendly motives which inspired the mission intrusted to Hon. Judge Robertson, her commissioner.

Resolved unanimously, That candor, which is due to the long-continued sympathy and respect which has subsisted between Virginia and South Carolina, induces the Assembly to declare with frankness that they do not deem it advisable to initiate negotiations when they have no desire or intention to promote the ultimate object in view—that object which is declared in the resolution of the Virginia Legislature to be the procurement of amendments or new guarantees to the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved unanimously, That the separation of South Carolina from the Federal Union is final, and she has no further interest in the Constitution of the United States; and that the only appropriate negotiations between her and the Federal Government are as to their mutual relations as foreign States.

The following resolution was also adopted about the some time by the Assembly:

Resolved unanimously, That this Assembly further owes it to her friendly relations with the State of Virginia to declare that they have no confidence in the Federal Government of the United States; that the most solemn pledges of that Government have been disregarded; that under pretence of preserving property hostile troops have been attempted to be introduced into one of the fortresses of this State, concealed

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in the hold of a vessel of commerce, with a view to subjugate the people of South Carolina, and that even since the authorities at Washington have been informed of the present mediation of Virginia, a vessel of war has been sent to the South, and troops and munitions of war concentrated on the soil of Virginia.

Dudley Mann was at this time sent out as commissioner on the part of South Carolina to arrange some system with foreign Governments respecting their varied interests, and more particularly in regard to opening commercial facilities and direct trade. On the secession of Florida, four thousand stand of arms were sent to the authorities of that State from the arsenal at Charleston. The Governor was also authorized to send volunteers to that State if they should be needed.

The forts in Charleston harbor, occupied by a small garrison of regular troops of the United States, afforded a standing denial of the sovereignty and independence of South Carolina. The first object to be accomplished by the State authorities to secure that respect due to an independent nation, was to obtain possession of these forts. For this object the following correspondence took place:

STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.
EXECUTIVE OFFICE, CHARLESTON, *Jan.* 11, 1861.

To Major Robert Anderson, commanding Fort Sumter.

SIR: I have thought proper, under all the circumstances of the peculiar state of public affairs in the country at present, to appoint the Hon. A. G. Magrath and Gen. D. F. Jamison, both members of the Executive Council, and of the highest position in the State, to present to you considerations of the gravest public character, and of the deepest interest to all who deprecate the improper waste of life, to induce the delivery of Fort Sumter to the constituted authorities of the State of South Carolina, with a pledge, on its part, to account for such public property as is under your charge. Your obedient servant,

F. W. PICKENS.

MAJOR ANDERSON TO GOV. PICKENS.

HEAD-QUARTERS FORT SUMTER, S. C.
January 11, 1861.

His Exc'y F. W. Pickens, Governor of S. Carolina.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your demand for the surrender of this fort to the authorities of South Carolina, and to say, in reply that the demand is one with which I cannot comply.

Your Excellency knows that I have recently sent a messenger to Washington, and that it will be impossible for me to receive an answer to my despatches, forwarded by him, at an earlier date than next Monday. What the character of my instructions may be I cannot foresee. Should your Excellency deem fit, prior to a resort to arms, to refer this matter to Washington, it would afford me the sincerest pleasure to depute one of my officers to accompany any messenger you may deem proper to be the bearer of your demand.

Hoping to God that in this, and all other matters, in which the honor, welfare, and lives of our fellow-countrymen are concerned, we shall so act as to meet His approval, and deeply regretting that you have made a demand of me with which I cannot comply, I have the honor to be, with the highest regard, your obedient servant, ROBERT ANDERSON,

Major U. S. Army, commanding.

This reply of Major Anderson referred the question to the President of the United States, to whom, therefore, Governor Pickens then addressed the following letter:

STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.
EXECUTIVE OFFICE, HEAD-QUARTERS.
CHARLESTON, *Jan'y* 11, 1861.

SIR: At the time of the separation of the State of South Carolina from the United States, Fort Sumter was, and still is, in the possession of the troops of the United States, under command of Major Anderson. I regard that possession as not consistent with the dignity or safety of the State of South Carolina; and I have this day addressed to Major Anderson a communication to obtain from him the possession of that fort by the authorities of this State. The reply of Major Anderson informs me that he has no authority to do what I required; but he desires a reference of the demand to the President of the United States.

Under the circumstances now existing, and which need no comment by me, I have determined to send to you the Hon. I. W. Hayne, the Attorney-General of the State of South Carolina, and have instructed him to demand the delivery of Fort Sumter, in the harbor of Charleston, to the constituted authorities of the State of South Carolina.

The demand I have made of Major Anderson, and which I now make of you, is suggested because of my earnest desire to avoid the bloodshed which a persistence in your attempt to retain possession of that fort will cause, and which will be unavailing to secure you that possession, but induce a calamity most deeply to be deplored. If consequences so unhappy shall ensue, I will secure for this State, in the demand which I now make, the satisfaction of having exhausted every attempt to avoid it.

In relation to the public property of the United States within Fort Sumter the Hon. I. W. Hayne, who will hand you this communication, is authorized to give you the pledge of the State that the valuation of such property will be accounted for by this State, upon the adjustment of its relations with the United States, of which it was a part.

F. W. PICKENS.

To the President of the United States.

For the result of this attempt to obtain possession of the fort, *see* SUMTER; for the reply of the President, and his views upon the questions incidentally raised, *see* UNITED STATES.

To furnish resources for the State, an act was passed by the Legislature appropriating $850,000 to meet demands upon the State; also $980,000 for military and other exigencies, and $50,000 for postal service. The amount not provided for by direct taxation was to be supplied by Treasury notes and bills receivable, in sums of $50, $100, and $500.

Preparations were now made to organize a volunteer force of 10,000 men, and the Governor appointed Milledge L. Bonham, of Edgefield, major-general; P. H. Nelson, of Sumter, brigadier-general; Major T. G. Rhett, late of the United States army, Samuel McGowan, of Abbeville, and A. G. Garlington, of Newbery, brigadier-generals.

All commerce had now ceased, and a general stagnation of commercial affairs ensued. A degree of popular excitement was maintained by the condition in which Fort Sumter was held, and by the preparations on foot for its ultimate capture. The Provisional Constitution of the Confederate States was adopted by the State Convention, which reassembled on the 26th of March. The vote on its adoption was 140 ayes and 29 noes. Thus South Carolina

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relinquished her boasted sovereignty after a duration of little more than three months, and relapsed into the condition of a submissive member of an anti-free-trade and anti-slave-trade Confederacy. Fort Sumter was captured by orders from the Confederate Government, on which occasion the Governor addressed the people and thus reviewed the events that had taken place: "We have had a great many delicate and peculiar relations since the 20th of December last. We took the lead in coming out of this old Union, and in forming this new Confederacy. We, therefore, had certain relations to those who were to come out and stand by our side. We owed a great deal to those who were expected to come with us. We were bound to consult their feelings and their interests, and it was due that we should be forbearing as well as free. We are now one of the Confederate States, and they have sent us a brave and scientific officer, to whom the credit of this day's triumph is due. We have humbled the flag of the United States, and as long as I have the honor to preside as your chief magistrate, so help me God, there is no power on this earth shall ever lower from that fortress those flags, unless they be lowered and trailed in a sea of blood. I can here say to you it is the first time in the history of this country that the Stars and Stripes have been humbled. It has triumphed for seventy years, but to-day, on the 13th day of April, it has been humbled, and humbled before the glorious little State of South Carolina. The Stars and Stripes have been lowered before your eyes this day, but there are no flames that shall ever lower the flag of South Carolina while I have the honor to preside as your chief magistrate."

This closed military operations in the State until near the end of the year, when the military and naval expedition under Gen. Sherman and Com. Dupont arrived at Port Royal. (*See* EXPEDITION.)

The volunteers of the State were sent away under the orders of the Confederate Government to defend the soil of Virginia from invasion by Northern troops. The number of these volunteers was about 19,000. The Representatives of the State in the Confederate Congress were R. Barnwell Rhett, and J. L. Orr, Senators; and W. W. Boyce, W. P. Miles, M. L. Bonham, John McQueen, L. M. Ager, and James Farran, Representatives. (*See* CHARLESTON, also SUMTER.)

SPECTROGRAPHY; *Analysis by means of the prismatic spectrum.*—Some remarkable experiments have been performed in 1861 in Germany by MM. Bunsen and Kirchhoff, in detecting the presence of elementary bodies, by means of the effect they produce upon the prismatic spectrum, when present in inconceivably small quantities, and in whatever combination, in the illuminated atmosphere. When a ray of light is decomposed by being passed through a prism, the different rays thrown upon a white screen succeed each other in the following order: violet, green, indigo, blue, green, yellow, orange, red. Under certain circumstances numerous dark parallel lines of variable width and distinctness may be produced, which traverse the spectrum or assemblage of colored rays thus obtained, each line extending through the ray to which it belongs, and retaining the same position as respects its distance from the adjoining rays. Solar light, it has been observed, produced a spectrum marked by lines differing in position from those produced by gas light, and spectra from other artificial lights also had their respective peculiarities.

The German optician Fraünhofer, who had closely studied the lines or bands upon the solar spectrum, selected from the several hundred of them which he observed, seven as particularly conspicuous and easily recognized, which he named from the letters of the alphabet, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, and which are still referred to as standard points of reference in the spectrum for defining special rays of light which cannot be exactly indicated by any descriptive names. B and C extend through the red color in that half of it nearest the orange, D is in the centre of the orange, E at the junction of the yellow and green, F at the junction of the green and blue, G in the middle of the indigo, and H in that of the violent.

Bunsen and Kirchhoff found that the presence of metallic or other elementary substances in the flame producing the artificial light, caused in the spectrum the appearance of characteristic lines; and these being determined for each substance, might be taken as conclusive tests of the presence of these substances; and what is remarkable, the presence of the element can be determined when it is in infinitely smaller quantity than is required for its detection by ordinary modes of qualitative analysis. The apparatus employed, of which a simple form, described by M. Mousson in "Poggendorff's Annalen" under the name of the spectroscope, and which may be obtained in New York City,* consists essentially of a tube blackened within, having at one extremity a metal plate with an adjustable slit for the admission of light, and a prism at the other extremity. It is placed upon a stand and has a small metallic screen for excluding extraneous light from the eye of the observer, which is applied to the second refracting surface of the prism. Various methods were introduced by Bunsen and Kirchhoff of submitting substances to this new test. A light giving great heat, and of little illuminating power, is found to present the lines most distinctly upon the spectrum, and that from hydrogen gas is used in preference to others. The burner is placed directly opposite the slit in the metallic plate at the end of the tube, and the substance to be examined may be introduced into the flame attached to a hook of platinum wire, as in blow-pipe experiments. When in the form of chlorides, the metals being more

* See American "Journal of Science," vol. XXXII., p. 105, (July, 1861.)

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or less volatile, produce the most marked effect; but for the easily vaporized salts of the metals, such, for example, as the chloride of sodium, it was found sufficient to burn an extremely small quantity of it in any part of a room of ordinary size, for the reaction to appear upon the spectrum as soon as any portion of the vapor could reach the flame. From the quantity diffused throughout the atmosphere of a room of known capacity, it was calculated that the quantity of vapor of chloride of sodium brought into the flame in one second of time, in which the reaction became apparent, could not have exceeded the three-millionth part of a milligramme in weight. The effect of the sodium is to produce a bright and distinct yellow line across the spectrum. Lithium is little less sensitive in its reaction than sodium, and, what is remarkable, it was found in a great variety of substances examined, as in the water of springs and of the sea, in the ashes of marine plants, of tobacco, of the vine, &c., and even in milk, and in human blood. In the mother liquors of certain saline springs and of the tartaric acid manufactories, lithia was found so concentrated as to be profitably extracted. The distinctive mark of lithium consists of a sharply defined, but faint yellow line, and also a bright red line, both near the extremity of the spectrum. Many of the elements present two or more lines. Potassium gives two, one in the extreme red, and the other in the violet ray. Barium is distinguished by two very distinct green lines; calcium by a very broad green line, and a bright orange near the red end of the spectrum; strontium by eight lines, six red, one orange, and one blue. Even when the salts of these metals are mixed together, the lines characteristic of each are quite distinct, appearing in succession one after another.

Discovery of new elements by the photo-chemical process.—Not only have these known elements been detected in substances in which they were never before recognized, but some new elements have, by means of this process, been brought to light. Finding in a mineral water blue lines different from those produced by any known element, Bunsen and Kirchhoff were at the trouble of concentrating by evaporation full 20 tons of this water, and on analyzing the residue obtained 240 grains of the platinum salt of a new metal, which they named *cæsium* from the Latin *cæsius*, signifying grayish blue, from the color of the lines. They detected it in other mineral waters, and also another element, which they termed *rubidium*, from the Latin *rubidus*, dark red. The chemical reactions of these metals so closely resemble those of potassium that they are not distinguished from this by the ordinary methods of analysis. The two new metals accompany each other in the saline waters of Dürkheimer in Germany. Rubidium is most abundant in the mineral known as lepidolite. Its atomic weight by the hydrogen scale is 85·36; that of cæsium is 123·4. The latter is the most electro-positive element known. In subjecting native sulphur to this test, Mr. William Crooks, an English chemist, discovered in it the new element he called *thalium*—Gr. θαλλος, green, from the intense green line that it produces in the spectrum.

Application of photo-chemical analysis to the determination of the elements existing in the solar atmosphere.—In subjecting the light of the sun to this method of examination, M. Kirchhoff was led to the conclusion that beneath the ignited gaseous atmosphere of the sun the central mass, more intensely luminous, interferes with the representation of the spectrum of the enveloping atmosphere, and causes the lines to appear as dark which such an atmosphere would otherwise present as bright. With an apparatus, however, of superior construction, Kirchhoff became satisfied that the dark lines in the solar spectrum contained between the orange and blue, and amounting to about 70 particularly well-marked lines, correspond to the light lines peculiar to iron, which are always numerous and distinct. He also recognized the lines indicative of magnesium, chromium, and nickel, but no distinct dark lines corresponding to the very brilliant ones produced by cobalt, silver, lead, copper, zinc, antimony, and aluminium. He applied the same apparatus to experiments upon light produced by the sparks from a large Ruhmkorff's induction coil, and found that the spectrum thus produced exhibited with the greatest distinctness the lines peculiar to the metals of which the electrodes consisted. This method proved to be especially adapted for the determination of such elements as are not readily volatilized in an ordinary flame. It was, however, liable to a confusion from the exhibition, also, of lines due to any metallic substances happening to be in the air through which the spark passes. Another difficulty was also experienced in a very great number of bright lines produced by every electric spark, and to avoid the confusion thus caused, the expedient was adopted of producing two spectra from two similar pairs of electrodes, the light of one spark being made to pass through the upper, and that of the other through the lower half of the slit. The effect of any change introduced in one of the pairs of electrodes is then immediately perceived by the difference in the lines upon the two spectra. Thus it became possible to detect the presence of the rare metals, yttrium, erbium, terbium, &c.; and there is little reason to doubt but the principle may be extended to the detection of most of the other elements.

SPRINGFIELD, a city and capital of Green Co., Missouri, situated on the line of the S. W. branch of the Pacific Railroad, 250 miles southwest of St. Louis, and 130 south-southwest from Jefferson City. Population about 1,500. Before the commencement of the war it was one of the finest towns in southwestern Missouri. Its situation was high and healthy, and its trade flourishing and rapidly increasing. It

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had a court house, a United States land office, two newspaper offices, several churches, and a bank, and had a city charter. On the 5th August, 1861, Gen. Lyon, commanding a body of about 4,000 troops of the Federal forces, arrived at Springfield, and on the 8th a skirmish occurred between a part of his force and the Confederates at Dug Spring, a short distance from the city. On the 10th a battle was fought at David's and Wilson's creeks, the first nine, the second fifteen miles from the city, in which Gen. Lyon's force, in three columns, commanded by General Siegel, Major (since General) Sturgis, and himself, attacked a Confederate force of nearly five times its own numbers, and after a desperate battle of six hours remained in possession of the Confederate camp, but with the loss of Gen. Lyon and 223 others killed, 721 wounded, and 291 taken prisoners. The Confederate loss was never published in detail, but was known to be considerably greater than this. After the battle, General Siegel, taking the chief command, fell back to Springfield, and the next day made a masterly retreat to Rolla, where he received reënforcements. On the 11th the Confederate general Rains entered and occupied the city with four regiments of cavalry. On the 25th October Major Charles Zagonyi, commander of Gen. Fremont's body guard, with 160 mounted troops of that guard, made a most brilliant attack upon the Confederate forces stationed near the city, over two thousand in number, and who, having been informed of his coming, were drawn up in order of battle to receive him. He charged with his little band up a steep hill in the face of a most murderous fire, and after a short action, drove them into, through, and out of the town, with a loss of fifty killed, wounded, and missing. The Confederate loss was 60 killed and a large number wounded. On the 28th October a skirmish occurred in the town, in which several Confederates were taken prisoners. On November 3 Major-General David Hunter, who had been appointed to supersede Gen. Fremont in the command of the Federal army in the Department of the West, arrived with his staff at Springfield, and on the 9th abandoned it and moved towards Rolla with his army. On the 27th Gen. Price, of the Confederate army, reoccupied it, and it was held by the Confederates till February, 1862.

ST. HELENA PARISH, S. C. This district, which has been the field of such important movements during the war, is situated on the coast of South Carolina, between 32° 05′ and 32° 20′ N. latitude. St. Helena Parish proper lies between the Combahee and Savannah rivers, and extends on the latter to the line of 32° 55′, about 80 miles by the course of the river from its mouth; but the tract now included, under the name of Port Royal district, extends on the coast from a point above the Edisto River, and about 20 miles below Charleston, to St. Augustine, Florida, with a varying breadth of from five to twenty miles inland. This is the region in which the great bulk of the Sea Island cotton is produced. Along the whole distance the coast is lined with a series of islands forming the deltas of the Edisto, Ashepo, Combahee, Broad, Coosawhatchie, Savannah, Ogeechee, Camanchee, Altamaha, and Santilla rivers, and their interlocking branches. In most instances these rivers, at their several points of debouchure, have sand bars partially closing the entrance, and admitting only vessels of light draft, and these by tortuous channels, to the deeper waters inside. Only two entrances of considerable depth occur on this part of the South Carolina coast, viz.: St. Helena and Port Royal sounds, or entrances. Of these the latter is by far the best, and is, indeed, one of the finest harbors on the Atlantic coast of the Southern States. The Broad River here forms an estuary varying in width from 2½ to 5 miles, and, interlacing with the Combahee and Port Royal rivers, encloses within navigable channels more than twenty islands of considerable size, of which the principal are Hilton's Head, St. Helena, Phillips, Hunting, Port Royal, Pinckney, and Parry islands.

At the entrance of Port Royal harbor there is, at flood tide, sufficient depth of water for vessels drawing 23 feet to pass, and, once inside, the sheltered bay is sufficiently capacious for a navy to ride in safety. The larger of the forts captured by Com. Dupont on the 7th of November, was called Fort Walker, and was situated on Hilton Head Island, on the south side of the entrance, while the other, Fort Beauregard, was on Phillips Island, on the north side of the entrance, 2½ miles distant, and a small earthwork was about a half mile distant on the same island, commanding the approach from the northeast. (*See* EXPEDITIONS.)

The importance of Port Royal entrance as a harbor has long been known. In 1562 a body of French Protestants, under the direction of Admiral Coligni, and commanded by John Rebault, of Dieppe, explored the harbor, erected a fort on the site of Beaufort, and commenced a settlement. It did not prosper, however, and after two or three years was entirely abandoned. Nearly a century later the first British settlement was made here by Lord Cardross, a Scotch nobleman. They settled on Port Royal Island, but their numbers did not rapidly increase. In 1670 William Sayle was sent out as governor of this settlement. In 1700 the present town of Beaufort was founded. Notwithstanding the excellence of its harbor, the fertility of its soil, and the comparative salubrity of the climate, great efforts had been made to turn commerce aside from Port Royal and to concentrate it at the much poorer harbor of Charleston. Port Royal and St. Helena islands became the favorite summer residences of wealthy merchants and planters, whose winters were spent in Charleston, and the luxurious dwellings of Beaufort and its vicinity were abundantly supplied with all the appliances of

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art and taste. Beaufort, or St. Helena district or parish, for it is called by each of these names, contained, in 1860, a population of 40,052 inhabitants, of whom 32,531 were slaves.

By way of Scull Creek, which divides Pinckney Island from Hilton Head, Savannah is only 22 miles distant; while, by way of Beaufort River, which separates Parry Island from St. Helena, there is an interior route of 49 miles to Charleston; while, at a distance of about 20 miles inland, lies the Charleston and Savannah Railroad. On the capture of the islands the white population, being mostly sympathizers with secession, retreated inland, and have not since returned in any considerable numbers. About 10,000, or nearly one-third of the slaves, have come into the Federal lines, and are now mostly employed either in the cultivation of the soil or in the labor requisite about the ships and forts.

ST. LOUIS is the chief city west of the Mississippi River, on the right bank of which it is located, at a distance of twenty miles below the mouth of the Missouri River, one hundred and seventy-four miles above the mouth of the Ohio, and eleven hundred and ninety-four miles above New Orleans. It is a most important commercial point. The first incident arising out of the irritating state of affairs in the country, to occasion any special excitement in this great and populous city, occurred on the 11th of January. The United States sub-treasurer, then having in his custody all the public money in the city, and naturally anxious for the safety of his important trust, from abundant, or perhaps superabundant caution, conceived that his duty required of him some security for his treasure beyond the ordinary one of locks and bolts. He therefore requested of the Government the presence of a small guard of soldiers from the neighboring barracks, where they were unemployed; and in compliance with this application the Secretary of War directed that such a guard should be furnished. This led to a telegraphic despatch, through the country, that troops had taken possession of the sub-treasury, post-office, and custom-house, by order of the Government, and occasioned an unusual excitement, as indicating a purpose on the part of the Government to use its military power.

On the 26th of April, twenty-one thousand stand of arms were removed from the arsenal and taken to Springfield in Illinois. Subsequently troops were enlisted to the number of fifteen hundred to protect the property.

On the 16th of May, the brigade of State militia under Gen. Frost surrendered to Gen. Lyon, an officer in the United States service. A camp of instruction had been formed under Gen. Frost in the western suburbs of the city, in pursuance of orders from the Governor of the State. He had directed the other militia districts also to go into encampments with a view of acquiring a greater proficiency in military drill. It had been reported to Gen. Frost, that Gen. Lyon intended to attack him, and on the other hand, it had been reported to Gen. Lyon that it was the intention of Gen. Frost to attack the arsenal and United States troops. On the 16th, Gen. Frost addressed a note to Gen. Lyon alluding to these reports, and saying:

I would be glad to know from you personally whether there is any truth in the statements that are constantly poured into my ears. So far as regards any hostility being intended towards the United States, or its property or representatives, by any portion of my command, or, as far as I can learn, (and I think I am fully informed,) of any other part of the State forces, I can say positively that the idea has never been entertained. On the contrary, prior to your taking command of the arsenal, I proffered to Major Bell, then in command of the very few troops constituting its guard, the service of myself and all my command, and, if necessary, the whole power of the State to protect the United States in the full possession of all her property. Upon Gen. Harney's taking command of this department, I made the same proffer of services to him, and authorized his adjutant-general, Capt. Williams, to communicate the fact that such had been done to the War Department. I have had no occasion since to change any of the views I entertained at that time, neither of my own volition nor through the orders of my constitutional commander.

About the same time, Gen. Lyon's troops were put in motion, to the number, as was represented, of four or five thousand, and proceeded through the city, to the camp of Gen. Frost, and surrounded it, planting batteries on all the heights overlooking the camp. Long files of men were stationed in platoons at various points on every side, and a picket guard established, covering an area of two hundred yards. The guards, with fixed bayonets and muskets at half cock, were instructed to allow none to pass or repass within the limits thus taken up.

By this time an immense crowd of people had assembled in the vicinity, having gone thither in carriages, buggies, rail cars, baggage wagons, on horseback, and on foot. Numbers of men seized rifles, shot-guns, or whatever other weapons they could lay hands on, and rushed to the assistance of the State troops, but were, of course, obstructed in their design. The hills, of which there are a number in the neighborhood, were literally black with people—hundreds of ladies and children stationing themselves with the throng, but as they thought out of harm's way.

Having arrived in this position, Gen. Lyon addressed a letter to Gen. Frost saying:

To General D. M. Frost:

SIR: Your command is regarded as evidently hostile towards the Government of the United States. It is, for the most part, made up of those secessionists who have openly avowed their hostility to the General Government, and have been plotting the seizure of its property and the overthrow of its authority. You are openly in communication with the so-called Southern Confederacy, which is now at war with the United States; and you are receiving, at your camp, from the said Confederacy, under its flag, large supplies of material of war, most of which is known to be the property of the United States.

These extraordinary preparations plainly indicate none other than the well-known purpose of the Gov-

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ernor of this State, under whose orders you are acting, and whose purpose, recently communicated to the Legislature, has just been responded to by that body in the most unparalleled legislation, having in direct view hostilities against the General Government, and coöperating with its enemies.

In view of these considerations, and your failure to disperse in obedience to the proclamation of the President, and of the eminent necessity of State policy and welfare, and obligations imposed upon me by instructions from Washington, it is my duty to demand, and I do hereby demand of you, an immediate surrender of your command, with no other conditions than that all persons surrendering under this demand shall be humanely and kindly treated.

Believing myself prepared to enforce this demand, one half hour's time before doing so will be allowed for your compliance therewith. N. LYON,
Captain Second Infantry, Commanding Troops.

Immediately on the receipt of the foregoing, Gen. Frost called a hasty consultation of the officers of his staff. The conclusion arrived at was that the brigade was in no condition to make resistance to a force so numerically superior, and that only one course could be pursued —a surrender.

The State troops were therefore made prisoners, but an offer was made to release them on condition they would take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and not to take up arms against the Government. These terms they declined on the ground that they had already taken the oath of allegiance, and to repeat it would be to admit that they had been in rebellion.

About half-past five, the prisoners left the grove and entered the road, the United States soldiers enclosing them by a single file stretched along each side of the line. A halt was ordered, and the troops remained standing in the position they had deployed into the road. The head of the column at the time rested opposite a small hill on the left as one approaches the city, and the rear was on a line with the entrance to the grove. Vast crowds of people covered the surrounding grounds and every fence and house top in the vicinity. Suddenly the sharp reports of several fire-arms were heard from the front of the column, and the spectators that lined the adjacent hill were seen fleeing in the greatest dismay and terror. It appeared that several members of one of the German companies, on being pressed by the crowd and receiving some blows from them, turned and discharged their pieces. Fortunately no one was injured, and the soldiers who had done the act were at once placed under arrest. Hardly, however, had tranquillity been restored when volley after volley of rifle reports was suddenly heard from the extreme rear ranks, and men, women, and children were beheld running wildly and frantically away from the scene. Many, while running, were suddenly struck to the sod, and the wounded and dying made the late beautiful field look like a battle-ground. The total number killed and wounded was twenty-five. It was said that the arsenal troops were attacked with stones, and two shots discharged at them by the crowd before they fired. Most of the people exposed to the fire were citizens with their wives and children, who were merely spectators. It was now night, and the excitement in the city was indescribable. On the next afternoon a large body of the German Home Guard entered the city from the arsenal, where they had been enlisted during the day, and furnished with arms. They passed unmolested until they turned up Walnut street, and proceeded westward. Large crowds were collected on the corners, who hooted and hissed as the companies passed, and one man standing on the steps of a church fired a revolver into the ranks. A soldier fell dead, when two more shots were fired from the windows of a house near by. This time the head of the column, which had reached as far as Seventh street, suddenly turned, and levelling their rifles, fired down the street, and promiscuously among the spectators, who lined the pavements. Shooting, as they did, directly towards their rear ranks, they killed some of their men as well as those composing the crowd. The shower of bullets was for a moment terrible, and the only wonder was that more lives were not lost. The missiles of lead entered the windows and perforated the doors of private residences, tearing the ceilings, and throwing splinters in every direction. On the street the scene presented, as the soldiers moved off, was sad indeed. Six men lay dead at different points, and several were wounded and shrieking with pain upon the pavements. Four of the men killed were members of the regiment, and two were citizens. Immense crowds of people filled the streets after the occurrence, and the whole city presented a scene of excitement seldom witnessed. Among the arms taken at Camp Jackson were three thirty-two pounders, a large quantity of balls and bombs, several pieces of artillery, twelve hundred rifles, of the late model, six brass field-pieces, six brass six-inch mortars, one ten-inch iron mortar, three six-inch iron cannon, several chests of new muskets, five boxes canister shot, ninety-six ten-inch and three hundred six-inch shells, twenty-five kegs of powder, and a large number of musket stocks and barrels, between thirty and forty horses, and a considerable quantity of camp tools.

The number of prisoners taken to the arsenal, was six hundred and thirty-nine privates and fifty officers.

The character of Camp Jackson is described by Gen. Harney in his proclamation to the people of Missouri, in these words:

"It is not proper for me to comment upon the official conduct of my predecessor in command of this department, but it is right and proper for the people of Missouri to know that the main avenue of Camp Jackson, recently under command of Gen. Frost, had the name of Davis, and the principal street of the same camp that of Beauregard; and that a body of men had been received into that camp by its commander, which had been notoriously organ-

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ized in the interests of the secessionists—the men openly wearing the dress and badge distinguishing the army of the so-called Southern Confederacy. It is also a notorious fact that a quantity of arms had been received into the camp, which were unlawfully taken from the United States arsenal at Baton Rouge, and surreptitiously passed up the river in boxes marked marble."

The city was in a short time surrounded by a line of military posts, extending from the river below the arsenal round the western outskirts to the river again on the north. The object of these posts was to prevent hostile troops and munitions of war from entering the city, and to protect the public peace and give security to the citizens.

On the 17th of June, another street affair occurred, by which four citizens lost their lives, and three or four soldiers were wounded. The selection of St. Louis as the head-quarters of the Western Department gave it a military position, from whence the troops were fitted out, who were destined either for Missouri or Kentucky. Gen. Harney was succeeded here by Gen. Fremont, and he again by Gen. Halleck, and under their management St. Louis was identified with all the movements of the great Western army. No event apart from such as naturally arise out of this combination of circumstances, therefore, occurred during the year. When martial law was declared by Gen. Fremont, it was enforced throughout the city, and when the Union people were forced to flee from the Western villages on the approach of the Confederate forces, and resorted to St. Louis, Gen. Halleck came to their relief, by imposing fines upon such citizens of St. Louis, as were known to sympathize with secessionists.

His order, directing a levy upon the friends of the enemy for charitable purposes, caused a number of the citizens of St. Louis to prepare and lay before him a protest, in which they thus speak of the order and the proceedings under it:

They violate the provisions of a fundamental law of the land—a law to you as well as to us—prescribing the duties of the citizen, and clearly defining and limiting the powers of the Government. That law provides that no person shall "be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law;" that the "accused shall enjoy a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witness against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence."

And yet, in disregard of all these great and dearly cherished principles of constitutional freedom, at a time when the Federal Congress is in session to enact laws, if new ones be deemed necessary; the courts in full operation to enforce them; civil officers with all the power of the army and navy at hand to aid them in the execution of process, and all branches of the Government in full and harmonious operation, we have been tried before a secret inquisitorial tribunal, on what charge we know not, and condemned to pay a forced contribution, arbitrarily levied upon us for alleged charitable purposes. In case of failure to liquidate the amount adjudged against us within the number of days allowed for that purpose, our property is threatened to be seized and sacrificed by sale at auction, to satisfy such demand, and twenty-five per cent. additional. And what is the remedy prescribed for those considering themselves aggrieved by the secret edicts and decrees of this tribunal? They are allowed one week within which "to furnish evidence to the Board to vindicate their character," and if at the end of that time they fail to satisfy those judges, who have already prejudged their cases, of their loyalty, they shall be adjudged to pay the further sum of ten per cent. on the sum assessed.

If we have in any manner transgressed the law, we are ready to make all the atonement which the violated law demands. Its avenging ministers are near to try, condemn, and punish us conformably to the established forms and usages of law. There exists no necessity in our opinion for overriding, in the way proposed, the great principles of the fundamental law, setting aside all the restraints and limitations it so guardedly places upon power, and thus inaugurating new tests and arbitrary modes for ascertaining guilt. There exists no necessity for such summary proceedings. Within this jurisdiction the ordinary course of justice, except so far as it has been interfered with by the military authority, has been, and is now, entirely free and unobstructed.

Vouchsafe us a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury; make known to us the nature and cause of the accusations against us; let us be confronted with our accusers, that we may see the hand that would smite us, and do not leave us and all we own to the mercy of a Star Chamber Court of Inquiry, where malice may be the lurking motive that determines the question of guilt, and pronounces the judgment that may doom us and ours to want and beggary. If two or three military officers of the United States, or other persons designated for such purpose, may meet in secret, and, without notice, single out such citizens as they may choose, upon whom to levy forced contributions, and arbitrarily fix the amount of the same, what man, who may perchance hold political opinions not altogether acceptable to the tribunal thus constituted, can consider himself secure in his right of liberty or property?

The fines, however, were enforced much to the chagrin of those compelled to pay them. (*See* Martial Law.)

STAR OF THE WEST. The merchant steamer Star of the West, of 1,172 tons burthen, was built to run to Aspinwall, on the route to California. She was chartered by the United States Government to take a small force and supplies for Major Anderson at Fort Sumter. She left New York at five o'clock in the afternoon of the 5th of January, 1861, and proceeded down the bay, hove to and received on board four officers and two hundred and fifty soldiers, with their arms and ammunition, and proceeded to sea, crossing the bar at Sandy Hook at nine o'clock the same night. She arrived off Charleston bar at half-past one in the morning of the 9th, and as the lights were all out and no guiding marks to be found, she proceeded slowly until 4 A. M., and then, being in four and a half fathoms of water, lay to until daylight. As the day began to break a small steamer was discovered in-shore, which, as soon as she discovered the Star of the West, burned a blue light and two red lights as signals, and shortly after steamed over the bar into the ship channel. The soldiers were now all put below, and no one allowed on deck except those belonging to the vessel. As soon as there was light

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enough to see, the Star of the West crossed the bar and proceeded up the channel. Meanwhile the little steamer ahead continued on her course, sending off rockets and burning blue lights until after broad daylight. When within about two miles of Fort Moultrie and about the same distance from Fort Sumter, a masked battery on Morris Island, where was a red Palmetto flag flying, opened fire on the Star of the West. The distance appeared about five-eighths of a mile. The American flag was flying at the time from the flagstaff of the Star of the West, and soon after the first shot the American ensign was hoisted at the fore. She continued on under the fire of the battery for over ten minutes, several of the shots going entirely over her; one shot passed just clear of the pilot house, another passed between the smoke stack and walking beams of the engine, another struck the ship just abaft of the fore rigging and stove in the planking, while another came near carrying away the rudder. At the same time there was a movement of two steamers from near Fort Moultrie, one of them towing a schooner, which was thought by the officers of the Star of the West to be an armed schooner intended to cut them off. They regarded the position of the steamer at this time as rather critical, as they must approach Fort Moultrie within three-quarters of a mile before they could keep away for Fort Sumter. The report of Capt. McGowan says: "A steamer approaching us with an armed schooner in tow, and the battery on the island firing at us all the time, and having no cannon to defend ourselves from the attack of the vessels, we concluded that to avoid certain capture or destruction we would endeavor to get to sea." They then wore round and steered down the channel, and the battery continued to fire upon them until the shot fell short. They crossed the bar outward at 8.50 A. M., and returned to New York.

"The steamer," says another account, "which discovered the Star of the West, was the General Clinch, and she signalled the fact to the occupants of the battery at Morris Island. As soon as she had signalled, Morris Island was astir. Men were at their posts before orders were given. They remained in anxious suspense, ready for what they believed was sure to come, namely, a volley from Fort Sumter. The Star of the West rounded the point, took the ship channel inside of the bar, and proceeded straightforward until opposite to Morris Island, three-quarters of a mile from the battery. A ball was fired athwart the bows of the steamer. The Star of the West displayed the Stars and Stripes. As soon as they were unfurled, the fortification fired a succession of heavy shots. The vessel continued with increased speed. But one or two shots took effect; and she concluded to retire. Fort Moultrie fired a few shots, but out of range. The damage done to the steamer was trifling. Only two out of seventeen shots took effect. Fort Sumter made no demonstration, except opening the port-holes and running out the guns which bear on Morris Island and Fort Moultrie."

What instructions were given by the Government to the commander of the Star of the West have not been made known. A correspondence immediately took place between the commander of Fort Sumter and the Governor of South Carolina, in which the former stated that an unarmed vessel of the United States had been fired on, and wished to know if it had been with the sanction of the Governor. The latter replied, that any attempt to send troops into Charleston harbor by the United States, to reënforce the forts, or to retake and resume possession of the forts within the waters of South Carolina, would be regarded as an act of hostility.

This steamer was subsequently chartered again by the Federal Government, and sent to Texas to receive and convey to New York a part of the regular force withdrawn from that State; but on the 17th of April she was boarded off Indianola by a party of volunteers from Galveston, and captured without resistance. Between eight and nine hundred barrels of provisions were on board at the time.

STORRS, WILLIAM LUCIUS, LL. D., late chief-justice of Connecticut, was born at Middletown, Connecticut, March 25, 1795, died at Hartford, June 25, 1861. He graduated at Yale College in 1814, studied law at Whitestown, New York, and was admitted to the bar in that State in 1817. Soon after he returned to his native city, where he practised his profession till 1840. He repeatedly represented Middletown in the State Legislature, and in 1834 was Speaker of the House of Representatives of the State. He was elected to Congress in 1829, and served as representative of that district in the 21st, 22d, and 26th Congresses. In 1840 he was elected an associate judge of the Supreme Court of the State, and in 1857, on the resignation of Chief-Justice Waite, chief-justice. He was a man of profound legal attainments, and his decisions were regarded with the highest respect by the able jurists of the State.

SUMMERSVILLE is the county seat of Nicholas County, the next east of Kanawha County, in Virginia. It is about fifty miles from Charleston, the central position of the Kanawha Valley, and 25 miles from Gauley Bridge, up the Gauley River. On the 26th of August the Seventh Ohio Regiment, under Col. Tyler, was surrounded at Summersville while at breakfast, and attacked on both flanks and in the front simultaneously. The troops, although surprised, forced their way through the enemy with considerable loss. About nine hundred were engaged on the Federal side, and double that number on the Confederate side. No permanent advantage was gained by the Confederate force, as a larger Federal force, under General Cox, was stationed at Gauley Bridge.

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SUMTER, (FORT.) Vigorous operations were commenced on this fort, which is one of the defences of Charleston, in the month of August, 1860, with a view of placing it in a good defensive position as soon as possible. The casemate arches supporting the second tier of guns were all turned; the granite flagging for the second tier was laid, on the right face of the work; the floors laid, and the iron stairways put up in the east barrack; the traverse circle of the first tier of guns reset; the blue-stone flagging laid in all the gun-rooms of the right and left faces of the first tier; and the construction of the embrasure of the second tier commenced, at the time that the fort was occupied by Major Anderson. Then the fears of an immediate attack and disloyal feelings induced the greater portion of the engineer corps to leave. But those that remained of this corps, fifty-five in number, reduced towards the end of the investment to thirty-five, were made very effective in preparing for a vigorous defence. The armament of the fort was mounted and supplied with manœuvering implements; machicoulis galleries, splinter-proof shutters, and traverses, were constructed; the openings left for the embrazures of the second tier were filled with brick and stone and earth, and those in the gorge with stone and iron and lead concrete; mines were established in the wharf and along the gorge; the parade was cleared, and communications opened to all parts of the fort, and through the quarters.

This fort was occupied by Major Anderson on the night of the 26th of December. It is the largest of the forts in Charleston harbor. It is a work of solid masonry, octagonal in form, and pierced on the north, east, and west sides with a double row of port-holes for the heaviest guns, and on the south, or land side, in addition to openings for guns, loop-holes for musketry. It stands in the middle of the harbor, like a monster on the bosom of the waters, and near the edge of the ship channel. The armament consists of one hundred and forty guns, many of them being the formidable ten-inch columbiads. The wharf, or landing, is on the south side, and exposed to a cross fire from all the openings on that side. At twelve o'clock on the 27th, the stars and stripes were hoisted over the fort, and Charleston knew for the first time that Major Anderson was in full possession. The garrison now consisted of eighty men, as follows:

Names.	Rank.	Regiment or Corps.	Original Entry into Service.	Where born.
R. Anderson....	Major	1st Artil'y	July 1, '25	Ky.
S. W. Crawford.	As't Surgeon	Med. Staff	M'h 10, '51	Penn.
A. Doubleday...	Captain.....	1st Artil'y	July 1, '42	N. Y.
T. Seymour....	Captain.....	1st Artil'y	July 1, '46	Vt.
Theo. Talbot....	1st Lieut....	1st Artil'y	M'y 22, '47	D. C.
Jeff. C. Davis...	1st Lieut....	1st Artil'y	J'e 17, '48	Ind.
J. N. Hall.....	2d Lieut....	1st Artil'y	July 1, '59	N. Y.
J. G. Foster....	Captain.....	Engineers	July 1, '46	N. H.
G. W. Snyder...	1st Lieut....	Engineers	July 1, '56	N. Y.
R. K. Meade....	2d Lieut....	Engineers	July 1, '57	Va.

Officers, 10; Band, 15; Artillerists, 55. Total, 80.

There were in addition fifty-five of the engineer corps, which was subsequently reduced, as before mentioned, to thirty-five.

This movement on the part of Major Anderson created great excitement in Charleston. The authorities of South Carolina immediately conceived that the honor of their sovereign and independent State was involved, and that it was their duty to obtain possession of the fort, either by negotiation or by force. If the State was independent and sovereign, she could not allow a fort within her territory to be peacefully occupied by a foreign power. So, on the other hand, if the President of the United States conceived that he had no power to enter into negotiations with a State, or to surrender a portion of the common property of the Union, he must refuse all offers for negotiation, and prepare to defend the common property. The State authorities immediately commenced the preparation of batteries to reduce the fort, and also opened negotiations for its surrender.

Governor Pickens first demanded a surrender of the fort from Major Anderson. He replied, on the 11th of January, that he had "no power to comply with such a demand." On the same day, the Governor prepared a demand on the President for the fort, and proposed to account for the property in any future settlement between the United States and the State of South Carolina. This demand was despatched to Washington by J. W. Hayne, envoy of South Carolina to Washington. On his arrival, he was addressed by several Senators from the other seceded States, under date of January 15th. They desired him to postpone for a time the delivery of the letter with which he was charged to the President of the United States, and urged their community of interest, of destiny, and of position, as a reason why he should postpone action, and allow time for consultation. He agreed to do this, upon the condition that, "until he can hear from his Government, no reënforcements shall be sent to Fort Sumter, pledging himself that, in the mean time, no attack shall be made upon that fort."

The Senators, through Messrs. Fitzpatrick, Mallory, and Slidell, transmitted the correspondence between them and Mr. Hayne to the President, asking him to take into consideration the substance of the said correspondence. The reply came through Mr. Holt, who gave no pledge that he would not attempt to reënforce Fort Sumter. The only remark was, that it was not at present deemed necessary to reënforce Fort Sumter, but, if deemed necessary, every effort would be made to reënforce it.

The Senators to whom this was addressed did not regard it as satisfactory, but told Mr. Hayne that they felt certain that at present no attempt would be made to reënforce Sumter, and upon their judgment he postponed the delivery of his letter to the President. On the 24th, he stated to the Senators, that he had,

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the day before, forwarded the correspondence to Charleston. The reply of the State Government was lengthy, and bore down heavily upon the tone of Mr. Holt's answer to the letter of the Senators.

Col. Hayne was instructed to deliver his letter conveying the demand for the surrender of Fort Sumter; also, to ask if the President was to be understood as asserting the right to send reënforcements to Fort Sumter, stating that the assertion of such right, with the attempt to exercise it, would be regarded by South Carolina as an act of war. If the President refused to deliver the fort, then Col. Hayne was to communicate that fact immediately. The President's answer could be transmitted within a reasonable time to the Government at Charleston, and Col. Hayne was not instructed to wait for it.

The final reply of the President, through Mr. Holt, the Secretary of War, was made on the 6th of February. That reply closes with these words: "If, with all the multiplied proofs which exist of the President's anxiety for peace, and of the earnestness with which he has pursued it, the authorities of that State shall assault Fort Sumter, and peril the lives of the handful of brave and loyal men shut up within its walls, and thus plunge our common country into the horrors of civil war, then upon them and those they represent must rest the responsibility." (*See* UNITED STATES.)

The question of attacking the fort was finally referred to the Confederate Congress at Montgomery. By that body all military matters were placed under the charge of the President of the Confederate States.

As it had been resolved to remove the women and children from the fort, they were, by the permission of the South Carolina authorities, taken to Charleston and placed on board the steamer Marion, bound to New York. She left on Sunday, February 3d; and as she proceeded down the harbor, having among the passengers the wives—twenty in number—and the children of the soldiers stationed in the fort, quite an exciting scene occurred, which an eye-witness thus described: "On nearing the fort, the whole garrison was seen mounted on the top of the ramparts, and when the ship was passing, fired a gun and gave three heart-thrilling cheers as a parting farewell to the dear loved ones on board, whom they may possibly never meet again this side the grave. The response was weeping and 'waving adieus' to husbands and fathers—a small band pent up in an isolated fort, and completely surrounded by instruments of death, as five forts could be seen from the steamer's deck with their guns pointing towards Sumter."

Major Anderson, writing to the War Department, about March 1st, expressed his conviction that Fort Sumter would soon be attacked. He could then clearly discern with the naked eye the arrangements for the assault, which he believed would be of the most determined character. The fortification was only then entirely completed. The utmost ingenuity of himself and brother officers had been employed to strengthen every part, and to provide means for resisting the attack, which was certain to come.

Preparations were made under the direction of the Confederate Government to capture the fort, until the 11th of April, when the following correspondence took place between the commander of the Confederate forces, Gen. Beauregard, and the commander of the fort, Major Anderson:

HEAD-QUARTERS PROVISIONAL ARMY C. S. A.,
CHARLESTON, S. C., *April* 11, 1861—2 P. M.

SIR: The Government of the Confederate States has hitherto forborne from any hostile demonstration against Fort Sumter, in the hope that the Government of the United States, with a view to the amicable adjustment of all questions between the two Governments, and to avert the calamities of war, would voluntarily evacuate it. There was reason at one time to believe that such would be the course pursued by the Government of the United States; and under that impression my Government has refrained from making any demand for the surrender of the fort.

But the Confederate States can no longer delay assuming actual possession of a fortification commanding the entrance of one of their harbors, and necessary to its defence and security.

I am ordered by the Government of the Confederate States to demand the evacuation of Fort Sumter. My aides, Colonel Chesnut and Captain Lee, are authorized to make such demand of you. All proper facilities will be afforded for the removal of yourself and command, together with company arms and property, and all private property, to any post in the United States which you may elect. The flag which you have upheld so long and with so much fortitude under the most trying circumstances, may be saluted by you on taking it down.

Colonel Chesnut and Captain Lee will, for a reasonable time, await your answer.

I am, sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
G. T. BEAUREGARD,
Brigadier-General Commanding.

Major ROBERT ANDERSON, Commanding at Fort Sumter, Charleston Harbor, S. C.

HEAD-QUARTERS, FORT SUMTER, S. C.,
April 11th, 1861.

GENERAL: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication demanding the evacuation of this fort, and to say in reply thereto that it is a demand with which I regret that my sense of honor and of my obligations to my Government prevent my compliance.

Thanking you for the fair, manly, and courteous terms proposed, and for the high compliment paid me,

I am, General, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
ROBERT ANDERSON,
Major U. S. Army, Commanding.

To Brig.-Gen. G. T. BEAUREGARD, Commanding Provisional Army C. S. A.

HEAD-QUARTERS PROVISIONAL ARMY C. S. A.,
CHARLESTON, *April* 11, 1861—11 P. M.

MAJOR: In consequence of the verbal observations made by you to my aides, Messrs. Chesnut and Lee, in relation to the condition of your supplies, and that you would in a few days be starved out if our guns did not batter you to pieces—or words to that effect;—and desiring no useless effusion of blood, I communicated both the verbal observation and your written answer to my communication to my Government.

If you will state the time at which you will evacuate Fort Sumter, and agree that in the mean time you will

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not use your guns against us, unless ours shall be employed against Fort Sumter, we will abstain from opening fire upon you. Colonel Chesnut and Captain Lee are authorized by me to enter into such an agreement with you. You are therefore requested to communicate to them an open answer.

I remain, Major, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
G. T. BEAUREGARD,
Brigadier-General Commanding.

Major ROBERT ANDERSON, Commanding at Fort Sumter, Charleston Harbor, S. C.

HEAD-QUARTERS, FORT SUMTER, S. C., 2.30 A. M., *April* 12, 1861.

GENERAL: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your second communication of the 11th inst., by Col. Chesnut, and to state, in reply, that cordially uniting with you in the desire to avoid the useless effusion of blood, I will, if provided with the proper and necessary means of transportation, evacuate Fort Sumter by noon on the 15th instant, should I not receive, prior to that time, controlling instructions from my Government, or additional supplies; and that I will not, in the mean time, open my fire upon your forces, unless compelled to do so by some hostile act against this fort, or the flag of my Government, by the forces under your command, or by some portion of them, or by the perpetration of some act showing a hostile intention on your part against this fort, or the flag it bears.

I have the honor to be, General,
Your obedient servant,
ROBERT ANDERSON,
Major U. S. Army Commanding.

To Brig.-Gen. G. T. BEAUREGARD, Commanding Provisional Army C. S. A.

FORT SUMTER, S. C., *April* 12, 1861—3.20 A. M.

SIR: By authority of Brigadier-General Beauregard, commanding the provisional forces of the Confederate States, we have the honor to notify you that he will open the fire of his batteries on Fort Sumter in one hour from this time.

We have the honor to be, very respectfully,
Your obedient servants,
JAMES CHESNUT, Jr., Aide-de-Camp.
STEPH. D. LEE, Capt. S. C. A., and Aide-de-Camp.

Major ROBERT ANDERSON, U. S. Army, Commanding Fort Sumter.

[*See* PUBLIC DOCUMENTS, Message at First Session Thirty-seventh Congress.]

At thirty minutes past 4 o'clock on the morning of Friday, April 12, the first gun of civil war was fired, discharging a shell from the howitzer battery on James' Island. The sending of this deadly messenger to Major Anderson was followed by a deafening explosion, caused by the blowing up of a building that stood in front of the battery.

While the white smoke was melting away into the air another shell pursued its swift way towards the silent fortification. The missive described its beautiful curve through the balmy air, and falling within the hostile fortress, scattered its deadly contents in all directions.

Fort Moultrie then took up the assault, and in a moment the guns from the Gun Battery on Cummings' Point, from Captain McCready's Battery, from Captain James Hamilton's Floating Battery, the Enfilade Battery, and other fortifications, sent forth their wrath at the grim fortress rising so defiantly out of the sea.

Major Anderson received the shot and shell in silence. But the deepening twilight revealed the stars and stripes floating proudly in the breeze. The batteries continued at regular intervals to belch forth iron shells, and still no answer was returned by the besieged. About an hour after the firing began, two balls rushed hissing through the air and glanced harmless from the stuccoed bricks of Fort Moultrie. The embrasures of the besieged fortress gave forth no sound again till between six and seven o'clock, when, as if wrathful from enforced delay, from casemate and parapet there poured a storm of iron hail upon Fort Moultrie, Stevens' Iron Battery, and the Floating Battery. The broadside was returned with spirit by the gunners at those posts.

The firing now began in good earnest. The curling white smoke hung above the angry pieces of hostile brothers, and the jarring boom rolled at regular intervals on the anxious ear. The atmosphere was charged with the smell of foul saltpetre, and, as if in sympathy with the melancholy scene, the sky was covered with heavy clouds, and every thing wore a sombre aspect.

A brisk fire was kept up by all the batteries until about 7 o'clock in the evening, after which hour the guns fired at regular intervals.

The effect during the night was grand and terrific. The firing reached its climax at about ten o'clock. The heavens were obscured by rain-clouds, and the horizon was as dark as Erebus. The guns were worked with vigor, and their booming was heard with astonishing distinctness, because the wind was blowing in-shore. At each discharge a lurid sheet of flame was belched forth, and then another and another was seen before the report reached the ears. Sometimes a shell would burst in mid-air, directly over the doomed fortress, and at all times the missiles of this character could be distinguished in their course by the trail of fire left momentarily behind them.

The fire from all the forts, Sumter included, and from the batteries of the Confederate States, was kept up with vigor till early dawn. Then the rapidity of the discharges gradually diminished.

Such was the appearance of the contest during the first day and night.

The batteries firing upon Sumter were, as nearly as could be ascertained, armed as follows:

On Morris' Island.—Breaching battery No. 1, 2 42-pounders; 1 12-pounder, Blakely rifled gun.
Mortar battery, (next to No. 1,) 4 10-inch mortars.
Breaching battery No. 2, (iron-clad battery,) 3 8-inch columbiads.
Mortar battery, (next to No. 2,) 3 10-inch mortars.

On James' Island.—Battery at Fort Johnson, 3 24-pounders, (only one of them bearing on Fort Sumter.)
Mortar battery, south of Fort Johnson, 4 10-inch mortars.

Sullivan's Island.—Iron-clad (floating) battery, 4 42-pounders.
Columbiad battery No. 1, 1 9-inch Dahlgren gun.
Columbiad battery No. 2, 4 8-inch columbiads.

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Mortar battery, west of Fort Moultrie, 3 10-inch mortars.
Mortar battery, on parade, in rear of Fort Moultrie, 2 10-inch mortars.
Fort Moultrie.—3 8-inch columbiads; 2 8-inch S. C. howitzers; 5 32-pounders; 4 24-pounders.
At Mount Pleasant.—1 10-inch mortar.
Total, firing on Fort Sumter, 20 guns, 17 mortars.

Of the 43 workmen constituting the engineer force in Fort Sumter, nearly all volunteered to serve as cannoniers, or to carry shot and cartridges to the guns.

The armament of the fort was as follows:

Barbette Tier.—Right flank—1 10-inch columbiad; 4 8-inch columbiads; 4 42-pounders.
Right face.—None.
Left face.—3 8-inch sea-coast howitzers; 1 32-pounder.
Left flank.—1 10-inch columbiad; 2 8-inch columbiads; 2 42-pounders.
Gorge.—1 8-inch sea-coast howitzer; 2 32-pounders; 6 24-pounders.
Total in barbette, 27 guns.
Casemate Tier.—Right flank.—1 42-pounder; 4 32-pounders.
Right face.—3 42-pounders.
Left face.—10 32-pounders.
Left flank.—5 32-pounders.
Gorge.—2 32-pounders.
Total in casemate, 21 guns. Total available in both tiers, 48 guns.

Besides the above, there were arranged on the parade, to serve as mortars, 1 10-inch columbiad to throw shells into Charleston, and 4 8-inch columbiads to throw shells into the batteries on Cummings' Point. The casemate guns were the only ones used. Of these, those that bore on Cummings' Point were the 42-pounder in the pan-coupé of the right gorge angle; the 32-pounder next to it on the gorge, which, by cutting into the brick wall, had been made to traverse sufficiently; and the 32-pounder next the angle on the right flank, which, by cutting away the side of the embrasure, had been made to bear on a portion of the point, although not on the breaching batteries.

The guns of the first tier, that bore on Fort Johnson, were 4 32-pounders, on the left flank; of these one embrasure had been, by order, bricked up.

The guns that bore on the three batteries on the west end of "Sullivan's Island" were 10 32-pounders, situated on the left face, and one at the pan-coupé of the salient angle, (four embrasures being bricked up.)

The guns bearing on Fort Moultrie were 2 42-pounders, situated on the right face, and one at the pan-coupé of the right shoulder angle.

The supply of cartridges, seven hundred in number, with which the engagement commenced, became so much reduced by the middle of the day, although the six needles in the fort were kept steadily employed, that the firing was forced to slacken, and to be confined to six guns, two firing towards Morris' Island, two towards Fort Moultrie, and two towards the batteries on the west end of Sullivan's Island.

At 1 o'clock on the 12th, two United States men-of-war were seen off the bar, and soon after, a third appeared.

The effect of the fire was not very good, owing to the insufficient calibre of the guns for the long range, and not much damage appeared to be done to any of the batteries except those of Fort Moultrie, where the two 42-pounders appeared to have silenced the gun for a time, to have injured the embrasures considerably, riddled the barracks and quarters, and torn three holes through the flag. The so-called "floating battery" was struck very frequently by shot, one of them penetrating at the angle between the front and roof, entirely through the iron covering and wood work beneath, and wounding one man. The rest of the 32-pounder balls failed to penetrate the front or the roof, but were deflected from their surfaces, which were arranged at a suitable angle for this purpose.

The columbiad battery and Dahlgren battery, near the floating battery, did not appear to be much injured by the few shots that were fired at them. Only one or two shots were fired at Fort Johnson, and none at Castle Pinckney or the city.

The fire towards Morris' Island was mainly directed at the iron-clad battery, but the small calibre of the shot failed to penetrate the covering when struck fairly. The aim was therefore taken at the embrasures, which were struck at least twice, disabling the guns for a time. One or two shots were thrown at the reverse of batteries "3" and "4," scattering some groups of officers and men on the lookout, and cutting down a small flagstaff on one of the batteries.

The barracks caught fire three times during the day, from shells apparently, but each time the flames, being in the first or second stories, were extinguished by a pump and application of the means at hand.

The effect of the Confederate fire upon Fort Sumter during the day was very marked in respect to the vertical fire. This was so well directed and so well sustained, that from the seventeen mortars engaged in firing 10-inch shells, one-half the shells came within or exploded above the parapet of the fort, and only about ten buried themselves in the soft earth of the parade, without exploding. In consequence of this precision of vertical fire, Major Anderson decided not to man the upper tier of guns.

Saturday dawned a bright and lovely day, but the flags of each of the combatants were still flying in stately defiance, and the cannon continued to send forth their fiery thunder. Within Fort Sumter, the last of the rice was cooked that morning, and served with the pork, the only other article of food left in the mess-room. After this the fire was reopened, and continued very briskly as long as the increased supply of cartridges lasted. The surrounding batteries had reopened fire at daylight, and continued it with rapidity. The aim of their guns was better than on the previous day.

It soon became evident that they were firing

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hot shot from a large number of their guns, especially from those in Fort Moultrie; and at nine o'clock volumes of smoke issued from the roof of the officers' quarters, where a shot had just penetrated. From the exposed position, it was utterly impossible to extinguish the flames, and permission was given to remove as much powder from the magazine as was possible, before the flames, which were only one set of quarters distant, should encircle the magazine and make it necessary to close it. All the men and officers not engaged at the guns worked rapidly and zealously at this; but so rapid was the spread of the flames that only fifty barrels of powder could be taken out and distributed around in the casemates before the fire and heat made it necessary to close the magazine doors and pack earth against them. The men then withdrew to the casemates on the faces of the fort. As soon as the flames and smoke burst from the roof of the quarters, the surrounding batteries redoubled the rapidity of their fire, firing red-hot shot from most of their guns. The whole range of officers' quarters was soon in flames. The wind, being from the southward, communicated fire to the roof of the barracks, and this, being aided by the hot shot constantly lodging there, spread to the entire roofs of both barracks, so that by twelve o'clock all the wood work of quarters and of upper story of barracks was in flames. Although the floors of the barracks were fire-proof, the utmost exertions of the officers and men were often required to prevent the fire communicating down the stairways, and from the exterior to the doors, window-frames, and other wood work of the east barrack, in which the officers and men had taken their quarters.

The clouds of smoke and cinders which were sent into the casemates by the wind, set on fire many boxes, beds, and other articles belonging to the men, and made it dangerous to retain the powder which had been saved from the magazine. Orders were accordingly given that all but five barrels should be thrown out of the embrasures into the water, which was done.

The small stock of cartridges now only allowed a gun to be fired at intervals of ten minutes.

As the fire reached the magazines of grenades that were arranged in the stair towers and implement rooms on the gorge, they exploded, completely destroying the stair towers at the west gorge angle.

About this time information was brought to the commanding officer that Mr. Wigfall, bearing a white flag, was on the outside and wished to see him. He accordingly went out to meet Mr. Wigfall, passing through the blazing gateway, accompanied by Lieutenant Snyder. In the mean time, however, Mr. Wigfall had passed to an embrasure on the left flank, where, upon showing the white flag upon his sword, he was permitted to enter; and Lieutenant Snyder, entering immediately after, accompanied him down the batteries to where some other officers were posted, to whom Mr. Wigfall commenced to address himself to the effect that he came from General Beauregard to desire that, inasmuch as the flag of the fort was shot down, a fire raging in the quarters, and the garrison in a great strait, hostilities be suspended, and the white flag raised for this object. He was replied to that the flag was again hoisted on the parapet; that the white flag would not be hoisted, except by order of the commanding officer; and that his own batteries should set the example of suspending fire. He then referred to the fact of the batteries on Cummings' Point, from which he came, having stopped firing, and asked that his own white flag might be waved to indicate to the batteries on Sullivan's Island to cease also. This was refused; but he was permitted to wave the white flag himself, getting into an embrasure for this purpose. Having done this for a few moments, Lieutenant Davis, First Artillery, permitted a corporal to relieve him. Very soon, however, a shot striking very near to the embrasure, the corporal jumped inside and declared to Mr. Wigfall that "he would not hold his flag, for it was not respected."

At this moment, the commanding officer, having reëntered through an embrasure, came up. To him Mr. Wigfall addressed nearly the same remarks that he had used on entering, adding some complimentary things about the manner in which the defence had been made, and ending by renewing the request to suspend hostilities in order to arrange terms of evacuation. The commanding officer desiring to know what terms he came to offer, Mr. Wigfall replied: "Any terms that you may desire; your own terms—the precise nature of which General Beauregard will arrange with you."

The commanding officer then accepted the conditions, saying that the terms he accepted were those proposed by General Beauregard on the 11th; namely, to evacuate the fort with his command, taking arms and all private and company property, saluting the United States flag as it was lowered, and being conveyed, if he desired it, to any Northern port.

With this understanding Mr. Wigfall left, and the white flag was raised and the United States flag lowered by order of the commanding officer.

Very soon after, a boat arrived from the city, containing three aides of General Beauregard, with a message to the effect that, observing the white flag hoisted, General Beauregard sent to inquire what aid he could lend in extinguishing the flames, &c. Being made acquainted with the condition of affairs and Mr. Wigfall's visit, they stated that the latter, although an aide of General Beauregard, had not seen him for two days.

The commanding officer then stated that the United States flag would be raised again; but yielded to the request of the aides for time to report to their chief and obtain his instructions.

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They soon returned with the approval of all the conditions desired, except the saluting the flag as it was lowered; and this exception was subsequently removed after correspondence.

The evacuation was completed after saluting the flag; in doing which, one man was instantly killed, one mortally and four severely wounded, by the premature discharge of a gun and explosion of a pile of cartridges.

After the cessation of fire, about 600 shot marks on the face of the scarp wall were counted, but they were so scattered that no breached effect could have been expected from such fire, and probably none was attempted except at the right gorge angle. The only effect of the direct fire during the two days was to disable three barbette guns, knock off large portions of the chimneys and brick walls projecting above the parapet, and to set the quarters on fire with hot shot. The vertical fire produced more effect, as it prevented the working of the upper tier of guns, which were the only really effective guns in the fort, being columbiads, 8-inch sea-coast howitzers, and 42-pounders principally, and also prevented the use of the columbiads arranged in the parade to be used as mortars against Cummings' Point.

The weakness of the defence principally lay in the lack of cartridge bags, and of the materials to make them, by which the fire of the fort was all the time rendered slow, and toward the last was nearly suspended.

The contest continued thirty-two hours, and the weapons used were of the most destructive character, and in skilful hands, but no life appears to have been lost on either side.

The garrison was taken by the steamer Isabel to the Baltic, which lay off the harbor, and thence transported to New York. The naval force and supplies which had been sent to the relief of the fort by the Government, arrived off Charleston harbor previous to the commencement of the assault, but were prevented from entering the harbor by a gale of wind, until after the attack began. The vessels, however, continued outside, and there was no communication between them and the fort.

The force and supplies thus sent by the Government was composed as follows:

VESSELS.	GUNS.	MEN.
Sloop-of-war Pawnee,	10	200
Sloop-of-war Powhatan,	11	275
Cutter Harriet Lane,	5	96
Steam transport Atlantic,	—	353
Steam transport Baltic,	—	160
Steam transport Illinois,	—	300
Steamtug Yankee,	Ordinary crew.	
Steamtug Uncle Ben,	Ordinary crew.	
Total number of vessels,		8
Total number of guns, (for marine service,)		26
Total number of men and troops,		1,380

Nearly thirty launches, whose services are useful in effecting a landing of troops over shoal water, and for attacking a discharging battery when covered with sand and gunny bags, were taken out by the Powhatan, and by the steam transports Atlantic, Baltic, and Illinois.

The official notification of the surrender of the fort, sent by Major Anderson to the War Department, was as follows:

STEAMSHIP BALTIC, off Sandy Hook,
April 18, 1861—10.30 A. M., via New York.

Having defended Fort Sumter for thirty-four hours, until the quarters were entirely burnt, the main gates destroyed by fire, the gorge walls seriously injured, the magazine surrounded by flames, and its door closed from the effects of heat; four barrels and three cartridges of powder only being available, and no provisions remaining but pork, I accepted terms of evacuation offered by General Beauregard—being the same offered by him on the 11th instant, prior to the commencement of hostilities—and marched out of the fort on Sunday afternoon, the 14th instant, with colors flying and drums beating, bringing away company and private property, and saluting my flag with fifty guns.

ROBERT ANDERSON,
Major First Artillery Commanding.

HON. SIMON CAMERON,
Secretary of War, Washington.

Major Anderson is a native of the State of Kentucky. He received his first commission as brevet 2d Lieut. of 2d Artillery, on July 1st, 1825, and was an acting Inspector-General in the Black Hawk war, and received the rank of brevet Captain in August, 1838, for his successful conduct in the Florida war. On Sept. 8th, 1847, he was made brevet Major for his gallant and meritorious conduct in the battle of Molino del Rey in Mexico. Upon an improvement of his health, after the surrender of Fort Sumter, he was appointed Brigadier-General, and ordered to the Department of Kentucky. (*See* KENTUCKY.) Here, his health again failing him, he was obliged to retire from active service.

In South Carolina the removal of Major Anderson with his little force from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter was regarded as a hostile act. In the North the act was considered, at the time, as favorable to peace. It was thought that while Fort Moultrie was comparatively weak, and might provoke the assault of a lawless multitude, the impregnable strength of Fort Sumter placed it beyond such a contingency, as it could be reduced only by a regular and protracted siege; thus an immediate collision was avoided. The act was done on his own responsibility, under the liberty allowed in his instructions, thinking that by such a step he would make himself secure against attack, protect the lives of his soldiers, and could better guard the public property; for, in his position at Fort Sumter, he could easily command, and if necessary silence, the batteries of Fort Moultrie.

On the reception of the news of the surrender, a salute of thirty guns was fired at Reading, Penn., in honor of Major Anderson. Three salutes with the same object were fired in Philadelphia. A hundred guns were fired in Boston, Mass.; and the citizens of Taunton, in the same State, voted to present him a sword. The excitement occasioned by this attack united the North in support of the Government.

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TACONIC SYSTEM. The most interesting subject of discussion among American geologists, shared in to some extent by those of Europe, is the question of the recognition of the "Taconic System" of Dr. E. Emmons. This division of stratified rocks underlying the lower silurian was proposed by him in 1842, in his final report on the geology of that portion of New York of which he had charge; and in 1844 he published a work expressly devoted to this subject, entitled "The Taconic System." The same arrangement was originally proposed by Professor Eaton, the geologist; and Dr. Emmons, in adopting it, subdivided the group as follows, commencing with the lowest member: 1. Granular Quartz; 2. Stockbridge Limestone; 3. Magnesian Slates; 4. Sparry Limestone; 5. Roofing Slates; 6. Silicious Conglomerates; 7. Taconic Slates; 8. Black Slates. He traced the series along the eastern border of New York, from the southern extremity of the State through western Massachusetts and central Vermont into Canada, and named it from the range of mountains containing these strata, which runs nearly north and south near the eastern boundary line of New York. He and other geologists afterwards recognized the same group as extending the whole length of the Appalachian chain, and attaining a thickness of some 30,000 feet. Its metamorphic character, the uplifted and even supposed overturned position of the strata, and the obscurity of the few fossils they contained, had always rendered it extremely difficult to deterimne its true relations to the adjacent. What Dr. Emmons regarded as its upper members seemed indeed to pass under the gneiss of the Green Mountains, which Dr. E. regarded as a primitive azoic rock; and this could be explained only on the supposition of a grand overthrow of the whole belt of palæozoic rocks. The fossils observed were a few graptolites in the black slates, and in some of the other strata fucoides, what appeared to be trails of annelides, and two trilobites, which Dr. E. designated Atops trilineatus and Elliptocephala asaphoides, and believed to be characteristic of the system, and of especial interest as the oldest representatives of animal life. His views were opposed from the first by most of the American geologists. The Professors Rogers of Pennsylvania and Virginia found, as they believed, a gradual passage of the sandstones, shales, and limestones of the lower silurian, into these obscure groups on leaving their more western and comparatively little disturbed outcrops, and approaching the highly metamorphic districts on the eastern side of the Appalachian chain, thus proving the two to be of the same age; and Professor Hall, of the New York survey, regarded the trilobites of Dr. Emmons, the first named, as identical with the Trianthrus Beckii, the characteristic trilobite of the Utica slate, and referred the other to the genus Olenus, another species of which was known in the Hudson River slates, and in no lower rocks. Thus both on stratigraphical and palæontological grounds the most eminent geologists of the country classed these disputed strata with the lower silurian, and the Taconic system was naturally treated with neglect. In Canada the same group has been traced by the Canadian geologists, from the northern extremity of Vermont to the neighborhood of Quebec, and thence along the south side of the St. Lawrence to the mouth of that river, at Cape Gaspé; and has everywhere been referred to the Hudson River group of the New York survey, or the upper members of the lower silurian. It is not a little remarkable, that after this question had been considered settled by most geologists for as many as 10 or 15 years, it should have been brought up again by a geologist in Austria, M. Joachim Barrande, who recognized in the description, by Professor Hall, of three trilobites found in the uppermost slates of the Hudson River group, near the town of Georgia, Vermont, and named by him Olenus Thompsoni, O. Vermontana, and Peltura (Olenus) holopyga, the characters of the trilobites of the primordial fauna of Europe, a new group of fossils established by him, of an older date than those of silurian age. Hence, on the ground that each geological epoch has its proper and characteristic forms, which once extinct reappear no more, he questions whether these fossils are not from a formation older than the Potsdam sandstone, and that this is the "Taconic group" of Dr. Emmons.

The discovery, in 1860, of a great number of mollusca, articulata, graptolidæ, and radiata in the calcareous strata of the Quebec group, found near Quebec, Canada, a formation considered of the same age with the slates of Georgia, Vermont, furnished full evidence of this group being at least as ancient as the Potsdam sandstone, and perhaps belonging to the primordial zone of Barrande. Professor Hall, however, while admitting that these rocks on palæontological evidence are of greater age than had been before admitted, still hesitates to admit that the occurrence of a small number of established primordial types should be sufficient authority for bringing into this zone a large number of genera associated with them, and heretofore regarded as beginning their existence in the second stage, or succeeding fauna; and consequently does not recognize the lower portion of the rocks of the Quebec group as constituting a part of the Taconic system.

Other evidence of the occurrence of the primordial zone in the United States is afforded by the discovery of the trilobite Paradoxides Harlani, in the metamorphic slates at Braintree, Mass., announced by Professsor W. B. Rogers

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in 1856. Until this discovery, data were entirely wanting upon which to base the age of these palæozoic slates; and this genus being peculiar in Bohemia, Sweden, and Great Britain, to the lowest fossiliferous strata, the slates are now referred to the same position, and are claimed by the advocates of the Taconic system as belonging to the lower portion of this group.

In Wisconsin and Iowa, the lowest fossiliferous rocks also contain Paradoxides, Dikellocephalus, &c., which render it questionable whether they too do not belong to an older group than the Potsdam sandstone, to which they have heretofore been referred.

The recognition of the Taconic system is strongly opposed by Mr. T. Sterry Hunt, of the Canadian survey. He does not admit the overturned position of the strata as explained by Dr. Emmons; nor the greater age of the Green Mountain gneiss, than that of the rocks it rests upon. He considers this the Sillery sandstone metamorphosed, and in its regular position upon the granular quartz and Stockbridge limestone, which with the other groups, excepting the Taconic slates, and Black slates, (7 and 8 of the series named above,) are regarded as the Quebec group, having the same stratigraphical position and lithological characters; and this group by its fossils is the palæontological equivalent of the calciferous sandrock of the lower silurian. The slates beneath, (which Dr. Emmons places at the summit of his system,) Mr. Hunt admits, may contain a fauna distinct from the Potsdam, and hence "might be retained under the name of the Taconic formation, as a lower member of the primordial zone, to which the Potsdam sandstone unquestionably belongs." * * * "It yet remains to be seen whether Dr. Emmons can retain from the wreck of his system the lower slates as a Taconic formation older than the Potsdam sandstone of Lake Champlain, and subordinate to the primordial zone, whose fossils he was the first to recognize."

The subject is discussed in a number of papers, in the March, May, and November numbers of the "American Journal of Science" for 1861, and also in the "Proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History," 1860–62.

TARIFF. The tariff of duties on imported goods has been the means on which the Federal Government, during its existence, may be said to have exclusively depended for its support, and it has been amply sufficient, not only for that purpose, but for affording money to extend the territories, carry on wars, execute treaties, and accumulate a large property in lands, buildings, war materials, &c. It has also been for many years an issue of animating interest between political parties, and thereby for a long time postponed more exciting and dangerous questions. The friends and opponents of the measure have in the main admitted that it is the best means for raising the public revenue since direct taxes, although readily paid for State, town, and county purposes, are impolitic for Federal revenue. It has nevertheless been charged by the opponents of duties that their ultimate effect is very injurious to the agricultural interests. The great wealth of the country has consisted in its cheap lands, from which large annual products are drawn; but these, being greatly in excess of the home consumption, derive their chief value from the exports to foreign countries. The proceeds come home in the shape of goods on which the tax is laid, not only for the purpose of revenue, but to protect the home manufacture of the same article, which is raised in price to the consumer to the amount of the tax; consequently the agricultural producer who consumed the imported or domestic goods, paid not only the Government tax, but the tribute or bonus to the manufacturer. The result in a long period manifests itself in vast wealth to those manufacturing districts that were formerly poor, and in continued comparative poverty in the agricultural regions, where much wealth has been produced. The friends of the tariff denied this effect, but alleged that to admit foreign goods freely in exchange for produce would ruin the whole country. These debates and discussions had at times occasioned much excitement; but, nevertheless, when the Government has, through commercial revulsions, been in want of money, all parties have united in increasing the tariff of duties. The revenue from this source has, in times of prosperity and great commercial activity, far exceeded the wants of the Government, and it has fallen short of those demands when financial reverses have overtaken the country. This has been a main reason why there has been so little stability in the revenue laws. In the forty years, up to 1860, some twelve general changes took place in the rates charged, and in 1861 the difficulties growing out of the war united all parties in support of higher duties, and three alterations took place in the view of obtaining more revenue for the Government. The protectionists did not fail, however, to seize the opportunity for discriminating in favor of the articles in which they were interested, even to the extent of diminishing the revenue by prohibiting the importation.

The operation of high duties, at a time of much general commercial depression, has more of a prohibitory nature by far, than in times of activity and speculative excitement. The prosperity of the past few years, with abundance of money and raw materials, had stocked the markets with goods that found an inadequate demand when the war paralyzed trade. The tendency of prices was downward, and such a moment was not propitious for higher duties, which raised the cost of goods. The new tariff did not therefore, in the first few months of its operation, produce the revenue expected from it.

The following table shows the alterations that have taken place since 1821, the amount of customs revenue, and the annual imports free and dutiable, with average rate of duty upon the whole imports:

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Years.	Customs.	Imports. Free.	Imports. Dutiable	Imports. Total.	% Average
1821	$18,475,706 57	$10,082 913	$52,508,411	$62,591,724	83.6
1822	24,066,066 43	7,296,708	77 942,883	85,241,541	91.7
1823	22,402,024 29	9,048,288	68,590,979	77,579,267	82.7
1824...May 22....General rise	25,436,817 86	12,068,173	67,905,234	80,549,907	32.5
1825	31,655,871 50	10,947,510	85,392,565	96,340,075	31.1
1826	21,088,461 97	12,767,759	72,406,708	84,974,477	34.6
1827	27,948,956 57	11,855,104	67,628,964	79,484,068	41.3
1828...May 19....Min. extended	29,251,251 90	12,879,176	76,130,648	88,509,824	39.3
1829	27,685,701 11	11,805,501	62,687,026	74,492,527	44.3
1830...May 20....Coffee, tea, molasses	28,389,595 65	12,746,245	58,130,675	70,876,920	48.9
1831	36,596,118 19	13,456,625	89,734,499	103,191,124	46.8
1832...July 14....Modifications	29,341,175 65	13,249,453	86,779,813	101,029,266	33.8
1833...March 2....Compromise	24,177,575 52	32,447,950	76,070,561	108,118,311	31.9
1834	18,960,705 96	68,893,189	58,128,159	126,921,322	32.6
1835	23,890,756 66	77,940,493	71,950,249	149,890,742	36.0
1836	30,818,827 67	92,456,481	97,223,554	189,680,035	31.6
1837	18,184,181 01	69,250,081	71,739,186	140,989,217	25.8
1838	19,102,825 45	60,869,065	57,857,599	118,717,464	37.9
1839	25,554,583 96	76,401,792	85,690,340	162,092,132	29.9
1840	15,104,780 68	57,196,294	49,945,815	107,141,519	30.4
1841...Sept. 11....Free list taxed	19,919,492 17	66,019,731	61,926,246	127,945,177	32.2
1842...Aug. 30....General rise	16,662,746 84	30,627,486	69,534,601	100,162,087	23.1
1843 ....9 Mos.	10,208,080 43	85,574,584	29,179,215	64,753,799	23.7
1844	29,236,357 38	24,706,881	83,668,154	108,425,035	35.1
1845	30,932,416 21	22,147,849	95,106,724	117,254,564	32.5
1846 ....Revenue tariff	26,712,668 00	24,767,739	96,224,058	121,091,797	26.5
1847	23,747,865 00	41,772,696	104,778,002	146,545,698	22.5
1848	31,757,071 00	22,716,603	132,282,325	154,998,928	24
1849	28,346,739 00	22,876,661	126,479,174	147,357,489	23
1850	39,668,686 00	22,710,882	155,427,966	178,138,818	23.2
1851	49,017,568 00	23,066,587	191,118,845	216,224,932	26
1852	47,339,326 00	29,692,934	183,252,508	212,945,442	26
1853	58,931,865 00	31,288,504	236,560,113	267,848,617	25
1854	64,224,190 00	33,285,821	271,276,560	304,562,381	23.5
1855	53,025,794 00	40,090,356	221,375,184	261,465,520	23
1856	64,022,863 00	26,958,706	257,684,296	314,639,942	25
1857...March 3....General	63,875,905 00	66,729,306	294,160,835	360,890,141	21.5
1858	41,789,621 00	80,319,275	202,298,875	282,618,150	20
1859	49,565,824 00	79,721,116	259,047,014	338,768,130	19
1860	53,187,511 00	90,841,749	279,872,327	362,168,941	19
1861...April 1....General	39,582,125 64	165,510,498	218,179,566	384,350,453	18

The following recapitulation shows the whole revenue of each tariff:

Date of Tariff.	Time of operation.	Average per an. in mill.	Gross revenue.	Dutiable imports.	Average duty.
1821 to 1824	4 years	24	$90,436,612	$264,962,457	34¼
1824 to 1828	4 "	29	115 597,942	301,538,885	38½
1828 to 1832	4 "	30	122,015,500	297,332,015	41½
1832 to 1841	9 "	22	198,263,107	625,836,002	31½
1842	1 "	16	16,622,746	69,534,601	23½
1842 to 1846	4 "	26	97,109,442	295,178,151	33
1846 to 1857	10 "	52	523,957,872	2,173,428,818	24½
1857 to 1860	3 "	48	144,542,956	741,213,216	20½
Total...	39	34	$1,308,546,177	$4,709,024,145	29

The highest amount of duties ever received in any one year was in 1854, and the aggregate revenue was 25 per cent. of the dutiable imports. The highest average of duty was in 1830, under the tariff of 1828, with the additional duties of 1830. The aggregate revenue was then over 48 per cent. of the dutiable imports, and the free list was by no means large. In the following year additions were made to the free list, and under the compromise of 1833 biennial reductions in rates were made until the year 1842. In that and the following year, owing to the collapse in financial affairs, the revenue of the Government was small, and higher duties were imposed to improve the revenue. In 1846 the principle of protection was repudiated, and a tariff so imposed as to yield the largest revenue was enacted. For this purpose the whole list was divided into a number of schedules, each of which bore a different ad valorem duty. Simultaneously with this change a warehouse system and the Independent Treasury plan of finance were adopted. It happened also at the same time that, the harvests of Europe being short, a large export of breadstuffs took place, which necessarily enhanced the imports and consequently the revenue. From that time up to 1857 there was a regular increase in the amount of dutiable goods imported, bringing a larger revenue to the Government. The surplus in the Treasury accumulated, and considerable sums had been expended in the purchase of the Government stock at high premiums, in order to deplete the Treasury. Under these circumstances the tariff of 1857 was framed, lowering the rates of duties, and the operation of that tariff was marked by a financial revolution which reduced the amount of dutiable imports, notwithstanding the lower duties, and the revenue fell off 22 millions. The increase in the free list caused a decline in the average rate of duty. The commercial disasters of 1861 made it requisite again to raise the duties, at the same time the withdrawal of the Southern members from Congress left the protectionists in a majority, and the so-called Morrill Tariff, passed in March, came into operation in April. The change produced by this tariff was very great, not only in the rates levied, but in the manner of levying. The ad valorem principle of 1846 was set aside for specific du-

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ties, and in some cases both duties were levied on the same article, as in the case of woollens, on which 25 per cent. ad valorem is charged, and also 12 cents per lb. The complications were so great that it became almost impossible to make the correct entries, and to add to the difficulties, the non-intercourse with the Southern ports deranged the warehouse usages. The tariff reduced duties on certain articles, and in these cases entries from warehouse were permitted at the reduced rates; consequently the quantities placed in warehouse were large in March. The following orders are illustrative of the difficulties that presented themselves:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *April* 1, 1861.

SIR: Referring you to the Department's letter of the 30th ult., directing that no further entries of merchandise for transportation in bond can be allowed relative to shipments to the ports of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Florida, and Texas, I have now to instruct you that transportation bonds for merchandise to the ports referred to will be cancelled on the payment of duties at your office, in cases where the party shall satisfy you by his affidavit, to be filed with his bond, that the merchandise arrived at the port of destination, and that it was found impracticable, by reason of the existing condition of the affairs in those ports, to obtain the requisite cancelling certificate.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
S. P. CHASE, Secretary of the Treasury.

AUGUSTUS SCHELL, Esq., Collector, &c., New York.

The following order was issued by the collector:

CUSTOM HOUSE, New York, *April* 1, 1861.

Under the tariff which goes into effect from and after this day, the specific duties will be made up by the entry clerks, in every case where it is practicable, upon the invoice quantity or measurements, subject to readjustment on receipt of the proper returns.

In cases where the duty cannot be made up from the invoice, a deposit will be taken sufficient to cover the duty, the estimate of which to be checked in the naval office. The accompanying schedule will serve as a guide to the entry clerks in estimating the amounts to be received as deposits on certain articles.

In cases where articles are subject to rates of duty, varying according to the return of measurement, the highest rate (as was the practice under the former tariff) will be assessed in the first instance, to be subsequently reduced on liquidation, should the returns when received, warrant such reduction. Under this rule, 30 per cent. ad valorem, will be the estimated charge on all linens and silks.

In all cases where the duties are ad valorem, specific, or secured by deposits, the invoice values will be reduced by the entry clerks to United States currency.

The invoice amount will be written in full on the invoice (as formerly) in all cases, with rate of duty, ad valorem or specific.

No amended entries will hereafter be made, but the original entry will be amended, (in red ink,) and in cases where a further sum of duty is due, immediate payment will be required.

The same rules will apply to entries for warehousing. When goods are withdrawn at a less rate of duty, by virtue of the provisions of the new tariff, the difference of duty will be noted on the entry, and endorsed on the bond, to balance the amount originally assessed.

AUGUSTUS SCHELL, Collector.

To the Entry and Amendment Clerks.

The following protest was filed with the collector by a firm engaged in the leather trade:

To the Collector of the Port of New York:

SIR: We hereby protest against the payment of 15 per cent. charged on seven cases leather contained in this entry, because the duties on the same kind, description, character, and quality of leather are not levied and collected in other ports of the United States, by authority thereof, to wit: in the ports of the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, and others; whereas, by the first clause of the eighth section of the first article of the Constitution of the United States it is expressly declared that "all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;" and also by the fifth clause of the ninth section of the same article it is declared that "no preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue, to the ports of one State over those of another." We pay the amount exacted in order to get possession of the goods, and claim to have the full amount refunded.

The increasing necessities of the Government required a further alteration of the tariff, in which also some needful modifications were requisite for its working. In August a new change was made, and the leading charges were, as compared with the rates of former tariffs, as follows:

COMPARATIVE RATES OF DUTY, 1842—1861.

	1842.	1846.	1857.	*March*, 1861.	*August*, 1861.
Acid, tartaric	20 per cent.	20 per ct.	4 per ct.	10 per cent.	10 cents lb.
Almonds, lb.	3 cents.	40 per ct.	30 per ct.	2 cents.	4 cents lb.
" shelled, lb.	3 cents.	40 per ct.	30 per ct.	4 cents.	6 cents lb.
Argol, lb.	free.	5 per ct.	free.	free.	3 cents lb.
Arrow root,	20 per cent.	20 per ct.	15 per ct.	10 per cent.	20 per cent.
Bananas and plantains,	free.	20 per ct.	8 per ct.	10 per cent.	20 per cent.
Bark, Peruvian,	free.	15 per ct.	free.	free.	15 per cent.
Bar lead,	3 cents lb.	20 per ct.	15 per ct.	1¼ ct. lb.	1¼ cents lb.
Brandy, gall.	$1 00	20 per ct.	30 per ct.	$1 00	$1 25 gall.
Brimstone, crude, ton,	20 per cent.	15 per ct.	4 per ct.	free.	$3 per ton.
" rolls, ton,	25 per cent.	20 per ct.	15 per ct.	20 per cent.	$6 per ton.
Button cloths, silk,	30 per cent.	30 per ct.	24 per ct.	30 per cent.	40 per cent.
Cassia, per lb.	20 per cent.	20 per ct.	15 per ct.	8 cents lb.	10 cents lb.
Cassia buds, per lb.	20 per cent.	20 per ct.	15 per ct.	8 cents lb.	15 cents lb.
Caustic soda,	20 per cent.	20 per ct.	15 per ct.	20 per cent.	1 cent lb.
Cayenne pepper, lb.	10 cents lb.	30 per ct.	4 per ct.	3 cents lb.	6 cents lb.
" " ground, lb.	10 cents lb.	30 per ct.	4 per ct.	4 cents lb.	8 cents lb.
Chiccory root, lb.	free.	free.	free.	free.	1 cent lb.
Chiccory, ground, lb.	20 per cent.	20 per ct.	15 per ct.	20 per cent.	2 cents lb.
Chloride of lime,	1 cent lb.	10 per ct.	4 per ct.	10 per cent.	50 cts. 100 lbs.
Chocolate, lb.	4 cents lb.	20 per ct.	15 per ct.	20 per cent.	6 cents lb.
Cinnamon, lb.	25 cents lb.	30 per ct.	4 per ct.	20 per cent.	20 cents lb.
Cloves, lb.	8 cents lb.	40 per ct.	4 per ct.	4 cents lb.	8 cents lb.
Cloves, oil of, lb.	20 per cent.	20 per ct.	15 per ct.	20 per cent.	70 cents lb.
Clothing,	50 per cent.	30 per ct.	24 per ct.	30 per cent.	30 per cent.
Cocoa, lb.	1 cent lb.	10 per ct.	4 per ct.	free.	3 cents lb.
Cocoa leaves and shells,	20 per cent.	10 per ct.	4 per ct.	free.	2 cents lb.
Cocos, prepared, lb.	1 cent lb.	10 per ct.	4 per ct.	free.	8 cents lb.

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COMPARATIVE RATES OF DUTY, 1842–1861.

	1842.	1846.	1857.	March, 1861.	August, 1861.
Coffee, ...lb.,	free.	free.	free.	free.	4 cents lb.
Copal gum,	15 per cent.	10 per cet.	8 per cet.	10 per cent.	10 cents lb.
Cottons,	30 per cent.	25 per cet.	19 per cet.	30 per cent.	30 per cent.
Cream Tartar, ...lb.,	free.	40 per cet.	4 per cet.	free.	6 cents lb.
Currants, ...lb.,	3 cents lb.	40 per cet.	8 per cet.	2 cents lb.	5 cents lb.
Dates, ...lb.,	1 cent lb.	40 per cet.	8 per cet.	½ cent lb.	2 cents lb.
Feathers and downs,	25 per cent.	25 per cet.	19 per cet.	20 per cent.	30 per cent.
Figs, ...lb.,	2 cents lb.	40 per cet.	8 per cet.	8 cents lb.	5 cents lb.
Ginger, preserved, ...lb.,	2 cents lb.	....	15 per cet.	10 per cent.	30 per cent.
Ginger root, ...lb.,	2 cents lb.	40 per cet.	15 per cet.	10 per cent.	3 cents lb.
Ginger, ground, ...lb.,	2 cents lb.	30 per cet.	15 per cet.	10 per cent.	5 cents lb.
Gum copal,	15 per cent.	10 per cet.	8 per cet.	10 per cent.	10 cents lb.
Gunpowder, ...lb.,	8 cents lb.	20 per cet.	15 per cet.	20 per cent.	30 per cent.
Hemp, Manilla, ...ton,	$25	$25	$19	$15	$25 ton.
Hemp, Russia, ...ton,	$40	$30	$24	$35	$40 ton.
Hides,	5 per cent.	5 per cet.	4 per cet.	5 per cent.	10 per cent.
India rubber,	free.	5 per cet.	4 per cet.	free.	10 per cent.
" " " boots and shoes,	30 per cent.	30 per cet.	24 per cet.	20 per cent.	30 per cent.
Iron, pigs, ...ton,	$9	30 per cet.	24 per cet.	$6 ton.	$6 ton.
Ivory,	free.	5 per cet.	free.	free.	10 per cent.
Ivory, vegetable,	free.	5 per cet.	4 per cet.	free.	10 per cent.
Lead, sheets,	4 cents lb.	20 per cet.	15 per cet.	1½ cents lb.	2½ cents lb.
Lead, pigs and bars,	4 cents lb.	20 per cet.	15 per cet.	1 cent lb.	1½ cents lb.
Lead, red, ...lb.,	4 cents lb.	20 per cet.	15 per cet.	1½ cents lb.	2½ cents lb.
Lead, white, ...lb.,	4 cents lb.	20 per cet.	15 per cet.	1½ cents lb.	2½ cents lb.
Lime, chloride,	1 cent lb.	10 per cet.	4 per cet.	10 per cent.	30 cts. 100 lbs.
Liquorice, ...lb.,	25 per cent.	20 per cet.	15 per cet.	3 cents lb.	5 cents lb.
Liquorice root, ...lb.,	25 per cent.	20 per cet.	15 per cet.	free.	1 cent lb.
Leather, sole and bend,	6 cents lb.	20 per cet.	15 per cet.	20 per cent.	30 per cent.
Lemons,	20 per cent.	20 per cet.	8 per cet.	10 per cent.	20 per cent.
Limes,	20 per cent.	20 per cet.	8 per cet.	10 per cent.	20 per cent.
Mace, ...lb.,	50 cents.	40 per cet.	4 per cet.	15 cents lb.	25 cents lb.
Manilla hemp, ...ton,	$25	$25	$19	$15	$25 per ton.
Molasses,	4½ cents gal.	30 per cet.	24 per cet.	2 cts. gall.	5 cents gall.
Nutmegs, ...lb.,	30 cents lb.	40 per cet.	4 per cet.	15 per cent.	25 cents lb.
Nuts, ...lb.,	1 cent lb.	30 per cet.	24 per cet.	1 cent lb.	2 cents lb.
Oil of cloves, ...lb.,	20 per cent.	20 per cet.	15 per cet.	20 per cent.	70 cents lb.
Oranges,	20 per cent.	20 per cet.	8 per cet.	10 per cent.	20 per cent.
Peruvian bark,	free.	15 per cet.	free.	free.	15 per cent.
Pepper, Cayenne, ...lb.,	10 cents lb.	20 per cet.	4 per cet.	3 cents lb.	6 cents lb.
Pepper, ground, ...lb.,	10 cents lb.	30 per cet.	4 per cet.	4 cents lb.	8 cents lb.
Pig lead,	3 cents lb.	20 per cet.	15 per cet.	1 cent lb.	1½ cents lb.
Pimento, ...lb.,	5 cents lb.	40 per cet.	30 per cet.	2 cents lb.	6 cents lb.
Plantains,	free.	20 per cet.	8 per cet.	10 per cent.	20 per cent.
Plums, ...lb.,	25 per cent.	30 per cet.	8 per cet.	1 cent lb.	5 cents lb.
Prunes, ...lb.,	3 cents lb.	40 per cet.	8 per cet.	2 cents lb.	5 cents lb.
Quinine,	20 per cent.	20 per cet.	15 per cet.	30 per cent.	30 per cent.
Rags,	½ cent lb.	5 per cet.	free.	free.	10 per cent.
Raisins, ...lb.,	3 cents lb.	40 per cet.	8 per cet.	2 cents lb.	5 cents lb.
Red lead, ...lb.,	4 cents lb.	20 per cet.	15 per cet.	1½ cents lb.	2½ cents lb.
Rochelle salts, ...lb.,	20 per cent.	20 per cet.	15 per cet.	20 per cent.	10 cents lb.
Russia hemp, ...ton,	$40	$30	$24	$35	$40 ton.
Sal soda,	20 per cent.	20 per cet.	15 per cet.	20 per cent.	½ cent lb.
Saltpetre, crude, ...lb.,	free.	5 per cet.	4 per cet.	free.	1 cent lb.
Saltpetre, refined, ...lb.,	2 cents lb.	10 per cet.	8 per cet.	10 per cent.	2 cents lb.
Salt, sacks,	8 cts. bush.	20 per cet.	15 per cet.	6 cts. bush.	18 cts. 100 lbs.
Salt, in bulk,	8 cts. bush.	20 per cet.	15 per cet.	4 cts. bush.	12 cts. 100 lbs.
Salts, Rochelle, ...lb.,	20 per cent.	20 per cet.	15 per cet.	20 per cent.	10 cents lb.
Sewing silk,	$2 lb.	30 per cet.	24 per cet.	30 per cent.	40 per cent.
Silk velvet, under $3 per yard,	$2.50 lb.	25 per cet.	19 per cet.	20 per cent.	35 per cent.
Silk velvet, over $3 per yard,	$2.50 lb.	25 per cet.	19 per cet.	30 per cent.	40 per cent.
Silk, under $1 per yard,	$2.50 lb.	25 per cet.	19 per cet.	20 per cent.	30 per cent.
Silk, over $1 per yard,	$2.50 lb.	25 per cet.	19 per cet.	30 per cent.	40 per cent.
Silks, floss,	25 per cent.	25 per cet.	19 per cet.	20 per cent.	30 per cent.
Silks, tram,	50 cents lb.	15 per cet.	12 per ct.	15 per cent.	25 per cent.
Silk ribbons, galloons, &c.,	30 per cent.	30 per cet.	24 per cet.	30 per cent.	40 per cent.
Silk fringes, laces, &c.,	$2.50 lb.	25 per cet.	19 per cet.	30 per cent.	40 per cent.
Soda, bicarbonate, ...100 lbs.,	20 per cent.	20 per cet.	15 per cet.	20 per cent.	1 cent lb.
Soda, sal, ...lb.,	20 per cent.	20 per cet.	15 per cet.	20 per cent.	½ cent lb.
Soda, caustic,	20 per cent.	20 per cet.	15 per cet.	20 per cent.	1 cent lb.
Spirits turpentine, ...gall.,	10 cents.	20 per cet.	15 per cet.	10 cts. gall.	10 cents gall.
Spirits, ...gall.,	60 cents.	30 per cet.	30 per cet.	40 cents.	20 cents gall.
Sugar, brown, ...lb.,	2½ cents.	30 per cet.	24 per cet.	½ cent lb.	2 cents lb.
Sugar, clayed, ...lb.,	2½ cents.	30 per cet.	24 per cet.	½ cent lb.	2½ cents lb.
Sugar, refined, ...lb.,	6 cents.	30 per cet.	24 per cet.	4 cents.	4 cents lb.
Sugar, sirup of, ...lb.,	2½ cents.	30 per cet.	24 per cet.	½ cent lb.	2 cents lb.
Sugar candy, ...lb.,	6 cents.	30 per cet.	24 per cet.	4 cents lb.	6 cents lb.
Tartar emetic, ...lb.,	20 per cent.	20 per cet.	15 per cet.	20 per cent.	10 cents lb.
Teas, ...lb.,	free.	free.	free.	free.	15 cents lb.
Turpentine, spirits of, ...gall.,	10 cents.	20 per cet.	15 per cet.	10 cts. gall.	10 cents gall.
Vegetable ivory,	free.	5 per cet.	4 per cet.	free.	10 per cent.
Velvets, silk, under $3 per yard,	$2.50 lb.	25 per cet.	19 per cet.	20 per cent.	35 per cent.
" Velvets, silk, over $3 per yard,	$2.50 lb.	25 per cet.	19 per cet.	30 per cent.	40 per cent.
White lead, ...lb.,	4 cents lb.	20 per cet.	15 per cet.	1½ cts. lb.	2½ cents lb.
Wines, ...gall.,	6 to 60 cts.	40 per cet.	30 per cet.	40 per cent.	50 per cent.
Woollens,	40 per cent.	30 per cet.	24 per cet.	25 per cent.	25 per cent.
"	40 per cent.	30 per cet.	24 per cet.	12 cts. lb.	12 cents lb.

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An instance of the difficulties that were presented by the operation of the new tariff, as compared with the old, presents itself in the case of cottons. Under former tariffs there was one rate, viz.: by that of 1842, 30 per cent.; of 1846, 25 per cent.; and of 1857, 24 per cent., on the invoice value. The tariff of 1861 made nearly 30 different charges on cotton goods. Thus, unbleached cotton cloth, 100 threads or less to the square inch, and weighing less than 5 ounces per square yard, paid 2 cents per square yard; and the same over 5 ounces, 1½ cents, the charge increasing with the number of threads to the square inch. Different charges in all these cases were made for bleached, and still others for colored, ten per cent. ad valorem being added to the square yard duties in the latter. These and other complications produced a great change in the various departments of the custom-house. The appraisers required instruments of various kinds—scales and weights, measures, provers for counting threads, magnifying glasses, gauges and hydrometers—all of which had become necessary in ascertaining the quantities and values of merchandise.

The general depression in business prevented much revenue from the tariff, and in December a new law was passed, raising the duty on teas to 20 per cent., and on coffee to 5 cents; on raw sugar to 2½ cents, clayed do. 3 cents, refined 5 cents, confectionery 8 cents; molasses, 6 cents a gallon. These were all the alterations made by that act. The amount of revenue raised under each act in New York City was as follows:

Period.	1860.	1861.
Jan. 1 to April 1, 3 mos. act of '57	$10,754,754	$7,068,864
To Aug. 4 " " '61	11,485,990	6,586,082
" Jan., 1862, 5 " " '61	13,257,699	8,519,119
Total duties.....	$35,481,443	$22,174,045
Total value of goods, duty paid,	185,794,422	96,971,920

The average rate for 1860 was 19 per cent., and for 1861 23½ per cent. in the whole year; for the last 5 months, however, it was 34 per cent., and the yield was far less than for the same period the former year; the result was a decline of $4,738,580, or 35 per cent.

TAYLOR, FORT. This fort is located at Key West, Florida. It forms an irregular quadrangle, with three channel curtains of equal length and a gorge or shore curtain of much greater length. It is situated near the southwest point of the island, in from six to twelve feet of water, and distant from the shore three hundred yards. The foundation is granite, and the superstructure brick. The scarp walls are eight feet thick, and rise to the height of forty-one feet from the water's edge. It has two tiers of casemates, and one barbette tier, and mounts one hundred and twenty 8 and 10-inch columbiads on the channel fronts, and forty-five heavy guns on the shore fronts. This remains in the possession of the United States, and is strongly garrisoned.

TELEGRAPH, ELECTRIC. The electric telegraph during 1861 made rapid progress in its appointed work of putting a girdle round the earth. The overland line, from western Missouri to San Francisco, was completed on the 22d of October, thus placing that city in immediate connection with New York and the other eastern cities. The first continuous message sent, was the following: "The Pacific to the Atlantic sends greeting; and may both oceans be dry before a foot of all the land that lies between them shall belong to any other than one united country." On the first day after the line was opened for business, forty through despatches were sent, besides a considerable number of congratulatory messages. As the difference in longitude between New York and San Francisco is about 48° 30′, if a despatch could be sent instantaneously through, from the former to the latter city, it would reach San Francisco three hours and fifteen minutes before the time at which it left New York, according to the clocks of each city; so that a despatch sent from New York to San Francisco at half-past ten o'clock A. M., might find the man to whom it was addressed yet in bed; and one sent from New York after business hours, would reach there about mid-day. Practically, however, the transmission of a despatch takes an appreciable amount of time, as the weather is rarely in a condition in which the message can be transmitted without one or more (often four or five) repetitions at different points. On rare occasions, when the atmosphere along the entire line is in a proper condition, messages have been sent even from Halifax to San Francisco without interruption.

The Russian Government, stimulated in part to the measure by the zeal and enterprise of Perry McD. Collins, Esq., United States commercial agent to the Amoor region, prosecuted with great energy the erection of a line of telegraph to the lower Amoor, and has given encouragement and aid to a company for constructing a line to connect this with ours at San Francisco. A telegraph line is now building from San Francisco to Victoria, on Vancouver's Island, and this will be extended to Sitka Island. In November, 1861, only 5,000 miles remained to complete the connection between western Europe and America, by way of Siberia, and this distance was rapidly shortening. Three routes were proposed: the first, by way of Behring's Straits, would require only about 40 miles of submarine cable; the second, from the mouth of the Amoor to Saghalien Island, and thence up the east coast of that island, across the sea of Okhotsk to Kamtchatka, and across at or near Behring's Straits, would require three submerged cables, none of them of great length, the most considerable, that across the sea of Okhotsk, being only about 400 miles long; the third route, and the one looked upon with the most favor by the Russian Government, would be to extend one branch through the newly acquired Russian possessions to Pekin, and if possible to Shanghai, and another by Saghalien Island, across the strait of La Pe-

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rouse, through the island of Yesso to Hakodadi, thence across the strait of Matsmai, through Niphon to Nagasaki and Yeddo, and joining this line in Yesso to carry it across the Koorile Islands to Kamtchatka, and thence across Behring's Island and the Aleutians to Point Alaska, in Russian America. This would require several sections of submerged cable, but not more than one or two of them exceeding 60 miles in length. By one or other of these routes, it seems certain that Eastern Asia will be placed in communication with us, as well as with Western Europe within the next three or four years.

Mr. Cyrus W. Field, who was so indefatigable in his efforts to complete the Atlantic cable some years ago, has again revived his project, and after spending some months in England has succeeded in procuring such assurances of aid from the British Government, and offers by the manufacturers to share the risk of another attempt, as to render the reconstruction of that line probable at an early period. A new invention for the protection of the cable, or rather a new arrangement of the enveloping wires and cable, obviating the tendency to "kink," which was so serious a difficulty in the former cable, and a better method of paying out, render its success now more certain.

Another route for telegraphic communication between Europe and America has been agitated by the persevering efforts of Mr. Taliaferro P. Shaffner, a citizen of the United States, who as early as 1854 procured from the king of Denmark a concession for the construction of such a communication by way of the Faroe Islands, Iceland, and Greenland, and when in 1859–60 succeeded in having the route explored and soundings made, partly at the cost of the British Government, and secured a report in favor of the feasibility of his project. As yet, however, no measures are known to have been taken for the laying of a line by this route. The distances to be crossed by submerged cables is, indeed, much less than by the route proposed by Mr. Field; but there are liabilities to the destruction of the cable by icebergs, and a vast extent of intensely cold, inhospitable country to be traversed, which would make its success exceedingly problematical.

Of smaller telegraphic enterprises, perhaps the most important is the connection of Fortress Monroe with Baltimore by means of a submerged cable across Chesapeake Bay. The first effort failed, from the breaking of the cable in consequence of a storm while being laid; and in the second, the cable was broken by an anchor two or three days after it was laid. A third effort has succeeded, an improved method of protecting the cable having been adopted. A temporary telegraphic communication has been established with the army in Eastern Virginia throughout most of their progress, and has greatly facilitated military operations. The aeronauts who have used the balloon for the purpose of ascertaining the positions and condition of the Confederate camps and fortifications, have also maintained telegraphic communication with the camp from which they ascended, and have reported their observations at the instant of making them.

TENNESSEE. This fertile State lies south of Kentucky, and north of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. North Carolina bounds it on the east, and the Mississippi River on the west. Its greatest length from east to west is about 430 miles, and its breadth 110 miles. The State is commonly divided into three sections; the part east of the Cumberland Mountains is called East Tennessee; that between the Cumberland Mountains and the Tennessee River, Middle Tennessee; and west of this river it takes the name of West Tennessee. On the east it is separated from North Carolina by the Appalachian chain of mountains, of which the Cumberland, an outlying ridge, enters the State from Kentucky. The height of the mountains of this ridge is estimated at from 1,000 to 2,000 feet. They are wooded to the top, and embosom delightful and fertile valleys. Middle Tennessee is moderately hilly, while West Tennessee is either level or gently undulating. Indian corn, tobacco, and cotton are the great staples. The population of the State in 1860 was 826,828 white; 7,235 free colored; and 275,784 slaves; total, 1,109,847.

The Legislature of Tennessee holds its regular sessions in the odd years, commencing on the third Monday of October. The members are elected on the first Thursday of the preceding August. After it has once adjourned *sine die*, it cannot hold a second session, unless convened by the Governor, who is authorized by the Constitution to call the General Assembly together on extraordinary occasions, by proclamation; and, in that case, he must state to them, when assembled, the purposes for which they were convened; and then, "they shall enter on no legislation except that for which they were specially called together."

In August, 1859, the members who were to constitute the 33d General Assembly were elected. At the canvass preceding the election, the people had presented to them no question regarding national affairs. The session was distinguished by nothing out of the ordinary course of State legislation. Before the adjournment, about the 24th of March, 1860, electoral tickets for President and Vice-President of the United States had been presented to the people of the Union; and, in Tennessee, there was a ticket for Breckinridge, another for Douglas, and a third for Bell, her own citizen. No ticket was offered for Lincoln. The electors for each of the candidates industriously canvassed the entire State, and each one represented his candidate as an unconditional Union man, while Bell was recommended to the people as the special advocate of the "Constitution, the Union, and the enforcement of the laws." He carried the State by a majority of 4,565 over Breckinridge, the next highest

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candidate. The total vote of the State was as follows: Lincoln, ———; Douglas, 11,350; Breckinridge, 64,709; Bell, 69,274. The election, however, having resulted in the choice of Lincoln, the people of Tennessee quietly acquiesced. But Isham G. Harris, the Governor, holding extreme opinions upon the subject of slavery, warmly sympathized with the secession movement, which followed in the Southern slave States immediately after the election, and maintained an active correspondence with its leaders. Accordingly he called a session of the General Assembly for the 7th of January, 1861; and in his message to the body, on its assembling, he stated that the purpose of the call was, that they should deliberate upon the "crisis" in the affairs of the country, which had been produced, as he said, by "the systematic, wanton, and long continued agitation of the slavery question, with the actual and threatened aggressions of the Northern States and a portion of their people, upon the well-defined, constitutional rights of the Southern citizens; the rapid growth and increase, in all the elements of power, of a purely sectional party, whose bond of union is uncompromising hostility to the rights and institutions of the fifteen Southern States." After a long recital of grievances, he declared that he submitted to the discretion of the Legislature, "the whole question of our" (the State's) "Federal relations;" and though having no doubt himself as to the necessity and propriety of calling a State Convention, he yet recommended that the law to be passed should submit "to the people of the State the question of convention or no convention." The evils complained of, he said, could be obviated by certain amendments to the national Constitution, which were: 1. The establishment of a line through the territories to the Pacific, all the territory north of which should be forever free, and all south of it *forever* slave. 2. Any State refusing to deliver a fugitive slave, to pay the owners double his value. 3. Security in the possession of slaves by masters travelling through, or sojourning in a free State; and slaves lost, in such cases, to be paid for by the State in which the escape occurred. 4. A prohibition against the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and in dockyards, navy-yards, arsenals, or any other district in a slave State under the national jurisdiction. 5. These provisions never to be changed, except by the consent of all the slave States. He had, he said, no hope of such concessions, for "two months had passed since the development of the facts which make the perpetuity of the Union depend *alone* upon the giving to the South satisfactory guarantees for her chartered rights, yet no proposition at all satisfactory" had been made "by any member of the dominant and aggressive party" of the North.

A controlling conservative sentiment manifested itself in the Legislature, which, while it endorsed the position that the grant of additional guarantees to the South should be made a condition of Tennessee's remaining in the Union, determined that the State should not be precipitated into secession. The bill calling for a convention of the people of the State, provided that any ordinance or resolution which might be adopted by said Convention having for its object a change of the position or relation of the State to the National Union, or her sister Southern States, should be of no binding force or effect until it was submitted to or ratified by the people, and required a vote equal to a majority of the votes cast in the last election for Governor to ratify it. Thus the people had an opportunity, in voting for delegates, to declare for or against secession; and should the action of the Convention contemplate any change in the Federal relations of the State, they had still the opportunity of endorsing or overruling alike their former decision and the action of the Convention. The election for members of the Convention was to be held on the 9th of February, the Convention to assemble on the 25th.

At this same date, in a public meeting, held in Nashville, it was urged that the third party at the last Presidential election, the "Constitutional Union party," and its champion, John Bell, had held the doctrine that the election of Mr. Lincoln would be a just cause for the dissolution of the Union. Mr. Bell, who was at the meeting, rose and denied the charge. Upon this, cheers rang through the hall, satisfying the audience of the predominant Union feeling in that assemblage, notwithstanding the disunion element had mustered its strength. Mr. Bell, before he sat down, expressed the hope and conviction that all would be well with the Union; and this declaration was received with great applause.

The resolutions of the Legislature of New York were replied to with moderation and also with great decision, as follows:

Resolved, That the Legislature of Tennessee has heard with profound regret the resolution come to by the Legislature of the State of New York, offering men and money to the Government, in order to coerce sovereign States. That the General Assembly of Tennessee sees in the action of the Legislature of New York an indication of the disposition to complicate existing difficulties, and to force the Southern States into submission; and, so regarding it, the State of Tennessee requests to inform the State of New York that, if any force be sent South for the purpose of subjugating the people thereof, the people of the State will join as one man to resist such an invasion at all hazards and to the last extremity.

The result of the election for delegates to a State convention was highly successful to the friends of the Union. Even West Tennessee gave a Union majority. The following returns, except a few counties, show the relative strength of union and disunion in the State:

	Union.	*Disunion.*
East Tennessee	30,903	5,577
Middle Tennessee	36,809	9,828
West Tennessee	24,091	9,344
Total	91,803	21,749
Union majority		67,054

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The returns from all the counties made the actual majority 64,114. The question of holding a convention was determined in the negative by a large majority, thus declaring that there was no need for a convention at all to determine where Tennessee should stand. The Union delegates at Memphis were elected by a majority of 400. The vote of the State on the convention question was as follows:

East Tennessee voted no convention by 25,611 majority, or four and a quarter to one. Middle Tennessee 1,382 majority; but West Tennessee gave for a convention 15,118 majority. The vote for no convention was 69,673. The total vote for and against convention was 127,471, with a majority against the meeting of a convention of 11,875.

The people decided that no convention should be held, chiefly because they had seen that all the conventions which had been held in the Southern States had withdrawn their States from the Union, and then had proceeded to sit on their own adjournments, as if they conceived they possessed the right to continue their own existence indefinitely. The loyal people of Tennessee now flattered themselves that they had thus put an effectual stop to the secession movement in the State, and so the secessionists thought as well; and even the Governor seemed, for a time, to have abandoned the scheme.

The proclamation of the President, on the 15th of April, produced an intense feeling throughout the State. The Governor immediately called an extra session of the Legislature, to be convened on the 25th of April. He refused the requisition of the President for troops saying:

Hon. Simon Cameron:

SIR: Your despatch of the 15th inst., informing me that Tennessee is called upon for two regiments of militia for immediate service, is received.

Tennessee will not furnish a man for purposes of coercion, but 50,000, if necessary, for the defence of our rights, and those of our Southern brothers.

ISHAM G. HARRIS, Governor of Tennessee.

At the same time an address was issued to the people of the State by some of her most eminent citizens, as Messrs. Neil S. Brown, Russell Houston, E. H. Ewing, C. Johnson, John Bell, R. J. Meigs, S. D. Morgan, John S. Brien, Andrew Ewing, John H. Callender, and Baylie Peyton.

Patrlotic as were their views, they were unable to stem the tide of secession when it came in the flood. They say:

"We unqualifiedly disapprove of secession, both as a constitutional right, and as a remedy for existing evils; we equally condemn the policy of the Administration in reference to the seceded States. But while we, without qualification, condemn the policy of coercion as calculated to dissolve the Union forever, and to dissolve it in the blood of our fellow-citizens, and regard it as sufficient to justify the State in refusing her aid to the Government in its attempt to suppress the revolution in the seceded States, we do not think it her duty, considering her position in the Union, and in view of the great question of the peace of our distracted country, to take sides against the Government. Tennessee has wronged no State or citizen of this Union. She has violated the rights of no State, North or South. She has been loyal to all, where loyalty was due. She has not brought on this war by any act of hers. She has tried every means in her power to prevent it. She now stands ready to do any thing within her reach to stop it. And she ought, as we think, to decline joining either party; for in so doing they would at once terminate her grand mission of peace-maker between the States of the South and the General Government. Nay, more; the almost inevitable result would be the transfer of the war within her own borders, the defeat of all hopes of reconciliation, and the deluging of the State with the blood of her own people."

On the 25th of April, the Legislature assembled for the third time, although the members had been elected without any reference to the momentous questions now about to be considered. In the Assembly, on the same day, the following resolution was offered:

Resolved, That upon the grave and solemn matters for our consideration, submitted by the Governor's Message, with a view to the public safety, the two Houses of this Legislature hold their sessions with closed doors whenever a secret session in either House may be called for by five members of said House, and that the oath of secrecy be administered to the officers and members of said House.

The resolution was adopted. Ayes 42; noes 8.

The Message of the Governor was very strong and decided in urging immediate secession. In it he said:

"I respectfully recommend the perfecting of an ordinance by the General Assembly, formally declaring the independence of the State of Tennessee of the Federal Union, renouncing its authority, and reassuming each and every function belonging to a separate sovereignty; and that said ordinance, when it shall have been thus perfected by the Legislature, shall, at the earliest practicable time, be submitted to a vote of the people, to be by them adopted or rejected.

"When the people of the State shall formally declare their connection with the remaining States of the Union dissolved, it will be a matter of the highest expediency, I might almost say of unavoidable political necessity, that we shall at the same time, or as soon thereafter as may be, connect ourselves with those with whom a common interest, a common sympathy, and a common destiny identify us, for weal or for woe.

"I therefore further recommend that you perfect an ordinance with a view to our admission as a member of the Southern Confederacy, (which, it is evident, must soon embrace the entire slaveholding States of the South,) to be submitted in like manner, and at the same time, but separately, for adoption or rejection

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by the people, so that they may have the opportunity to approve the former and reject the latter, or adopt both, as in their wisdom may seem most consistent with the future welfare of the State. However fully satisfied the Executive and Legislature may be as to the urgent necessity for the speedy adoption of both these propositions, it is our duty to furnish the amplest means for fair and full expression of the popular will."

The Governor next proceeded to argue that, at the opening of a revolution so imminent, he could see no propriety for encumbering the people of the State with the election of delegates to do that which it is in the power of the Legislature to enable them to do directly for themselves. Since it is only the voice of the people that is to be heard, there was no reason, he thought, why they might not as readily and effectively express themselves upon an ordinance framed and submitted to them by the Legislature as if submitted to them by a convention. In case, however, it should be deemed advisable that a convention "representing the sovereignty of the people" should be called by the Legislature, he admitted that a greater degree of harmony and unanimity might be thereby effected.

On the 30th of April, Henry W. Hilliard, commissioner from the Confederate States, appeared before the Legislature and made an address. He said his object was to establish a temporary alliance between Tennessee and the Confederate States, to continue until Tennessee should decide for or against adopting the Constitution of that Government, and becoming one of the Confederate States. He regarded the issue now pending between the North and the South something more than a mere right to hold slaves. It was a question of constitutional liberty, involving the right of the people of the South to govern themselves. "We have said that we will not be governed by the abolition North, the abolition North says we shall," and he would not hesitate to say there was not a true-hearted man in the South but would rather die than submit. He repudiated the idea of settling the pending questions between the North and South by reconstruction "by going back to our enemies." He regarded the Southern system of government established at Montgomery, and based upon slavery, as the only permanent form which could be established in this country.

A letter from Neil S. Brown, formerly Governor of the State, appeared at this time, in which he said:

"I have hoped obstinately against such an alternative, but the conviction is forced upon my mind that it is the settled policy of the Administration, and, so far as I can see, of the whole North, to wage a war of extermination against the South.

"The clouds are gathering in every direction, and the signs now are, that the Border States are to be the battle-ground. In this view, the first duty is to arm at once; and to talk of keeping out of such a contest, if it comes, is simply idle."

Another, from Gen. Zollicoffer, afterwards a commander in the Confederate army, saying:

"We are involved in war and no mistake, waged for the purpose of humbling the Southern States. It cannot be done. But we must have unity, energy, and action, to save ourselves. Let us drop party and party names. Let us emulate the glorious example of our fathers in arms. We must not, cannot stand neutral, and see our Southern brothers butchered."

On the 29th of April Governor Harris had ordered to be seized sixty-six thousand dollars' worth of Tennessee bonds and five thousand dollars in cash, belonging to the United States, which were in possession of the collector at Nashville. He said:

"This seizure was conditional; the property was to be held in trust until the Government restored the property of the State and its citizens involved in the seizure of the steamer Hillman by troops of the Federal Government."

The steamer Hillman was seized at Cairo by the Illinois troops, because she was laden with munitions and other articles contraband of war. The boat, and property not contraband, was subsequently surrendered to the owners.

The Legislature in secret session, immediately on the 1st of May, passed a joint resolution directing the Governor to enter into a military league with the Confederate States, subjecting "the whole military force of the State" to the control of the Confederate States. Acting upon this authority, the Governor immediately appointed Gustavus A. Henry, Archibald O. W. Totten, and Washington Barrow, as commissioners for that purpose. On the 7th of May he sent a Message to the Legislature, stating that he had appointed the said commissioners on the part of Tennessee, &c., as follows:

To enter into a military league with the authorities of the Confederate States, and with the authorities of such other slaveholding States as may wish to enter into it; having in view the protection and defence of the entire South against the war that is now being carried on against it.

The said commissioners met the Hon. Henry W. Hilliard, the accredited representative of the Confederate States, at Nashville on this day, and have agreed upon and executed a military league between the State of Tennessee and the Confederate States of America, subject, however, to the ratification of the two Governments, one of the duplicate originals of which I herewith transmit for your ratification or rejection. For many cogent and obvious reasons, unnecessary to be rehearsed to you, I respectfully recommend the ratification of this league at the earliest practicable moment.

The convention was as follows:

Convention between the State of Tennessee and the Confederate States of America.

The State of Tennessee, looking to a speedy admission into the Confederacy, established by the Confederate States of America, in accordance with the constitution for the provisional government of said States, enters into the following temporary convention, agree-

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ment, and military league with the Confederate States, for the purpose of meeting pressing exigencies affecting the common rights, interests, and safety of said States, and said Confederacy.

1st. Until the said State shall become a member of said Confederacy, according to the constitutions of both powers, the whole military force and military operations, offensive and defensive, of said State, in the impending conflict with the United States, shall be under the chief control and direction of the President of the Confederate States, upon the same basis, principles and footing, as if said State were now and during the interval a member of the said Confederacy—said forces, together with those of the Confederate States, to be employed for the common defence.

2d. The State of Tennessee will, upon becoming a member of said Confederacy, under the permanent Constitution of said Confederate States, if the same shall occur, turn over to said Confederate States all the public property, naval stores and munitions of war, of which she may then be in possession, acquired from the United States, on the same terms and in the same manner as the other States of said Confederacy have done in like cases.

3d. Whatever expenditures of money, if any, the said State of Tennessee shall make before she becomes a member of said Confederacy, shall be met and provided for by the Confederate States.

The vote in the Senate, on the adoption of this treaty, was 14 to 6—absent or not voting, 4; in the House, 42 to 15—absent or not voting, 18.

Meanwhile, the Legislature had not been idle. On the 6th of May it passed an ordinance entitled, "An Act to submit to a vote of the people a Declaration of Independence, and for other purposes." The first section provided that the Governor should, by proclamation, require the respective officers in each county to hold the polls open in their several precincts on the 8th day of June ensuing. The second section provided that the following declaration should be submitted to a vote of the qualified voters for their ratification or rejection:

Declaration of Independence and Ordinance dissolving the Federal relations between the State of Tennessee and the United States of America.

1st. We, the people of the State of Tennessee, waiving an expression of opinion as to the abstract doctrine of secession, but asserting the right as a free and independent people to alter, reform, or abolish our form of Government in such manner as we think proper, do ordain and declare that all the laws and ordinances by which the State of Tennessee became a member of the Federal Union of the United States of America, are hereby abrogated and annulled, and that all obligations on our part be withdrawn therefrom; and we do hereby resume all the rights, functions, and powers which by any of said laws and ordinances were conveyed to the Government of the United States, and absolve ourselves from all the obligations, restraints, and duties incurred thereto; and do hereby henceforth become a free, sovereign, and independent State.

2d. We furthermore declare and ordain, that Article 10, Sections 1 and 2 of the Constitution of the State of Tennessee, which requires members of the General Assembly, and all officers, civil and military, to take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, be and the same are hereby abrogated and annulled, and all parts of the Constitution of the State of Tennessee, making citizenship of the United States a qualification for office, and recognizing the Constitution of the United States as the supreme law of this State, are in like manner abrogated and annulled.

3d. We furthermore ordain and declare that all rights acquired and vested under the Constitution of the United States, or under any act of Congress passed in pursuance thereof, or under any laws of this State, and not incompatible with this ordinance, shall remain in force and have the same effect as if this ordinance had not been passed.

The third section provided that the election should be by ballot, and that those voting for the declaration and ordinance should have on their ballots the word "Separation," and those voting against it should have on their ballots the words "No separation;" the returns should be made to the Secretary of State by the 24th of June, and if a majority of votes were given for separation, the Governor was required immediately to issue his proclamation declaring "all connection by the State of Tennessee with Federal Union dissolved, and that Tennessee is a free, independent Government, free from all obligations to, or connection with the Federal Government."

The fourth section authorized all volunteers to vote, wherever they may be in active service.

By the fifth section it was provided that, under the rules and regulations prescribed for the election above ordered, the following ordinance should be submitted to the popular vote:

An Ordinance for the adoption of the Constitution of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America.

We, the people of Tennessee, solemnly impressed by the perils which surround us, do hereby adopt and ratify the Constitution of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America, ordained and established at Montgomery, Alabama, on the 8th of February, 1861, to be in force during the existence thereof, or until such time as we may supersede it, by the adoption of a permanent Constitution.

The sixth section provided that all voters in favor of adopting the Provisional Constitution, and thereby securing to Tennessee equal representation in the deliberations and councils of the Confederate States, should have written or printed on their ballots the word "Representation;" opposed, the words "No Representation."

The seventh section provides for an election of delegates to the Confederate Congress in case the Provisional Constitution was adopted. The vote on the Declaration of Independence in the Senate was—yeas 20, nays 4; in the House, yeas 46, nays 21.

By this act, provision was made to submit to the vote of the people of the State, the adoption or rejection of a "Declaration of Independence," whereby they were to separate themselves from the Union, and adopt the Confederate States Constitution, and abrogate that part of their own Constitution which required every person chosen or appointed to any office of trust or profit under it, or any law made in pursuance of it, before entering on the duties thereof, to take an oath to support the Constitution of the State and of the United States; and requiring each member of the Senate and House of Representatives, before proceeding to business, to take an oath to support the Con-

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stitution of the State and of the United States. (Constitution of Tennessee, art. x., sections 1, 2.)

By another act the Governor was required to raise, organize, and equip, a provisional force of volunteers for the defence of the State, to consist of 55,000 men; 25,000 of whom, or any less number demanded by the wants of the service, were to be fitted for the field, at the earliest practicable moment, and the remainder to be held in reserve, ready to march at short notice. It authorized the Governor, should it become necessary for the safety of the State, to "call out the whole available military strength of the State," and to determine when this force should serve, and direct it accordingly. To defray the expenses of this military organization, the Governor was authorized "to issue and dispose of $5,000,000 of the bonds of the State," in denominations of not less than $100, or greater than $1,000, to run ten years, and bear interest at the rate of 8 per cent.

Thus provided with a semblance of authority, the Governor hastened the organization of the provisional force of 25,000 men, and before the day of the election, June 8, 1861, he had most of it on foot, and distributed in camps around Nashville and elsewhere, armed and equipped, so far as it could be, with the munitions of the United States in possession of the State, and with such as could be obtained from the arsenal at Augusta, Georgia, from which they were brought by Gen. Zollicoffer. Thus, on the morning of the election, the people of Tennessee, for the first time in their lives, went to the polls conscious that they were no longer a free people; knowing that the Executive and Legislative Departments of the State, with its Treasury in their hands, and with all the arms of the State in their possession, and with a formidable army in their pay, had joined a conspiracy to overthrow their Government, and that nothing remained for them but to reverse their vote of the 9th of February, and to ratify what their self-constituted masters had already accomplished. Even by voting against the Declaration of Independence, and by refusing to absolve their officers from the oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and declining to accept the Constitution of the Confederate States, they could not free themselves from the military incubus which had been imposed upon them. In these circumstances it is not to be wondered at that the election showed an apparent majority of 57,667 for secession. It must not be concluded, however, that this majority was real; for the men who could so wantonly contemn the obligations of the law as to resort to the measures above detailed, could not escape from the suspicion of having filled the ballot-box with spurious votes.

By such means was Tennessee carried over to the Confederate States, and in the employment of these means there does not appear to have been any semblance of regard, among the actors, for oaths or for the observance of the most solemn obligations of legal and constitutional duty. The Constitution of the United States ordains that "no State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation;" nor, "without the consent of Congress, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will admit of no delay;" and that "the Constitution and laws of the United States, made in pursuance thereof, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." The State Constitution, as above stated, required every Tennessee official person, before assuming his office, "to take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States." The State declaration of rights acknowledges the supremacy of the Constitution of the United States, and explicitly admits that the people of the State themselves have the right of exercising sovereignty, and the right of soil over the territory of the State, only "so far as is consistent with the Constitution of the United States." Moreover, the State Constitution, enumerating the powers of the Governor, ordains that he shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the State, and of the militia, except when they shall be called into the service of the United States, in which case, by the national Constitution, "the President shall be commander-in-chief of the militia of the several States." Finally, the Constitution of the State provides a method for its own amendment, by which the General Assembly, during its period of existence, can only propose an amendment, which it must cause to be entered on its journals, with the ayes and noes thereon. This proposal must be referred by the General Assembly which makes it, to the General Assembly next chosen, first causing it to be published six months before such choice. If the proposal is agreed to by two-thirds of all the members elected to each house of such second General Assembly, then that body shall submit the proposal to the people; and, if the people approve and ratify the proposal by a majority of all those who voted for the members of the Assembly, voting for it, then the proposal becomes a part of the Constitution.

Such being the fundamental law of Tennessee, the thirty-third General Assembly appears before the world as striking out two sections of the State Constitution, by submitting a proposition to the people directly for the purpose; and, by a mere resolution, forming a military league with the Confederate States, and placing the whole military force of the State under the control of the President of those States; it also appears as setting aside the whole Constitution of the United States, and accepting another Constitution by means of a vote of the people of Tennessee, when that people had no sovereignty over their own territory except in subordination to the Constitution of the United

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States; it also raises a formidable army for the express purpose of joining the Confederate States in a war against the United States, when, in case of war, the President of the United States is commander of the army and of the militia of the States. Such was the climax of usurpation and violence which the secession movement attained in Tennessee, and it is too plain to need a statement, that if the people of the United States ever come to submit to like pretensions on the part of the people of a single State, or of any number of States, there is an end of any real liberty or government in this country.

The Legislature also passed resolutions recommending a congress of the officers of banks in the Southern States.

On the 16th of May the Governor issued a proclamation requiring all volunteer organizations in the State, who had heretofore drawn arms, and did not hold themselves in readiness for immediate service, to return them to the State arsenal in Nashville. The object was to disarm all organizations friendly to the Union.

An act to stop the collection of debts by citizens of Northern States was also passed, of which the following were sections:

SEC. 1. That no person in any non-slaveholding State, or their agents or attorneys in this State, shall have power to sue or collect any moneys owing to or any property claimed by the citizens of any such State in Tennessee during hostilities between Tennessee and the Federal Government.

SEC. 2. That it may and shall be lawful for such debtors to pay such moneys into the treasury of the State, which sums shall be receipted for by the treasurer, and shall be refunded with interest upon cessation of hostilities.

Meantime Union meetings of the most decided character were held in East Tennessee, and resolutions adopted, denouncing the action of the Legislature.

The progress of military affairs in the western part of the State had been such that at this time there were established on the Mississippi River five or six batteries of heavy guns, including mortars, columbiads, and 32 and 24-pounders, commanding the river from Memphis to the Kentucky line. About fifteen thousand troops were concentrated in West Tennessee under Major-General G. J. Pillow, as commander-in-chief, with Brigadier-Generals Cheatham and Sneed. Eight thousand troops of all arms from Mississippi had passed up the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, at Corinth, and at Grand Junction, on the Mississippi Central Railroad, on their way to a rendezvous near the Kentucky line, to act under Major-General Clark, of Mississippi, in concert with Major-General Pillow, of Tennessee. With these troops were some cavalry and two light batteries. At least seventy-five or one hundred heavy guns had been placed in battery, and other large guns were in the State ready for use. A *corps d'armée*, under command of Brigadier-General Foster, had assembled in Camp Cheatham. General William R. Caswell had assembled, and armed, and equipped a *corps d'armée* of some thousand men, in East Tennessee, ready to repel any attack in that division of the State.

In East Tennessee the attachment of the people to the Union continued very strong. On the 30th and 31st of May a Union convention was held at Knoxville, which manifested a determined spirit. This was shared by a large portion of the people in that part of the State. Their vote on the separation or secession ordinance was almost entirely in opposition. In several of the central and western counties a Union majority was given; but throughout the State only a portion of the vote was cast.

The Governor made an agreement with the Governor of Kentucky at this time, that no troops should cross the Tennessee line for any purpose, unless upon the invitation or permission of the latter. This proved worthless when the Confederate Government deemed it necessary to move a force into Kentucky. The rights of the State of Tennessee as a sovereign were not taken into account.

An adjourned session, and the fourth of the Legislature, was held about June 20, at which the Governor, in his address, brought to their notice the financial condition of the State. He said:

Under the provisions of the act of 1852 the principal and interest of the internal improvement State bonds are made payable in the city of New York. It will be impossible to pay the interest accruing at that point during the continuance of the war. I recommend that you so amend the laws referred to as to require the payment at the Bank of Tennessee, at Nashville, or at Charleston or New Orleans, of all sums which may become due from the State to the people of all Governments which are on terms of peace and friendship with us, who are and were previous to the commencement of the war bona fide owners of our bonds, and that you adopt such policy towards the owners and holders of our bonds who are citizens of States at war with us as is recognized and justified by the law of nations regulating their intercourse as belligerents.

The ordeal through which the country is now passing necessarily prostrates the trade and commerce of the country, and deranges the currency to a greater or less extent. Such legislation as will tend to secure a uniform currency throughout the Confederate States is of the highest importance. I therefore submit the question to your consideration for such action as, in your opinion, the general welfare demands.

By the —— section of the act of the 6th May, 1861, it is made the duty of the Governor to issue bonds of the State for the purpose of raising a fund with which to defray the expenses of the provisional army of the State. In view of the scarcity of a circulating medium, and the probable difficulty of converting any considerable amount of bonds into money in times like the present, I respectfully recommend that you so modify that act as to authorize the issuance of treasury notes to the extent of three-fifths of the amount of said bonds; and that the same, when issued, be made receivable by the State in payment of all taxes or government dues.

Bills were introduced to suspend the civil courts and the sale of property under execution; to prevent any one from holding any Federal office; to transfer the Hermitage to the Confederate States as the site of a military institution; to send representatives to the Montgomery Congress; to clothe the Governor

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with power to enroll all free colored males between sixteen and fifty for building fortifications; to repeal all laws in regard to bowie-knives; and to suspend the distribution of the common school fund.

On the 17th of June a large Union convention was held at Greenville, East Tennessee. All the counties were represented except Rhea. It continued for three days. A declaration of grievances was adopted, which stated facts showing that the right of free suffrage had been obstructed by a disunion government; that the people had been subjected to insults, their flags fired upon and torn down, their houses rudely entered, their families insulted, their women and children shot by a merciless soldiery, and their citizens robbed and assassinated; and that, in view of these facts, they resolved that the action of the State Legislature, in passing a declaration of independence, and in forming a military league with the Southern Confederacy, was unconstitutional, and not binding upon loyal citizens. In order to avoid a conflict with their brethren, a committee was appointed to prepare a memorial, asking the consent of the Legislature that the eastern part of the State may form a separate government. The aggregate votes in the several divisions of the State were then announced to be as follows on the ordinance of separation:

	For Separation.	*No Separation.*
East Tennessee	14,780	32,923
Middle Tennessee	58,265	8,198
West Tennessee	29,127	6,117
Military Camps	2,741	
	104,913	47,238
	47,238	
Majority	57,675	

The commanding general, Pillow, of the State forces, issued, on the 21st of June, an order confiscating, under the State law, the stock and claims of non-residents belonging to the Northern States:

"All merchants, brokers, and other persons owing allegiance to the State of Tennessee, and all banks in the State having on deposit balances, or on hand balances of specie, bills of exchange, notes, or other funds, or causes in action for collection, and belonging to the enemies of Tennessee, are, by a law of the State Legislature of the State, and by the laws of war, due to the State, and are hereby declared seized and sequestered, in reprisal for illegal siezures by the people and Government of the North."

A report of assets was ordered to be made to the adjutant-general's office.

On the 6th July, the Legislature adjourned. It passed the bill exempting State bonds for military purposes from taxation. Another act authorized the Governor to issue treasury notes for three millions of dollars, of the denomination of not less than five nor more than five hundred dollars, with interest not exceeding six per cent., the same to be receivable as currency. An act was also passed to make the treasury notes of the Confederate States bankable in Tennessee.

The first day of August was fixed for the State election, for the purpose of choosing Governor, members of the Legislature, and representatives in Congress; and on the day of the general election, the people were to vote for or against the permanent Constitution of the Confederate States.

Confederate troops were sent at the earliest moment to take possession of the three gaps in the mountains of East Tennessee, known as the Fentress, Wheeler, and Cumberland. Cleveland was also declared a military station. The mails of the United States were, by order of the proper department, continued in twenty-six of the counties of East Tennessee at this time, in consequence of the Union feeling which was manifested.

They were as follows: Anderson, Bledsoe, Blount, Bradley, Campbell, Carter, Claiborne, Cocke, Grainger, Green, Hamilton, Hancock, Hawkins, Johnson, Knox, Marion, McMuir, Meigs, Monroe, Morgan, Polk, Rhea, Sevier, Sullivan, and Washington.

On the other side every effort was made to procure arms. The Governor sent instructions to the clerks of all the county courts, requesting them to issue to each constable in their respective counties an order requiring him to make diligent inquiry at each house in his civil district for all muskets, bayonets, rifles, swords, and pistols belonging to the State of Tennessee, to take them into possession, and deliver them to the clerks.

A reward of one dollar was to be paid to the constable for each musket and bayonet or rifle, and of fifty cents for each sword or pistol thus reclaimed.

The arms thus obtained were to be forwarded, at public expense, to the military authorities at Nashville, Knoxville, and Memphis, as might be most convenient, and information sent to the military and financial board at Nashville, of the result.

Stringent measures were adopted with the Union people of East Tennessee. Many, upon bare suspicion, were arrested and taken prisoners, insulted, abused, and carried into camps, there to be disposed of as the Confederate mob thought proper. Squads of cavalry and infantry were scouring over the country, offering the people, male and female, every indignity that ruffian bands are capable of; destroying crops and substance without regard to the condition or circumstances of the persons; pasturing their horses in corn-fields, wasting hay-stacks, taking provisions of every description without regard to quantity, not even asking the price or tendering an equivalent therefor in any shape whatever.

Nashville was put under martial law. Passports were required, and all baggage was examined under directions of the Committee of Safety.

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Meanwhile, soldiers from East Tennessee found their way to the camps in Kentucky. The first regiment which came was composed of men who had been driven from their homes for their Union sentiments. They were described in the following terms:

"A very large proportion of them are men of religious instinct and habits, and not a night passes without the voice of morning and evening prayer being heard in the Tennessee camps. These earnest and devoted men, far from their families and homes, which are left to be desolated by ruthless hands, are yet firm and undaunted amid the calamity which has overtaken them. Their trust is in God and their own strong arms. A large proportion are young, unmarried men; but there are many heads of families and representatives of large landed estates. Some of the privates in the ranks, who have abandoned all they possessed rather than submit, are worth from $30,000 to $40,000 each. Some of the young men are willing to remain and assist in defending Kentucky, or serving anywhere that the Government may call them. But the great majority have set their hearts upon going back fully armed for the redemption of East Tennessee."

The act, forbidding payment to be made by citizens of Tennessee to Northern creditors, did not operate so favorably for the debtors as they had anticipated. They were ordered to pay the amount of their indebtedness into the Treasury of the Confederate States. In Nashville the merchants asked of the Government the privilege of paying these amounts in good paper of their "country customers."

The military efforts of the State were described by the Governor, in a Message to the Legislature, with much detail.

Tennessee had no military organization, and was almost destitute of arms. Her Executive had no authority to raise troops or procure arms until the act of the 6th of May, and yet, within less than two months from the passage of this act, the Governor says thirty thousand volunteers were organized and thrown into the field. He also stated that he had been compelled to decline the services of a large number tendered in excess of the demand.

In addition to the provisional army of the State, a number of regiments were raised for Confederate service, making in the aggregate thirty-eight infantry regiments, seven cavalry battalions, and sixteen artillery companies, which Tennessee had sent to sustain the Confederacy. To overcome the want of arms and ammunition cut off by the blockade and lack of access to Northern markets, an armory was established at Nashville, and the State had for some time been receiving about two hundred and fifty army guns per week. Cannon, also, were cast in the State, and one percussion cap factory in Tennessee had already furnished more than twelve millions of caps, and produced over a quarter of a million per day. The State had also made liberal advances to manufacturers of powder, to enable them to increase their machinery to the highest degree of efficiency.

All this had been accomplished within six months from the first of May by Tennessee, and while the State was far from being a unit in support of the Confederacy. The facts might be taken as an evidence of what the Confederate States had done to sever the Union by force of arms.

At this session of the Legislature an act was passed to authorize tax collectors and other revenue officers to receive treasury notes of the Confederate States in payment of taxes; also, an act to abolish the Courts of Chancery.

As the year approached its close, the storm was rapidly gathering which was soon to burst over the State, and no one was more quick to foresee its coming than Governor Harris. On the 12th of November he issued the following proclamation:

NASHVILLE, *November* 12, 1861.

The State must, and to the full extent of its resources shall, be defended. Threatened with invasion, all good citizens will regard it as a patriotic duty to make any reasonable sacrifice to repel the invaders. Regiments are now in camp and organized, while others are ready to organize, but for want of arms are not prepared to take the field.

Prompted by the noblest impulses of patriotism, these men are ready to take the field to defend your homes, and to prevent the theatre of this cruel and vindictive war being brought within our borders. They appeal to you, who quietly remain at home, to place arms in their hands, that they may give you protection and security.

If you fail to respond to this appeal, I shall be compelled by the sternest convictions of duty, charged as I am with the responsibility of seeing that the State is defended, to disband these regiments of brave soldiers, and call you who have arms into the service as militia.

I earnestly entreat that the people will bring forward and deliver to the clerk of the county court of their respective counties, or to such other agents as I may send to the various counties, every effective double barrel shot-gun and sporting rifle which they may have, to be immediately shipped to the arsenal at Nashville, Knoxville, or Memphis, where the same will be valued by a competent ordnance officer, and the value paid to the owner by the Confederate Government.

I urge you to give me your aid in the important work of arming our troops, with which we can repel the invaders; but if you refuse, prepare to take the field, for I am resolved to exhaust all resources, before the foot of the invader shall pollute the soil of Tennessee. Respectfully,

ISHAM G. HARRIS.

At this time, the Confederate Government, through Gen. A. S. Johnston, made a requisition upon the State for thirty thousand troops for immediate active service. The Governor accordingly issued a proclamation calling for that number of troops. He urged upon all who might be able to do so to supply themselves with the most effective arms the country afforded, such as the Tennessee rifle, the double and single shot-gun. These arms would be replaced by furnishing the troops with the regular army gun at the earliest practicable period.

The following is the proclamation issued by the Governor:

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NASHVILLE, Tenn., *Nov.* 19, 1861.

To the officers in command of the Militia of the State of Tennessee in the Second, Third, and Fourth Divisions:

The danger of invasion on the part of the Federal forces is imminent. This invasion threatens the quiet and security of your homes, and involves the destruction of your sacred rights of person and property. The warning example of Maryland, Missouri, and Kentucky bids you, if you would preserve your firesides, your homes, and the sanctity of your wives and daughters, to meet the despotic invader and his minions at the threshold of your State and drive him back. Let the soil of Tennessee be preserved from his unhallowed touch, and let him know that in defence of our liberties and our altars every Tennessean is ready to yield up his life. Gen. A. S. Johnston, commanding the forces of the Confederate States in this department, in view of the threatened danger, has called upon me to send to the field such force as can be armed by the State.

In obedience to which requisition, and to repel the invader, thirty thousand of the militia of this State are hereby called into the field.

Officers in command of the militia of the second, third, and fourth divisions will hold their commands in readiness to receive marching orders by the 25th inst., unless, in the mean time, a sufficient number of volunteers shall have tendered their services to fill this requisition.

Special orders to the commanders of the militia, apportioning this requisition among the different brigades of said divisions, will be immediately forwarded, accompanied with such instructions and directions as may be necessary for the movement of troops to the places of rendezvous.

In the mean time, captains will direct their companies to parade on some given day, with whatever arms they may have, and they will take all other proper and legal steps to possess the arms within the bounds of their respective districts, and immediately report to the commanding officer of their regiments the number of arms and accoutrements, as well as the strength of their companies.

Meanwhile Federal troops from the northwestern States were steadily pouring into the camp at Cairo, which was well known in Tennessee, where consternation began to prevail. In East Tennessee the Union men were strong in numbers, and now began to take courage. On the day for the election of President Davis under the permanent Constitution a very small vote was polled in that part of the State. In Roane County, which usually gave two thousand votes, less than three hundred and fifty were polled. In Knox County the submission candidate for the Confederate Congress received only eighty votes, where the Union men numbered over three thousand.

Animated by these encouraging indications, an attempt was made to embarrass the Confederate Government by burning the bridges on the great line of railroad connecting the Southwest with Virginia. In one week five bridges were burned in East Tennessee, to impede the movements of Confederate troops, as follows: bridge over the Hiawassee River at Charleston, on the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad; bridge over Lick Creek, on the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad; bridge over the Holston River at Union, on the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad; two small bridges on the Chickamanga Creek, on the Western and Atlantic Railroad. The telegraph wires were cut at various places between Knoxville and Chattanooga, and Knoxville and Bristol. The damage was estimated at about $50,000, but the interruption of the trains was the most serious consequence.

On the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad, which extends from Knoxville to Bristol, a distance of 130¼ miles, all in East Tennessee, there are 2,401 feet of trestle work; 11 truss bridges of a joint length of 2,815 feet, equal to an average length of 256 feet; 4 arch bridges of a joint length of 345 feet; and 40 stringer bridges of a joint length of 938 feet. Here are 6,499 feet, almost 1¼ mile of wooden structures, which are perishable by fire. And as the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad is a link in the great southern route from the Potomac to the Mississippi, the destruction of its bridges would necessarily be a severe blow to the Confederate strength in Virginia. Most stringent measures were adopted by the Confederate authorities, and the work of destruction ceased. (*See* CONFEDERATE STATES, page 153.)

The representatives of Tennessee in the Confederate Congress were Gustavus A. Henry and Landon C. Haynes, senators; and D. M. Currin, J. D. C. Atkins, H. E. Foster, Thomas Menees, Geo. W. Jones, M. P. Gentry, W. G. Swann, W. H. Tibbs, E. L. Gardner, and J. T. Heiskell, representatives.

TERRITORIES. The territories of the United States, which were originally of very vague extent, under the grants to the colonies, have gradually been consolidated by treaties until they extend across the continent, having an Atlantic coast line of 1,900 miles. The Gulf coast has a line of 1,600 miles from the Florida capes to the Rio Grande. The Pacific coast line is 1,620 miles, including California, Oregon, and the Straits of Fuca. The area of this vast territory is 2,059,623 square miles, or 1,318,156,720 acres. A large portion of this territory was acquired by various treaties; with Great Britain in 1783, 1842, and 1846; with Spain in 1795 and in 1819; with France in 1803; with Mexico in 1848. The area annexed by this last treaty is estimated to be equal to all possessed before by the United States. This vast region has been very rapidly surveyed and organized into separate territories, or admitted as States within the last few years. In the year 1861 Kansas was admitted as a State; three new territories, Nevada, Colorado, and Dakotah, were created; and two, Arizona and Chippewa, were nearly ready for organization. The Territory of Dakotah was formed out of what was Minnesota Territory, 52,454,400 acres, and 156,762,880 of what was formerly the northern part of Nebraska. It contains, therefore, 209,217,280 acres, or 326,902 square miles, and is the largest of all the territories. There were surveyed during the year, 60,639 acres. Its boundary on the north is the international line of 49° north latitude; east, the States of Iowa and Minnesota; south, the Missouri River, the

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Running Waters, and the Turtle Hill River following this last to the Rocky Mountains, which form the western boundary. The Indian title is extinguished to 14,000,000 acres, and a land office opened at Yankton. The territory is drained by the Missouri River on the south, and by the Red River of the North emptying into Hudson Bay; possessing, for the most part, a fine healthy climate and good soil; it was first settled on the north by emigrants in the employ of the Hudson Bay Company, and is now peopled from the Northern and Western States. Capital, YANKTON. The population in 1860 was 4,839 whites, and a large number of Indians of different tribes. In this territory the buffalo and other wild animals are found in great abundance.

The Colorado Territory was organized by act of Congress, Feb. 28, 1861. It was formed of 47,657,600 acres, formerly included in the territories of Utah and Kansas, and 10,262,400 acres in that of Nebraska, and 8,960,000 acres formerly in New Mexican territory; making an area of 66,880,000 acres, or 104,500 square miles. By a treaty with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, made Feb. 1861, but not yet ratified, about one third of the area of Colorado situated north of the Arkansas River and east of the Rocky Mountains was ceded to the United States. The mining attractions of Pike's Peak, included in the territory, had produced numerous settlements on the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains, and in May, 1861, the land office was opened at Denver City, and surveys were commenced. The name Idahoe, or "Gem of the Mountains," was originally proposed for the territory, from reference to Pike's Peak. The boundaries of the territory are: north, the 41st degree N. lat.; south, 37th degree N. lat.; east, 25th meridian of longitude; west, 32d meridian of longitude. The population of the territory in 1860 was 34,197, together with many tribes of Indians. The climate is very healthy and the soil fertile. It is remarkable as a grazing country. The timber in the mountains is plentiful, and coal and other minerals very abundant, including gold and silver.

The Nevada Territory, organized March 2, 1861, is mostly conspicuous for the possession of the famous Washoe silver mines. Its boundaries are: north, the 42d degree of latitude; east, the 39th meridian of longitude; south, New Mexico; west, the dividing ridge separating the waters of Carson's Valley from those that flow into the Pacific. This area embraces 64,550 square miles, or 41,312,000 acres, formerly a portion of Utah, and includes a strip of about 10,000 square miles from the eastern end of California, if that State consents. The surveyor opened his office in Carson City. Some surveys had been made under the authority of Utah, and some depredations were made by persons claiming under those surveys. The Washoe valley is 15 miles long by 5 wide, and contains numerous settlers. The surveyor-general reports the population in 1861 at 17,000, mostly in the mining regions, the resources of which are being very rapidly developed. The supply of silver from Washoe at the United States mint was in 1861 $213,420.

The projected Territory of Arizona may embrace all the territory obtained from Mexico east of the Colorado and its affluent, the Virgin River, and west of the 108th meridian; on the north, the parallel 36° 30′ separates it from Utah, and on the south is the Mexican border. The area is estimated at 200,000 square miles, and the population about 8,000 Mexicans. The mineral wealth is very great, but only $12,260 reached the United States mint in 1861 from Arizona.

The territory lying between Nebraska, Dakotah, the Rocky Mountains and the British dominions, having an area of 130,000 square miles, and a population of about 8,000, it is proposed to call Chippewa.

TEXAS is, with the exception of Florida, the most southern portion of the United States. It is bounded on the north by New Mexico, Indian Territory, and Arkansas; on the east by Arkansas and Louisiana; on the southeast by the Gulf of Mexico; and on the southwest and west by Mexico and New Mexico. Its area of territory is nearly six times that of the State of Pennsylvania. Formerly a part of Mexico, afterwards an independent State, it became one of the United States in 1846—reserving the right to be divided into five States. By the Compromise Act of 1850 the boundaries of the State were somewhat modified, she conceding to New Mexico a portion of her northern territory, in consideration of ten millions of dollars to be paid by the United States.

The Governor is elected for two years. The Senate consists of twenty-one members, elected for four years; and the House of sixty-six members, elected for two years. The Legislature meets biennially in December.

The population, in 1860, was 421,411 whites, 339 free colored, 180,682 slaves. Total, 602,432.

The secession sentiment, which manifested itself immediately after the election in November, was neither strong nor unanimous. It existed more through the inactivity and indecision of those inclined to the Union. In some parts of the State distant from the Gulf, it was almost unknown. Even in Austin, the capital, a counter demonstration was made as early as the 17th of December. Several young men, tired of the display of the Lone Star, and the overbearing course of the secessionists, drove through the city with national flags displayed from their carriages. This struck the chord in favor of the "Star-Spangled Banner," and they were vociferously cheered. The spirit, once awakened, received volume, and on the night of the 17th December Governor Houston and F. M. White, Commissioner of the General Land Office, were serenaded by a procession of five hundred people. They both responded in enthusiastic Union speeches. On the 23d December, the largest meeting ever held at the

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capital assembled; a pole ninety feet high was raised, from which streamed the Stars and Stripes. The masses came from the hills and mountains. Men, women, and children marched in procession to the capital, where they were addressed by distinguished citizens. Patriotic resolutions were passed amidst enthusiastic cheers for the Union. "Hail Columbia," and other patriotic airs were played by the German band and sung by the ladies. The crowd would not disperse, but at night formed a torchlight and transparency procession, and marched through the principal streets.

The Governor had thus far withstood all efforts to induce him to call a session of the Legislature. He was well known to the country for his public services during a long series of years. A Southern man by birth, he had shed his blood on more than one Southern battle field. About this time he issued an address to the people of the State, expressing the reasons why he did not call an extra session of the Legislature. In this address he declared that he had no intention or desire to thwart the wishes of the people, and believed that the time had come for the South to make a firm stand for its rights; but he believed that the precipitate action of two or three extreme Southern States would involve the Border States in destruction, drive slavery from them at once, and ruin their citizens. They had long stood the bulwark against abolitionism, and they had a right, now in their time of trouble, to expect their sister States to stand by them. They claimed, and with reason, that the South can maintain its rights in the Union. He therefore would not abandon them, but would counsel with them as to the wrongs of the South and the remedy therefor, and endeavor to bring the North to a sense of justice. With this object in view, he had transmitted to the Governor of each Southern State the Texan legislative resolutions providing for the election of seven delegates to meet delegates from other slaveholding States to confer upon measures for preserving the rights of the South in the Union. He had also taken measures for the election of such delegates in Texas. This, he thought, was sufficient, as but few counties had petitioned for an extra session of the Legislature, to hold which would involve an expense of a hundred thousand dollars, at a time when the treasury was nearly exhausted and a debt accumulating upon the State. Let the people at the ballot-box select men to reflect their sentiments in a Convention of Southern States, and no one could complain. In closing, Governor Houston said: "The question now is, will Texas act a discreet part and unite with the other Southern States in a Convention which shall take into consideration the grievances we suffer through the passage of unconstitutional laws in some of the Northern States, calculated to defeat the execution of the fugitive slave law, and all other causes which have disturbed the harmony which should exist between the two sections of the Union? When such a Convention assembles, the sagacious statesmen of the South will be in its councils. They will look at the questions presented for their consideration like men who owe duties to themselves, their constituents, and posterity; and I trust that through the influence of their deliberations those States which, prompted by indignant feelings at the triumph of our sectional opponents, have resolved to precipitate the entire South into revolution, will hesitate to take such a step, but will make common cause with all the Southern States in the endeavor to preserve the equal rights of such States in the Union."

In his correspondence with the Commissioner, J. M. Calhoun, sent to Texas by the State Convention of Alabama, Governor Houston said that "secession will involve civil war and the ruin of our institutions, if not of liberty itself." He further expressed the opinion that Texas could not "rely for protection on an alliance with the Gulf States alone," and he therefore desired a consultation with the Border Slave States. He said further, that "Texas has views of expansion not common to many of her sister States," and he foreshadowed his policy of making a conquest of Mexico by the prowess of Texas alone, &c. The Governor said that he could not make up his mind to desert the true men in the North, and such he believed was the sentiment of the State, until at least one more effort was made to preserve her constitutional rights within the Union.

On the 3d of January, the office of the "Wöchentliche Union," a German newspaper printed at Galveston, was sacked by a mob, because the "Union" had admitted articles against the secession movement. The editor had been for nineteen years a citizen of the State, and was a slaveholder.

The call for the Convention in Texas was revolutionary. It was signed by sixty-one individuals. Upon this call delegates were elected.

About the same time one of the members of the Legislature took the responsibility of issuing a call for the meeting of that body in extra session. To avoid a conflict between the State authorities and the revolutionists, Governor Houston convened the Legislature in extra session at Austin on January 22d.

The following is the proclamation issued by the Governor:

Whereas there has been and yet is great excitement existing in the public mind, arising from various causes, touching our relations with the Federal Government and many of the States, and a portion of the people have expressed a desire that the Legislature should be convened in extra session; and *whereas* the Executive desires that such measures should be adopted as will secure a free expression of the popular will through the ballot-box upon the question at issue, involving their peace, security, and happiness, and the action of the whole people made known in relation to the course which it may be proper and necessary for Texas, as one of the States of the Union, to pursue, in order to maintain, if possible, her rights in the

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Union, as guaranteed by the Federal Constitution; and *whereas* our frontier is now invaded by Indians, and the lives of our citizens taken and their property destroyed; and *whereas* the treasury is without means either to defend the frontier or meet ordinary expenses of government:

Now, therefore, I, Sam Houston, Governor of the State of Texas, for the reasons herein set forth, do hereby issue this my proclamation, ordering the Legislature of the State of Texas to convene in extra session at the Capitol, in the city of Austin, on Monday, the 21st day of January, A. D. 1861.

When the Legislature assembled, he addressed a message to them, in which he favored delay as long as possible, in holding a State Convention. He was himself opposed to calling one, and believed that the Union could be preserved.

The Legislature sanctioned the election of delegates to the State Convention, which assembled one week later, by the adoption of the following

JOINT RESOLUTION *concerning the Convention of the people of Texas, called in pursuance of the Bill of Rights.*

Whereas the people of Texas, being much concerned for the preservation of the rights, liberties, and powers of the State and its inhabitants, endangered by the political action of a majority of the States, and the people of the same, have, in the exercise of powers reserved to themselves in the Bill of Rights, called a Convention, composed of two members for each representative in the Legislature, from the various districts established by the apportionment law of 1860, to assemble on the 28th day of January, 1861, at the city of Austin; which Convention, by the terms of the call, made by numerous assemblages of citizens in various parts of the State, was, when elected and assembled, to have power to consider the condition of public affairs; to determine what shall be the future relations of this State to the Union, and such other matters as are necessarily and properly incident thereto; and in case it should be determined by said Convention that it is necessary for the preservation of the rights and liberties aforesaid that the sovereignty of Texas should resume the powers delegated to the Federal Government, in the Constitution of the United States, and by the articles of annexation, then the ordinance of said Convention resuming said delegated powers, and repealing the ratification by the people of Texas of said articles of annexation, should be submitted to a vote of the qualified electors of this State for their ratification or rejection: Therefore—

Be it resolved by the Legislature of the State of Texas, That the Government of the State of Texas hereby gives its assent to and approves of the Convention aforesaid.

SEC. 2. That this resolution take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

With a protest against the assumption of any powers on the part of said Convention beyond the reference of the question of a longer connection of Texas with the Union to the people, approved 4th February, 1861.

SAM. HOUSTON.

Resolutions had been offered for delaying the secession movement, but these were twice laid on the table. A resolution was also passed repudiating the idea of using forcible means for coercing any seceding State, and declaring that any such attempt would be resisted to the last extremity. A bill was passed requiring the ordinance of secession, if adopted by the State Convention, to be submitted to the people.

On the 28th of January, the State Convention assembled. The call having been irregular, the vote for members was very light.

There are 122 counties in the State, of which nearly half held no election, and were not represented in the Convention. Some of these were: Old Nacogdoches, with 1,023 legal voters; Lamar, with 1,123 voters; Blanco, with 1,139 voters; Cherokee, with 1,644 voters; Fannin, with 1,183 voters.

The vote in some of the counties were as follows: Anderson, with 1,093 voters, only 387 voted; Bastrop, 769 voters, 153 voted; Collin, 1,119 voters, 211 voted; Grayson, 1,217 voters, 280 voted; Hays, 296 voters, 67 voted; Jackson, 296 voters, 40 voted; Lampasas, 285 voters, 50 voted; Red River, 879 voters, 60 voted; Travis, 1,011 voters, 342 voted. This county has Austin within its limits.

On the 5th of February, an ordinance of secession was passed in the Convention by a vote of ayes 166, nays 7. The following is the ordinance:

AN ORDINANCE *to dissolve the Union between the State of Texas and the other States under the compact styled "the Constitution of the United States of America."*

SEC. 1. Whereas the Federal Government has failed to accomplish the purposes of the compact of union between these States, in giving protection either to the persons of our people upon an exposed frontier, or to the property of our citizens; and whereas, the action of the Northern States is violative of the compact between the States and the guarantees of the Constitution; and whereas, the recent developments in Federal affairs make it evident that the power of the Federal Government is sought to be made a weapon with which to strike down the interests and property of the people of Texas and her sister slaveholding States, instead of permitting it to be, as was intended —our shield against outrage and aggression—therefore, "We, the people of the State of Texas, by delegates in the Convention assembled, do declare and ordain that the ordinance adopted by our Convention of delegates on the fourth (4th) day of July, A. D. 1845, and afterwards ratified by us, under which the Republic of Texas was admitted into the Union with other States, and became a party to the compact styled 'The Constitution of the United States of America,' be, and is hereby repealed and annulled."

That all the powers which, by the said compact, were delegated by Texas to the Federal Government are resumed. That Texas is of right absolved from all restraints and obligations incurred by said compact, and is a separate sovereign State, and that her citizens and people are absolved from all allegiance to the United States or the Government thereof.

SEC. 2. The ordinance shall be submitted to the people of Texas for their ratification or rejection, by the qualified voters, on the 23d day of February, 1861; and unless rejected by a majority of the votes cast, shall take effect and be in force on and after the 2d day of March, A. D. 1861. Provided that in the representative district of El Paso said election may be held on the 18th day of February, 1861.

Done by the people of the State of Texas, in convention assembled, at Austin, the 1st day of February, A. D. 1861.

Public sentiment was in favor of joining a Southern Confederacy, and on the 11th an ordinance was passed favoring the formation of such a Confederacy, and electing seven delegates to a Southern Congress.

A report was received from a Committee of Safety, which had been appointed, accompanied with a resolution to the effect that said com-

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mittee should be authorized to act during the recess of the Convention. They were to be authorized to hold their sittings at such times and places as might be most convenient. This was adopted.

On the 14th the Convention adjourned to the 20th of February.

The vote to refer the ordinance of secession to the people was quite as unanimous in the Convention as was that on the adoption of the ordinance. The election of delegates being to some extent informal, and scarcely half of the vote of the State having been cast, it was thought best that the ordinance of secession should receive the sanction of the people before it should be declared final.

The ordinance of secession was submitted to the voters of the State on the 23d of February, which election was legalized by the Legislature, and approved by the Governor under a protest against the shortness of time intervening between the passage of the ordinance and the day of election. The vote in eighty counties of the State was: For secession, 34,794; against secession, 11,235. Majority for secession, 23,559. The vote at the Presidential election in November previous was: Lincoln, ——; Douglas, ——; Breckinridge, 47,548; Bell, 15,438.

On the 2d of March the Convention reassembled without a quorum, and on the 4th the vote was counted. When the result was announced in the Convention, and the President declared that Texas was a free and independent State, there immediately ensued a tremendous burst of cheering and enthusiastic applause.

On the 5th the Convention passed an ordinance instructing the delegates, whom it had previously appointed to the Southern Congress, to apply for the admission of Texas into the Southern Confederacy, and to that end to give the adhesion of Texas to the Provisional Constitution of the said Confederacy.

A resolution was then introduced to appoint a committee to wait on Governor Houston and ask his coöperation, as the Executive of the State, with the Convention. This resolution caused some excitement in the Convention, and, after debate, the following was adopted in lieu of it, viz.:

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed by the President to wait on his Excellency the Governor, and inform him that the Convention has re-assembled; that the ordinance of secession has been ratified by the people; and that the State of Texas is and has been from the 2d of this current month a free, sovereign, and independent State.

The committee appointed in pursuance of the resolution waited formally upon the Governor, and presented to him a copy of the resolution, together with the following letter:

AUSTIN, TEXAS, *March 5th*, 1861.

To his Excellency, &c.:

DEAR SIR: The undersigned having been appointed a committee, by the Convention of the people of Texas now in session, to present to your Excellency the accompanying resolution, passed this day by that body, this duty we now most respectfully perform, and will with pleasure be the bearer of any communication your Excellency may wish to make to the Convention in reply.

With sentiments of esteem and regard, we remain your Excellency's obedient servants,

W. P. ROGERS, THOS. J. JENNINGS,
J. B. ROBERTSON, A. S. BROADUS,
W. A. MONTGOMERY.

Governor Houston, in reply to this letter, transmitted to the Committee on the 6th the following communication:

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, AUSTIN, TEXAS, *March* 6, 1861.

W. P. Rogers and others, Committee:

GENTLEMEN: In reply to your communication of the 5th I can say, when the Legislature authorized the Convention to submit the proposition to the people of Texas, on the subject of secession from the Federal Government of the United States, it was understood that the performance of that act, when done, would terminate the existence of the Convention. The Executive approved the same, with a protest against the shortness of the time allowed, owing to the great limits of our State. By a subsequent act of the Legislature it was required that the returns of the votes should be made at the office of the Secretary of State, and counted in the presence of the Governor and Attorney-General. The votes were counted, and the result declared, by proclamation, that a majority of the votes cast was for secession. By an act of the Legislature the Convention was empowered only to submit the question of secession to the vote of the people. The Convention performed the functions assigned it by the Legislature, and, in the opinion of Executive, its powers were then exhausted. The Executive will recommend to the Legislature, which is to re-assemble on the 18th instant, to take into consideration the important issues arising out of the severance of our connection with the United States, with such recommendations and suggestions as he may think proper in the discharge of this duty. It will then be within the province of the Legislature to take such action on the subject as it may think proper; and also to call a convention, directly from the people, who will fairly represent their wishes and opinions, and who will have authority to make such changes in the constitution of the State as her present and future relations to the world at large may require. Until then, it will be the duty of the Executive, as well as all State officers, to continue in the lawful discharge of their functions, confining their action to the sphere of Texas only.

The Executive tenders his respects to the gentlemen of the Convention, and assures you, gentlemen, individually, of his esteem.

Very truly, your obedient servant,
SAM HOUSTON.

This communication produced much feeling in the Convention, which was thus described by a spectator: "Some favored a reference of the communication to a committee of ten, with instructions to answer the alleged misstatements contained in it. Others favored the passing it by in contemptuous silence, and to instruct the Committee on the Constitution to prepare immediately an ordinance requiring all State and county officers to take the oath of allegiance to support the new Government and carry out in good faith the ordinances of the Convention. It was thought by many at the time that the Governor had commissioned several officers under the militia law, with a view of raising men for the purpose of resisting the action of the Convention. He opposed the confederation of Texas with the other Southern States, and favored her setting up for herself."

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On the 8th, the Convention passed the following ordinance in relation to the Governor's letter:

Whereas, a letter bearing date March 6, 1861, has been read before this Convention, written by the Executive of this State, addressed to a Committee of this body, calling in question the power of the Convention to do more than submit the ordinance of secession to the people of Texas for their ratification or rejection; and *whereas* it is important that there should be no misunderstanding on this subject—

Resolved, That this Convention do now declare that it not only had the power to pass and submit the ordinance of secession, but also that it possesses and will exercise the right, on behalf of the people of Texas, to do whatever may be incidental to the same, and that may be necessary and proper for the protection of the rights of the people and the defence of the State in the present emergency, and that it will as speedily as practicable consummate the connection of Texas with the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America, whose Constitution has already been ratified by an ordinance of this Convention.

Resolved further, That this resolution be communicated by the Secretary of this Convention to the respective Departments of the State Government.

An ordinance was also passed declaring that vessels sent by the Federal Government to receive the returning troops should not be seized. The unexpected turn of affairs in the Texas Department, by which all or nearly all of the troops had been suddenly discharged from service by the surrender of the various military posts in that State, devolved on the War Department the necessity of promptly furnishing them with the means of subsistence, and, if required, of conveyance to more northern posts. For this purpose, steamers were sent out from New York by the authorities at Washington. The condition of affairs in the State at this time, as viewed under a commercial aspect, may be briefly told in the words of one who was a calm spectator of the passing scenes: "There is a wild spirit of legislation here, that will lead to improvident expenditure, onerous taxation, stay laws, prostration of credit, and mischief generally. You know nothing of the recklessness afloat here in all matters of law and government. Our interests here are at the mercy of a set of men who think they can legislate the State into glory and grandeur by passing stay laws, and who bid fair to legislate it, posthaste, into debt, bankruptcy, and another repudiation of the scaling sort. Several expeditions are already on foot to be paid for by taxation. Several sessions of Convention and Legislature are on hand to be paid for by taxation. A new Government is to be organized and got under way, with all its costly machinery, to be paid for by taxation. Every expenditure will be of the most thriftless sort, and on a reckless scale, for we are no economists down here. Government has become a mere child's play, and law a thing to be made and unmade at pleasure. Of course the remedy may come after awhile, with the retribution, when the evils weigh heavily on the people. But, in the mean time, much mischief will have been done."

For the protection of the frontier, the Legislature passed an act to authorize the organization of mounted companies of sixty men in each frontier county. Ten men of the company were to be constantly in service, and the others called out for any time not exceeding twelve days at once. An issue of treasury warrants, receivable for taxes, was authorized to defray claims against the State.

The House also passed a bill authorizing the Governor to issue State bonds to the amount of five hundred thousand dollars, in case of invasion from any quarter, one fifth of the whole annual State tax to be appropriated as a sinking fund until the bonds were paid.

The numerical strength of the United States army in Texas was about 2,500 men, divided into thirty-seven companies—twenty-two infantry, five artillery, and ten cavalry. Twenty companies were on the Rio Grande—fifteen infantry, and five artillery. The other seventeen companies—were stationed in the interior, from Camp Cooper, Phantom Hill, in the northern part of the State, south as far as San Antonio and Fort Inge, near Fort Duncan, on the Rio Grande.

On the withdrawal of these troops, their places on the Rio Grande were supplied by State militia from Galveston, and the neighboring counties.

Previous to this time, the surrender of Major-General Twiggs, the United States commander in that Department, to the authorities in Texas took place. This caused great astonishment at Washington, where it was hardly anticipated. The secession of the State was not then, in fact, consummated. There had been no vote of the people upon the ordinance. The United States army was allowed to march to the coast by the articles of agreement, and to take with them their side-arms, facilities for transportation and subsistence, as well as two batteries of flying artillery of four guns each. The means of transportation were to be surrendered, and left upon arrival at the coast. By this treaty, without one drop of bloodshed, and "without sullying in the least the honor of the United States army," Texas came into possession of over thirteen hundred thousand dollars' worth of property, principally consisting of munitions of war.

The seizure of all the property of the United States was complete. The revenue cutter was surrendered, and the lighthouse supply-vessel for the coast was captured. This vessel, the "Guthrie," sailed from New Bedford, Massachusetts, November 8, 1860, with a full cargo of supplies for one year for all the lighthouses and light vessels between Amelia Island, Georgia, and the Rio Grande, Texas. The master in charge reached the bay at Galveston on the 5th of March, for the purpose of delivering the year's supply of oil, &c. to the Bolivar Point and other lighthouses in that vicinity. While he was absent from the vessel, attending to the delivery of the supplies, the Guthrie was boarded by

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several men, accompanied by an individual calling himself General Sherman, claiming to act by authority, and under the orders of the "Committee of Safety at Galveston." These men got the vessel under weigh, and proceeded with her nearer the cutter, where she was detained.

Subsequently, in the Convention, an ordinance was passed requiring the State officers to appear before that body and take an oath, or that they, or either of them, who might refuse, should be considered as no longer in office. The Governor and the Secretary of State, neglecting or refusing to comply, the Convention, on the 20th of March, passed an ordinance declaring vacant the Gubernatorial chair, and that of the Secretary of State, on account of the refusal of those holding these offices to appear before the Convention, as did the other State officers, to take the oath of allegiance to the Confederate States. Lieut.-Governor Clark was required to assume the functions of Governor at once, and the Secretary of State called on to hand over the great seal of office and his official records.

The Legislature of the State met again on the 18th. The members of the House and Senate took the new oath of allegiance. The archives, seal, &c., were surrendered by the Governor and Secretary of State.

Some detachments of United States troops still remained in the State, and these were made prisoners, and released upon parole. On the 24th of April, Colonel Van Dorn, with a Texan force on steamers, came down from Indianola to Saluria, and anchored near the schooners having on board the United States troops under Major Sibley, numbering 450. An interview took place during the next day between the commanding officers, which ended in the surrender of the entire Federal force as prisoners of war. The officers were to be released on parole, and the men on their oaths that they would not take up arms against the Southern Confederacy, after surrendering their arms and all the property of the companies; such of the men and officers as desired were to be received into the Confederate army. Private property was not to be molested, and the soldiers were not permitted to leave the State except by way of Galveston and the Mississippi River.

On the 9th of May, six companies of the 8th United States Infantry, under command of Lieut.-Colonel Reeve, surrendered to a Confederate force under Colonel Van Dorn, near San Lucas Springs, about twenty-two miles west of San Antonio, and on the Castroville road. Colonel Reeve's command consisted of 366 rank and file, with their appropriate officers, together with Colonel Bumford and several other officers who were on leave, or under orders to report at other points, and who, taking advantage of the troops coming to San Antonio, sought and obtained the escort of the same.

Colonel Van Dorn left his camp on the Leon at four o'clock on Thursday morning, the 8th, and took a position previously selected, about two miles to the westward on the road leading to Castroville, where he formed his command into line of battle. Shortly after daylight the pickets and spies reported Colonel Reeve as having left his camp at two o'clock, A. M., as had been his custom on this march, and having reached the high ridge of land near San Lucas Springs, and at the ranche of Mr. Adams, where he had halted his command, taken possession of the large stone house, barricaded the road with his wagons, and placed his troops in position behind the strong corral fences and in the stone house, apparently to await the assault.

Upon this being announced to the colonel commanding the Confederate troops, he ordered a forward movement of the whole command and gave directions for the forming of the line of battle. The infantry, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Duff, were placed on the right; the battery of flying artillery—six pieces, 12-pounders—under Captain Edgar, in the centre, with the cavalry and mounted troops under Colonel H. E. McCulloch on the left. The whole command, numbering some 1,500 troops of all arms, presenting a very fine appearance, with banners flying, drums beating, sabres and bayonets glittering in the meridian sun, horses pawing and neighing, the field officers flying from one end of the field to another, carrying the commands of their chief.

Under a flag of truce, borne by Capts. Wilcox and Majors, a demand was made of an unconditional surrender of the United States troops as prisoners of war, and five minutes given to answer it. Col. Reeve would not agree to the terms unless Col. Van Dorn would convince him that he had sufficient strength to enforce them, by permitting an officer of his command, whom he would designate, to see the troops and report to him; the prompt answer returned was, that he should have that opportunity to see the troops, and the more he saw of them the less he would like it. The officer designated by Col. Reeve was Lieut. Bliss, a young officer of distinguished bravery, well known in the United States army, who mounted a horse, rode down the line of Confederate troops, and was repeatedly cheered. Suffice it to say, on his report, Col. Reeve surrendered with his command, together with all the public property in his possession, unconditionally, as prisoners of war, giving his word of honor that he would report himself and command at Col. Van Dorn's camp on the Leon that evening at 6 o'clock.

The Confederates then retired to camp, where they arrived about 3 o'clock P. M. At 5 o'clock P. M. Col. Reeve's command arrived in camp, and their ground being designated by the proper officer, they pitched their tents as orderly, and stacked their arms with as much precision as if on inspection parade. Next morning at 5 o'clock the infantry and cavalry struck their tents and marched into San Antonio, where they arrived in good condition at 6 o'clock. Col. Reeve's command marched to

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the San Pedro Springs, two miles above San Antonio, to a camp designated by a proper officer, where all the arms and Government property were given up.

On the 18th of May, Gov. Houston addressed the people at Independence. The closing sentence of his speech was as follows:

"I have ever been conservative, was conservative as long as the Union lasted, am a conservative citizen of the Southern Confederacy, and, giving to the constituted authorities of the country, civil and military, and the Government which a majority of the people have approved and acquiesced in, an honest obedience, I feel that I should do less than my duty, did I not press upon others the importance of regarding this the first duty of a good citizen."

Still later in the year, near the latter part of September, the ex-Governor issued a letter explaining his position. In this letter he says:

"The time has been when there was a powerful Union sentiment in Texas, and a willingness on the part of many true patriots to give Mr. Lincoln a fair trial in the administration of the Federal Government. There was also a time when many of the best men in the country hoped that by an energetic demonstration they might bring about a reconstruction of the Government upon such principles as might guarantee the rights of the South. These times have passed by, while Union and reconstruction have become obsolete terms, or, if even mentioned, it is only in reference to past events. If there is any Union sentiment in Texas, I am not apprised of it.

"Mr. Lincoln and his Cabinet have usurped the powers of Congress, and have waged war against the sovereign States, and have thereby not only absolved the States, but all the people of the several States, from their allegiance to his Government, the Federal Government having ceased to exist by his acts of usurpation. He has, through his officers, suspended the writ of habeas corpus, the bulwark of American liberty, and proclaimed martial law in sovereign States. If I am to rely on the current intelligence of the day, he has, through his major-general, Mr. John C. Fremont, proclaimed martial law in Missouri, and assumed the civil administration of affairs in that State, thereby ignoring the Constitution and setting at naught the sovereignty of the people, and has, in fact, with more than Vandalic malignity and Gothic hate, sought to incite a servile insurrection in that State. If the last feather had been wanting to break the camel's back, this act of atrocity would have supplied it. His acts and feelings are such as have never failed to characterize the heart of a renegade.

"If Mr. Lincoln, as he was the aggressor, by invading the soil of a sovereign State, and causing the blood of her sons to be shed, even in the neighborhood of the sacred remains of Washington, after having become President upon a sectional issue, in derogation of the teaching of his farewell address, wishes to make reparation for the wrongs inflicted, he has but one course left, and, in my opinion, that course is to propose an armistice that shall withdraw all the Federal troops from Virginia, suspend the action of all the Federal forces in all of the Southern States, the Confederate authorities at the same time guaranteeing that they will not advance their troops into any territory not occupied by them until the meeting of the Confederate and Federal Congresses at their next session. Should this course be pursued, there is little doubt but that the good sense and patriotism of the two sections would adopt such measures as would restore peace, arrest the further destruction of human life, and restore, to a great extent, the prosperity of the two sections, for it cannot be imagined that a vain hope of restoring the Union can ever be realized.

"The South can never reunite with the North, nor can the North entertain any rational hopes of her subjugation. The sooner war is ended, the greater will be the probability of establishing friendly relations between the two sections, and this cannot fail to promote the mutual prosperity of both. Should this be disregarded, a terrific responsibility must rest upon the heads of those who either interpose power or authority to prevent its consummation.

"Trusting that no further misapprehension of my opinions and feelings may be entertained by any one, I have been thus explicit, and submit them for what they are worth to the world."

The State had now become a member of the Confederacy, and her efforts were put forth to promote the success of that cause. On the 18th of June, Gov. Clark issued a proclamation forbidding all intercourse with the people of the Northern States; all existing contracts were to be suspended, and all made during the war would be void. He said:

It will be regarded as treason against the Confederate States of America, and against the State of Texas, for any citizen of said State to donate, sell, or in any manner exchange any property or commodity whatsoever with any citizen or citizens of either of said States or Territories now at war with said Confederate States, without special permission from proper authority.

It will also be treasonable for any citizen of Texas to pay any debts now owing by him to a citizen or citizens of either of said States or Territories, or to contract with them any new debts or obligation during the continuance of said war.

The statute of limitations will cease to run, and interest will not accrue during the continuance of the war.

All citizens of Northern States were warned to leave Texas within twenty days.

No hostile movement against Texas was made by the Federal Government during the year, and the only hostile act which occurred was at Galveston. (*See* GALVESTON.)

On the 5th of November the Legislature assembled at Austin. The state of affairs is thus described by a citizen:

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"There is a good deal to be done, it is true, for we have an empty treasury, and our finances are in a woful condition. We cannot effect loans now as in peace times. Our United States bonds are not available. Our lands, in my opinion, cannot be made available now, and the only thing I can see, which is a certainty, is taxation, and the people must face the music.

"I have no doubt ample relief will be extended to our citizens, by something akin to a stay law, and, indeed, there is a disposition already exhibited to extend relief wherever it is needed."

The election for Governor resulted in the choice of F. R. Lubback by a majority a little over 1,400.

The number of troops which Texas had in the Confederate army on the 1st of November, was estimated at nineteen regiments. These were all in the field, or on their way thither, and posted as follows:

Wigfall's, Hood's, and Archer's in Virginia; Terry's and Gregg's in Kentucky; Green's and Locke's in Missouri; Young's in the Indian Nation; Ford's in Arizona; H. E. McCulloch's on the Northern frontier; Reily's, Green's, and a third not yet organized in Sibley's brigade; Lucket's, Garland's, Parson's, Moore's, Nelson's, and Bate's for the coast. In addition to these, Col. Nichols was raising a regiment for six months' service on the coast; and there were also several more companies in service not attached to organized regiments.

The cereal crops of the State were unprecedentedly abundant last year all through the grain regions. Great quantities of wheat, corn, rye, and barley were raised by the German portion of the population. It was thus stated by a citizen: "The cattle upon a thousand hills and plains were never so thriving and well-conditioned, and if there were railroad communication, Western Texas could feed and forage all the army of the Confederacy at the lowest rates."

An attempt was made to prepare Galveston for a defence; for this purpose a battery of four columbiads and several rifled cannon was undertaken to be transported across Northern Louisiana by the State Government. A force of between two and three hundred oxen was employed, making a progress of about ten miles per day. The line of march commenced at Alexandria, on Red River, where the ordnance had been landed from New Orleans steamboats. These efforts do not appear to have been successful.

TRENT, British Mail Steamer. This vessel belonged to the line of English merchant steamers which run from Vera Cruz and Havana to St. Thomas, carrying the mail by contract, and thence connecting with a line to England. She left Havana on the morning of the 7th of November, under the command of Captain Moir, having on board Messrs. J. M. Mason and John Slidell—the former sent by the Government of the Confederate States, as ambassador to England, and the latter to France. Nothing of interest occurred till about noon on the 8th, when in the narrow passage of the old Bahama channel, opposite the Panador Grande light, a steamer was observed ahead, apparently waiting, and showing no colors.

The English report says: On approaching her, Capt. Moir, of the Trent, hoisted the British ensign, which met with no response, until the two vessels were within about a furlong of each other, when the stranger fired a shot across the Trent's bow, and hoisted the American flag. The Trent was still holding on her way, when a shell was fired from a long pivot gun on the American's deck forward, which burst about one hundred yards from the Trent's bow. Captain Moir immediately stopped the Trent, as the American had her broadside of guns run out, and men at quarters ready to fire. Captain Moir then hailed her, and the American captain replied that he wished to send a boat to the steamer. Two officers and about twenty men, armed with muskets, pistols, and cutlasses, then shoved off in a boat and boarded the Trent, and demanded a list of the passengers, which the captain refused to give. The officer commanding the boat stated that the name of the frigate was the "San Jacinto," of which he was the first lieutenant, and further, that they had received most positive information that certain passengers were on board, whom he wished to take out. Commander Williams, R. N., the naval agent in charge of Her Majesty's mails, with Captain Moir, positively objected to their being taken, denying their right to take any person whatever from under the English flag. The lieutenant then called out the names of the commissioners and their secretaries, and said that those were the persons he sought, and that he would take them at all hazards. The four gentlemen, who were standing near, answered to their names, and requested to know what was wanted of them. The lieutenant stated that he wished to take them on board the man-of-war, to which they replied that they would not go until they were taken by force, and turning to Captain Moir, Mr. Slidell said, "We claim the protection of the British flag." On the captain's again refusing to give up the passengers, the lieutenant said he should take charge of the ship. Commander Williams, R. N., then spoke as follows: "In this ship I am the representative of Her Majesty's Government, and I call upon the officers of the ship and the passengers generally to mark my words when, in the name of that Government, and in distinct language, I denounce this as an illegal act—an act of violation of international law—an act, indeed, of wanton piracy, which, had we the means of defence, you would not dare to attempt." The lieutenant then beckoned to the frigate, and three boats, containing thirty marines and about sixty sailors, officered and heavily armed, came alongside. The men at once leaped on deck, sword in hand. After some more parleying Messrs.

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Slidell, Mason, Eustis, and McFarland were taken and forced into the boat. The officers of the San Jacinto went back to the cabins and took possession of the baggage, and sent it with their prisoners on board the San Jacinto. Mr. Slidell said, as the boat shoved off, that he expected redress from the British Government for this outrage while under the protection of its flag, and called upon the English captain to represent the case properly. The lieutenant stopped on board, having ordered the boat to return. He then stated that he had orders to take Captain Moir and his papers on board the San Jacinto, and that the Trent was to be moved nearer. Captain Moir replied: "You will find me on my quarter-deck; if you want me you will have to come there for me," and he immediately walked on deck. The lieutenant, however, went into one of the boats, and told Captain Moir that he could proceed. The boat pulled for the San Jacinto, and the Trent steamed ahead for St. Thomas. The officers of the San Jacinto asked for provisions for the prisoners, stating that they were short of stores. Captain Moir told the four gentlemen that at their request he would supply what was needed, and they having expressed a wish that he should do so, all the necessaries were supplied.

An officer of the San Jacinto thus reports the affair: "About 11.40 A. M., the look-out at the masthead reported a smoke as from a steamer from the westward, and about 11 A. M. she was visible from the deck. We were all ready for her, beat to quarters, and as soon as she was within reach of our guns, every gun of our starboard battery was trained upon her. A shot from our pivot gun was fired across her bow. She hoisted English colors, but showed no disposition to slacken her speed or heave to. We hoisted the 'Star Spangled Banner,' and as soon as she was close upon us, fired a shell across her bow, which brought her to. Our captain hailed her, and said he would send a boat on board, and ordered Lieutenant Fairfax to board her; he went in the second cutter; at the same time Lieutenant Greer was already in the third cutter to shove from the port side should his assistance be required. On coming alongside the packet, Lieutenant Fairfax ordered the other officers to remain in the boat with the crew until force should become necessary, and he went on board alone. The captain of the mail steamer refused to show his papers and passenger list, knowing very well the object of our visit and the character and mission of the commissioners. But Mr. Mason being recognized, a part of the armed crew was ordered from the boat, and came on board. Messrs. Mason and Slidell were then requested to come on board the San Jacinto, but declined, and said that they would only yield by force; Mr. Slidell making the remark that 'it would require considerable force to take him on board the San Jacinto.' Lieutenant Fairfax then ordered Mr. Houston to return to our ship and report that the Confederate commissioners were on board the mail steamer, and refused to come on board the San Jacinto by other means than force. Lieutenant Greer then shoved off and went alongside the Trent, sent his armed crew and marines on board, and stationed them at both gangways, and then, after a 'gentle application' of force, the four gentlemen were taken in the second cutter and conveyed on board of our ship, where they were received by Captain Wilkes at the gangway, and shown into his cabin, which they afterwards occupied. Two other boats were then sent on board to remove the luggage, and the ladies having declined the hospitalities offered them, at 3.30 we parted company from the Trent."

The commissioners made a protest to Captain Wilkes on the next day, in which they say that when the Trent got within hailing distance, her captain inquired what was wanted? The reply was understood to be: "They would send a boat." Both vessels were then stationary, with steam shut off. A boat very soon put off from the ship, followed immediately by two other boats, with full crews, and armed with muskets and side-arms. A lieutenant in the uniform of the United States navy, and with side-arms, boarded the Trent, and, in the presence of most of the passengers then assembled on the upper deck, said to Captain Moir that he came with orders to demand his passenger list. The captain refused to produce it, and formally protested against any right to visit his ship for the purpose indicated. After some conversation, implying renewed protests on the part of the captain against the alleged object of the visit, and on the part of the officer of the San Jacinto that he had only to execute his orders, the latter said that two gentlemen, naming Messrs. Slidell and Mason, were known to be on board, as also two other gentlemen, naming Messrs. Eustis and McFarland, and that his orders were to take and carry them on board the San Jacinto. On first addressing the captain, he announced himself as a lieutenant of the United States steamer San Jacinto. The four gentlemen named being present, the lieutenant addressed Mr. Slidell and afterwards Mr. Mason, repeating that his orders were to take them, together with Messrs. Eustis and McFarland and carry them on board his ship. Messrs. Slidell and Mason, in reply, protested in the presence of the captain of the Trent, his officers and passengers, against such threatened violation of their persons and their rights, and informed the lieutenant that they would not leave the ship they were in unless compelled by the employment of actual force greater than they could resist, and Messrs. Eustis and McFarland united with them in expressing a like purpose. That officer stated that he hoped he would not be compelled to resort to the use of force, but if it should become necessary to employ it, in order to execute his orders, he was prepared to do so. He was answered by the commissioners that they would submit only to such a force.

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The lieutenant then went to the gangway where his boats were, the commissioners going at the same time to their state rooms on the next deck below, followed by Captain Moir and by the other passengers. The lieutenant returned with a party of his men, a portion of whom were armed with side-arms, and others, appearing to be a squad of marines, having muskets and bayonets. Mr. Slidell was in his state room immediately by and in full view. The lieutenant then said to Mr. Mason that, having his force now present, he hoped to be relieved from the necessity of calling it into actual use. The gentleman again answered that he would only submit to actual force greater than he could overcome, when the lieutenant, and several of his men, by his order, took hold of him, and in a manner and in numbers sufficient to make resistance fruitless; and Mr. Slidell joining the group at the same time, one or more of the armed party took like hold of him, and those gentlemen at once went into the boat.

One account says, an exciting scene took place between Mr. Slidell, his eldest daughter, a noble girl devoted to her father, and Lieutenant Fairfax. With flashing eyes and quivering lips, she threw herself in the doorway of the cabin where her father was, resolved to defend him with her life, till, on the order being given to the marines to advance, which they did with bayonets pointed at this poor defenceless girl, her father ended the painful scene by escaping from the cabin by a window, when he was immediately seized by the marines and hurried into the boat. The commissioners were taken by the San Jacinto to Fort Warren, in Boston harbor, where they remained as prisoners.

A most intense excitement was aroused in England upon the arrival of the news of the transaction. Preparations for war with the United States were commenced, troops were sent to Canada, and a formal demand was made for the surrender of the commissioners, and an apology for the act by the Government. (*See* DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE.)

A vote of thanks to Captain Wilkes passed the House of Representatives subsequently, but the authorities at Washington sent instructions to the commandant at Fort Warren to deliver the Confederate commissioners to the representatives of the British Government. They were, therefore, quietly placed on board of a small steamer and taken to an English steam vessel at anchor near Provincetown, some distance from Boston. In her they were conveyed to the island of St. Thomas, and thence by the line of steam packets took passage to England, where they safely arrived, and were landed without any special official attention.

TUCKER, GEORGE. A Virginian jurist, born in 1775, died 1861. He was elected to Congress in 1819, from the district composed of the counties of Pittsylvania, Halifax, and Campbell, at that time one of the twenty-two districts of Virginia. While in Congress, Mr. Tucker occupied a high position as a debater and a constitutional lawyer, and his constituents manifested their appreciation of his merits by re-electing him in 1821 and 1823. In 1825, he retired from Congress to accept the Professorship of Law in the University of Virginia, which position he filled for a number of years. In his retirement from public life, Professor Tucker continued to render himself useful to his countrymen by the preparation of several works, the most important of which were a Life of Jefferson, and a Political History of the United States.

TYBEE ISLAND. Tybee Island is in Tybee Bay, on the south side of the entrance to Savannah River, in Georgia. The Savannah River is the dividing line between the States of South Carolina and Georgia. This island is southward of the bar, and about twenty miles southwest of Port Royal. It is one of the chain of sea islands which stretch all along the coast of Georgia and the adjoining States. The island is small, not as large as Port Royal Island. Cockspur Island lies immediately to the north of it, on which is situated Fort Pulaski—a very strong work, that defends the entrance to the Savannah River, and the defensive outpost of the city of Savannah itself. Tybee Island has been notable chiefly with mariners on account of its light-house, (Tybee Light,) one of the most prominent on the Southern coast. It was a fixed light, 108 feet above the sea, on the northeast end of the island, and in clear weather it might be seen at the distance of sixteen miles. This beacon was extinguished by the Georgians shortly after they had seceded from the Union. Tybee is long, narrow, and somewhat marshy, in the coast county of Chatham, and in climate and scenery is very much like Port Royal and the other Carolina sea islands. A small amount of sea island cotton is raised upon it, and its inhabitants are few. It has a beautiful creek to the west of it, where a ship of any burden may lie at anchor in perfect safety.

On the 26th of November, General Sherman, from the Port Royal expedition, determined to make a reconnoissance of the island, and landed with a small party. They discovered, on the point of land reaching out beyond the light-house, a fortification which had apparently been deserted for about eight days. It was a mere redan with flanking curtains, and had been mounted with not more than four or five guns. These had been moved. Behind it was a martello tower, with embrasures, altogether unfit for use. The light-house was deserted, and no trace of occupation discovered anywhere in its vicinity. The island is about two miles wide by five long, and its nearest point is distant only about a mile from Fort Pulaski. The light-house and battery are on the opposite corner from the fort. General Sherman, with an escort of marines, having examined the lower and deserted battery, approached the point of the island nearest to the fort, and was honored

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with a shell or two from Fort Pulaski, which came quite near them. Lieutenant Magner, however, was allowed to examine another small work situated so as to cover the whole line of the beach between its two angles. He found no guns left, but that the position was admirable for defensive purposes. The enemy had evidently been aware of its importance; as once in possession of Federal forces, it would be very easy to throw shells into Fort Pulaski. The remains of a hutted encampment large enough for a hundred men were to be seen from this place, but they bore no trace of having been recently occupied. There was no flag on the island, and it had evidently been completely abandoned. The fact that Federal vessels could come under the lee of the island and anchor in sight of Fort Pulaski, (only fifteen miles from Savannah,) and that shells could be thrown into the fort without difficulty, made its possession, at any cost, a matter of importance to the Federal force.

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UNITED STATES. The population of the United States is numbered at the end of each ten years. The first census was taken in 1790, at which time the whole population was 3,929,-827. The last census was taken in the month of June, 1860. The whole population, consisting of white, free colored, and slave, and the ratio of increase of each class since the previous census in 1850, were as given below.

The election for a President of the United States took place on the 4th of November, 1860. The candidate of the Republicans was Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois. The distinctive principle which he represented was the non-extension of slavery to the territories of the United States, and its speedy removal from all places belonging to, or under the exclusive control of the Federal Government.

Stephen A. Douglas was the candidate representing the principle of non-intervention, which was understood to mean that Congress should not interfere with the question of slavery

STATES.	CENSUS OF 1860.				RATIO OF INCREASE.				Representatives in the Congress.
	White.	Free Coloured.	Slave.	Total.	White.	Free Coloured.	Slave.	Total.	
Alabama	526,534	2,690	435,132	964,296	22.45	16.11	26.92	24.97	6
Arkansas	324,136	137	111,104	435,427	99.88	77.47	123.89	107.45	3
California	376,200	3,816	.....	380,016	310.54	296.67	....	310.40	3
Connecticut	451,509	8,542	.....	460,151	24.37	11.04	....	24.10	4
Delaware	90,697	19,723	1,798	112,218	27.44	9.18	21.482	22.60	1
Florida	77,778	908	61,755	140,439	64.77	2.584	57.09	60.60	1
Georgia	591,588	3,459	462,292	1,057,329	13.43	18.01	21.10	16.68	7
Illinois	1,704,654	7,069	.....	1,711,753	101.49	30.04	....	101.04	13
Indiana	1,340,072	10,869	.....	1,350,941	37.14	3.494	....	36.68	11
Iowa	673,925	1,023	.....	674,948	251.22	207.21	....	251.14	5
Kansas	106,487	623	.....	107,110	....	....	....	....	1
Kentucky	920,077	10,146	225,490	1,155,713	20.84	1.65	6.87	17.64	8
Louisiana	357,642	18,638	333,010	709,290	39.98	6.73	36.03	36.99	5
Maine	627,081	1,195	.....	628,276	7.78	11.577	....	7.73	5
Maryland	516,123	83,718	87,188	687,034	23.49	12.04	3.522	17.84	5
Massachusetts	1,221,611	9,454	.....	1,231,065	23.96	4.89	....	23.79	10
Michigan	742,289	6,823	.....	749,112	37.89	164.15	....	38.38	6
Minnesota	171,793	229	.....	172,022	2,745.19	487.18	....	2,730.70	1
Mississippi	353,969	731	436,696	791,396	19.70	21.404	40.93	30.48	5
Missouri	1,064,369	2,353	114,965	1,182,317	79.79	13.94	31.51	73.35	9
New Hampshire	325,622	450	.....	326,072	2.57	13.467	....	2.55	3
New Jersey	647,084	24,947	.....	672,031	29.00	4.77	....	27.27	5
New York	3,831,730	49,005	.....	3,880,735	25.69	0.187	....	25.31	31
North Carolina	631,489	30,097	331,081	992,667	14.19	9.59	14.74	14.23	7
Ohio	2,302,374	36,225	.....	2,339,599	17.82	43.30	....	18.14	18
Oregon	52,843	121	.....	52,464	299.96	41.547	....	294.64	1
Pennsylvania	2,849,997	56,373	.....	2,906,370	26.20	5.12	....	25.71	23
Rhode Island	170,708	3,918	.....	174,621	18.65	6.76	....	18.35	1
South Carolina	291,623	9,648	402,541	703,812	6.21	7.68	4.56	5.38	4
Tennessee	826,828	7,285	275,784	1,109,847	9.25	12.66	13.17	10.68	8
Texas	421,411	339	180,692	602,482	173.58	14.617	210.66	183.87	4
Vermont	314,534	582	.....	315,116	0.36	18.947	....	0.32	2
Virginia	1,047,618	57,579	490,887	1,596,079	17.08	5.97	8.88	12.27	11
Wisconsin	774,892	1,481	.....	775,873	154.10	153.22	....	154.06	6
	25,727,512	470,716	3,950,343	31,148,571	37.47	10.91	23.42	35.03	233
TERRITORIES.									
Colorado	34,153	44	.....	34,197	....	....	....	....	..
Dakotah	4,839	..	.....	4,839	....	....	....	....	..
Nebraska	28,755	71	10	28,836	....	....	....	....	..
Nevada	6,809	54	.....	6,857	....	....	....	....	..
New Mexico	93,447	70	24	93,541	51.83	....	....	51.98	..
Utah	40,236	30	29	40,295	254.38	....	11.53	254.07	..
Washington	11,548	30	.....	11,578	....	....	....	....	..
Dist. of Columbia	60,788	11,107	3,181	75,076	60.22	10.41	18.722	43.25	..
	27,008,081	482,122	3,953,587	31,443,790	38.12	10.97	23.38	35.58	..

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or no slavery in a territory, but that it should be left to the inhabitants to determine when they assembled in convention to form a State constitution. The friends of Mr. Douglas consisted of a portion of the Democratic party.

John C. Breckinridge was the candidate representing the principle of protection to slavery in the territories, regarding slaves as a species of property recognized in the Constitution of the United States. After the territories become States, the whole question is under their control. The friends of Mr. Breckinridge constituted that portion of the Democratic party which did not support Mr. Douglas.

John Bell was the candidate of a party whose platform was "the Constitution, the Union, and the enforcement of the laws."

The vote of the people at the election was as follows: Lincoln, 1,857,610; Douglas, 1,365,976; Breckinridge, 847,953; Bell, 590,631.

The Government of the United States at this time was composed of the following officers:

President.—James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania.
Vice-President.—John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky.
Secretary of State.—Lewis Cass, of Michigan.
Secretary of the Treasury.—Howell Cobb, of Georgia.
Secretary of War.—John B. Floyd, of Virginia.
Secretary of the Navy.—Isaac Toucey, of Conn.
Secretary of the Interior.—Jacob Thompson, of Miss.
Postmaster-General.—Joseph Holt, of Ky.
Attorney-General.—John S. Black, of Pennsylvania.

The movements in South Carolina early attracted the attention of the Government. Some of its members were doubtless informed that measures leading to secession would be immediately taken after the day on which the presidential election was held; others probably apprehended some movements of this nature, but were not informed what they would probably be. As early as the 20th of November the Attorney-General sent a reply to some questions respecting which his opinion had been asked by the President. These questions related to the obligation of citizens to obey the laws; to the power of the Government for the collection of duties, for the protection of public property, and to put down unlawful combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings. On the first question the view taken by the Attorney-General was expressed in these words:

The will of a State, whether expressed in its constitution or laws, cannot, while it remains in the Confederacy, absolve her people from obeying the just and constitutional requirements of the Central Government. Nor can any act of the Central Government displace the jurisdiction of a State, because the laws of the United States are supreme and binding only so far as they are passed in pursuance of the Constitution. I do not say what might be effected by mere revolutionary force. I am speaking of legal and constitutional right. This is the view always taken by the Judiciary, and so universally adopted that the statement of it may seem common-place.

With regard to the collection of duties at any port, his views were as follows:

Where the law directs a thing to be done, without saying how, that implies the power to use such means as may be necessary and proper to accomplish the end of the Legislature. But where the mode of performing a duty is pointed out by statute, that is the exclusive mode, and no other can be followed. The United States have no common law to fall back upon when the written law is defective. If, therefore, an Act of Congress declares that a certain thing shall be done by a particular officer, it cannot be done by a different officer. The agency which the law furnishes for its own execution must be used, to the exclusion of all others. For instance, the revenues of the United States are to be collected in a certain way, at certain established ports, and by a certain class of officers; the President has no authority, under any circumstances, to collect the same revenues at other places, by a different sort of officers, or in ways not provided for. Even if the machinery furnished by Congress for the collection of the duties should by any cause become so deranged or broken up that it could not be used, that would not be a legal reason for substituting a different kind of machinery in its place.

The law requires that all goods imported into the United States within certain collection districts shall be entered at the proper port, and the duty thereon shall be received by the collector appointed for and residing at that port. But the functions of the collector may be exercised anywhere at or within the port; there is no law which confines him to the custom-house, or any other particular spot. If the custom-house were burnt down, he might remove to another building; if he were driven from the shore, he might go on board a vessel in the harbor. If he keeps within the port he is within the law.

The right of the Government over public property is thus explained:

It is believed that no important public building has been bought or erected on ground where the Legislature of the State in which it is, has not passed a law consenting to the purchase of it and ceding the exclusive jurisdiction. This Government, then, is not only the owner of those buildings and grounds, but by virtue of the supreme and paramount law, it regulates the action and punishes the offences of all who are within them. If any one of an owner's rights is plainer than another, it is that of keeping exclusive possession and repelling intrusion. The right of defending the public property includes also the right of recapture after it has been unlawfully taken by another. President Jefferson held the opinion, and acted upon it, that he could order a military force to take possession of any land to which the United States had title, though they had never occupied it before, though a private party claimed and held it, and though it was not then needed nor proposed to be used for any purpose connected with the operations of the Government. This may have been a stretch of Executive power; but the right of retaking public property in which the Government has been carrying on its lawful business, and from which its officers have been unlawfully thrust out, cannot well be doubted; and when it was exercised at Harper's Ferry, in October, 1859, every one acknowledged the legal justice of it.

The next question asked of the Attorney-General, was the most important of all the inquiries. His view of it is interesting, as it comprises the ground upon which the succeeding Administration relied at the commencement of its military operations.

I come now to the point in your letter which is probably of the greatest practical importance. By the act of 1807 you may employ such parts of the land and naval forces as you shall judge necessary for the purpose of causing the laws to be duly executed, in all cases where it is lawful to use the militia for the same purpose. By the act of 1795 the militia may be called forth "whenever the laws of the United States shall be opposed, or the execution thereof obstructed in any States by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by

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the power vested in the marshals." This imposes upon the President the sole responsibility of deciding whether the exigency has arisen which requires the use of military force; and in proportion to the magnitude of that responsibility will be his care not to overstep the limits of his legal and just authority.

The laws referred to in the act of 1795 are manifestly those which are administered by the judges and executed by the ministerial officers of the courts for the punishment of crime against the United States, for the protection of rights claimed under the Federal Constitution and laws, and for the enforcement of such obligations as come within the cognizance of the Federal Judiciary. To compel obedience to these laws the courts have authority to punish all who obstruct their regular administration, and the marshals and their deputies have the same powers as sheriffs and their deputies in the several States in executing the laws of the States. These are the ordinary means provided for the execution of the laws, and the whole spirit of our system is opposed to the employment of any other except in cases of extreme necessity, arising out of great and unusual combinations against them. Their agency must continue to be used until their incapacity to cope with the power opposed to them shall be plainly demonstrated. It is only upon clear evidence to that effect that a military force can be called into the field. Even then its operations must be purely defensive. It can suppress only such combinations as are found directly opposing the laws and obstructing the execution thereof. It can do no more than what might and ought to be done by a civil posse, if a civil posse could be raised large enough to meet the same opposition. On such occasions, especially, the military power must be kept in strict subordination to the civil authority, since it is only in aid of the latter that the former can act at all.

But what if the feeling in any State against the United States should become so universal that the Federal officers themselves (including judges, district attorneys, and marshals) would be reached by the same influences and resign their places? Of course the first step would be to appoint others in their stead, if others could be got to serve. But, in such an event, it is more than probable that great difficulties would be found in filling the offices. We can easily conceive how it might become altogether impossible. We are therefore obliged to consider what can be done in case we have no courts to issue judicial process, and no ministerial officers to execute it. In that event troops would certainly be out of place, and their use wholly illegal. If they are sent to aid the courts and marshals, there must be courts and marshals to be aided. Without the exercise of those functions, which belong exclusively to the civil service, the laws cannot be executed in any event, no matter what may be the physical strength which the Government has at its command. Under such circumstances, to send a military force into any State with orders to act against the people would be simply making war upon them.

The existing laws put and keep the Federal Government strictly on the defensive. You can use force only to repel an assault on the public property, and aid the courts in the performance of their duty. If the means given you to collect the revenue and execute the other laws be insufficient for that purpose, Congress may extend and make them more effectual to that end.

If one of the States should declare her independence, your action cannot depend upon the rightfulness of the cause upon which such declaration is based. Whether the retirement of a State from the Union be the exercise of a right reserved in the Constitution or a revolutionary movement, it is certain that you have not in either case the authority to recognize her independence or to absolve her from her Federal obligations. Congress, or the other States in convention assembled, must take such measures as may be necessary and proper. In such an event I see no course for you but to go straight onward in the path you have hitherto trodden, that is, execute the laws to the extent of the defensive means placed in your hands, and act generally upon the assumption that the present constitutional relations between the States and the Federal Government continue to exist, until a new order of things shall be established, either by law or force.

On the right of Congress to make war upon a State, and require the President to carry it on, the views of the Attorney-General were also given. Subsequent events attach interest to these views, which they would otherwise hardly possess. They were doubtless the opinions which controlled the action of the Administration until the close of its term.

Whether Congress has the constitutional right to make war against one or more States, and require the Executive of the Federal Government to carry it on by means of force to be drawn from the other States, is a question for Congress itself to consider. It must be admitted that no such power is expressly given; nor are there any words in the Constitution which imply it. Among the powers enumerated in Article I., section 8, is that "to declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and to make rules concerning captures on land and water." This certainly means nothing more than the power to commence and carry on hostilities against the foreign enemies of the nation. Another clause in the same section gives Congress the power "to provide for calling forth the militia," and to use them within the limits of the State. But this power is so restricted by the words which immediately follow, that it can be exercised only for one of the following purposes: 1. To execute the laws of the Union; that is, to aid the Federal officers in the performance of their regular duties. 2. To suppress insurrections against the States; but this is confined by Article IV., sec. 4, to cases in which the State herself shall apply for assistance against her own people. 3. To repel the invasion of a State by enemies who come from abroad to assail her in her own territory. All these provisions are made to protect the States, not to authorize an attack by one part of the country upon another; to preserve their peace, and not to plunge them into civil war. Our forefathers do not seem to have thought that war was calculated "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." There was undoubtedly a strong and universal conviction among the men who framed and ratified the Constitution that military force would not only be useless but pernicious as a means of holding the States together.

If it be true that war cannot be declared, nor a system of general hostilities carried on by the Central Government against a State, then it seems to follow that an attempt to do so would be *ipso facto* an expulsion of such State from the Union. Being treated as an alien and an enemy, she would be compelled to act accordingly. And if Congress shall break up the present Union by unconstitutionally putting strife and enmity and armed hostility between different sections of the country, instead of the "domestic tranquillity" which the Constitution was meant to insure, will not all the States be absolved from their Federal obligations? Is any portion of the people bound to contribute their money or their blood to carry on a contest like that?

The right of the General Government to preserve itself in its whole constitutional vigor by repelling a direct and positive aggression upon its property or its officers cannot be denied. But this is a totally different thing from an offensive war to punish the people for the political misdeeds of their State government, or to prevent a threatened violation of the Constitution, or to enforce an acknowledgment that the Government of the United States is supreme. The States are colleagues of one another, and if some of them shall conquer the rest and hold them as subjugated provinces, it would totally destroy the whole theory upon which they are now connected.

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During the month of November, the State of South Carolina had passed an act requiring a State Convention to assemble on the 17th of December. Preparations were commenced in other States bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, to secure similar conventions. These preparations consisted of proclamations by the Governors calling an extra session of the legislatures, or of the demonstrations of citizens in favor of the same object. Evidently a boastful and violent spirit was becoming aroused, which was determined to effect a separation of the States of the Union. Its development could be seen almost daily, and the first apprehensions awakened were, that it might acquire so much force and violence as to overwhelm those sentiments of attachment to the Union, which were known to be alive in the bosom of the mass of the people in each of the Southern States. In the border States of Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Arkansas, the love for the Union was supposed to be sufficient to check the violence of every hostile passion, and retain them under the Federal Government, unless new motives for secession should arise. So it for a time proved. But in those farther south, the Union demonstrations, although numerous, could not withstand the torrent of passion with which they were assailed. The calm and manly eloquence of Stephens, uttered at the request of members of the Legislature of Georgia, on the evening of November 14, was soon forgotten amid the excitement of passion that followed, and he himself was swept away by it. At that hour, standing in the hall of the House of Representatives of Georgia, he said:

"I look upon this country, with our institutions, as the Eden of the world, the paradise of the universe. It may be that out of it we may become greater and more prosperous, but I am candid and sincere in telling you that I fear if we rashly evince passion, and without sufficient cause shall take that step, that instead of becoming greater or more peaceful, prosperous, and happy—instead of becoming gods, we will become demons, and at no distant day commence cutting one another's throats. This is my apprehension. Let us, therefore, whatever we do, meet these difficulties, great as they are, like wise and sensible men, and consider them in the light of all the consequences which may attend our action. Let us see first clearly where the path of duty leads, and then we may not fear to tread therein."

He then proceeded to meet and refute the popular argument in favor of secession in these direct and plain words:

"The first question that presents itself is, Shall the people of the South secede from the Union in consequence of the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency of the United States? My countrymen, I tell you frankly, candidly, and earnestly, that I do not think that they ought. In my judgment, the election of no man, constitutionally chosen to that high office, is sufficient cause for any State to separate from the Union. It ought to stand by and aid still in maintaining the Constitution of the country. To make a point of resistance to the Government, to withdraw from it because a man has been constitutionally elected, puts us in the wrong. We are pledged to maintain the Constitution. Many of us have sworn to support it. Can we, therefore, for the mere election of a man to the Presidency—and that too in accordance with the prescribed forms of the Constitution—make a point of resistance to the Government without becoming the breakers of that sacred instrument ourselves, by withdrawing ourselves from it? Would we not be in the wrong? Whatever fate is to befall this country, let it never be laid to the charge of the people of the South, and especially to the people of Georgia, that we were untrue to our national engagements. Let the fault and the wrong rest upon others. If all our hopes are to be blasted, if the Republic is to go down, let us be found to the last moment standing on the deck, with the Constitution of the United States waving over our heads. Let the fanatics of the North break the Constitution, if such is their fell purpose. Let the responsibility be upon them. I shall speak presently more of their acts; but let not the South, let us not be the ones to commit the aggression. We went into the election with this people. The result was different from what we wished; but the election has been constitutionally held. Were we to make a point of resistance to the Government and go out of the Union on that account, the record would be made up hereafter against us."

Hours passed during which a crowded audience listened to his arguments and eloquence in favor of the Union. Three months later, and this man becomes the Vice-President of a Southern Confederacy. The Union, in his view, is dissolved, the past is forgotten, the future spreads a glorious vision before his eyes. (*See* CONFEDERATE STATES, page 129.)

The secession of the Southern States was not accomplished by a movement of the people. It was a preconceived and arranged purpose on the part of many prominent public men, cherished until the favorable hour should come for its execution. The hour thus selected was that upon which the election of Mr. Lincoln took place. Then the plan was put in execution without regard to the forms of law, or the numbers of the Union men.

The Congress of the United States assembled on the 3d of December, 1860, (*see* CONGRESS U. S.,) and the Message of President Buchanan was immediately delivered. (*See* PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.) In this Message he denied in strong and unanswerable language the right of secession, and indicated his purpose to collect the revenue and defend the forts of South Carolina.

The attitude of South Carolina already excited the apprehensions of the Government. The subject of sending reënforcements to the

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forts in the harbor of Charleston, had evidently been under consideration in the Cabinet, but was deferred or delayed by the action of Secretary Floyd. On the other hand, fears of these reenforcements were entertained by the authorities of that State, and on the 9th of December, a part of the delegation in Congress gave their assurances to the President that there would be no immediate attempt to possess them. (*See* page 654 for copy of their statement.)

Assurances were given by the President, as it is stated, that there should be no change in the position of the troops at Charleston.

On the 10th of December, the Secretary of the Treasury, Howell Cobb, resigned his office and immediately left Washington for his residence in Georgia, where he was soon after elected a member of the State Convention, and subsequently chosen as a delegate to the Confederate Congress, and appointed a brigadier-general in the Confederate army. This resignation was followed four days afterwards by that of the Secretary of State, Lewis Cass. The explanation given in the official paper was in these words:

"To avoid all misconstruction or misstatement of the reasons which caused this event, we have taken pains to ascertain the true cause. It is not that General Cass differed from the President in regard to any portion of his late Message. On the great question of coercing a State to remain in the Union by military force, the President and General Cass were perfectly united in opinion. The difficulty arose from the fact that General Cass insisted that a naval and military force should be sent immediately to Charleston to reënforce the forts in that harbor; and that the President was of opinion that there was no necessity for any such measure, in order to secure the forts against attack. This being the President's conviction, he would not sanction a movement which might lead to collision and bloodshed in the present excited state of feelings in South Carolina and other Southern States, and at a time when every friend of the Union is using his best efforts to prevent its dissolution, or, if that be not possible, to avert the adoption of any measure which would render its reconstruction hopeless."

General Cass was the oldest member of the Cabinet. In early life, he emigrated from his native State, New Hampshire, to Ohio, and subsequently rose to distinction as Governor of the Northwestern Territory, which became the State of Michigan. He was subsequently a member of the Cabinet of President Jackson, a minister to Paris, senator from the State of Michigan, and democratic candidate for the Presidency in 1848. He was succeeded as Secretary of State, by Attorney-General Black. The office vacated by Mr. Cobb was filled by the appointment of Philip F. Thomas, of Maryland.

The question which arose between the President and General Cass was doubtless the most difficult one ever before the Cabinet. At this time the State Convention of South Carolina had not assembled. No overt act had been committed, no official step had been taken except the passage of an act by the Legislature calling a State Convention, which had often been done in nearly all the States. Immediately upon the opening of the session of Congress, measures had been introduced into each House for the purpose of stopping the progress of the secession movement, and healing the difficulties of the country. The propositions of Mr. Crittenden were before the Senate, and a flood of measures of reconciliation, so far as it could be done by a declaration of sentiments, was brought forward in the House. Meantime the people began to move in every Northern, Middle, and the upper tier of the Southern States, in favor of a settlement of the difficulties. It was an indisputable fact, at this time, that the vote cast for Mr. Douglas, numbering 1,365,976, and that cast for Mr. Bell, numbering 590,631, and the vote for Mr. Breckinridge in the free States, numbering 284,422, making a total of 2,241,029, was unanimously in favor of a peaceable and reasonable settlement of all difficulties with any of the Southern States. The vote for Mr. Lincoln was 1,857,610, of which at least one-fourth would have approved of such a peaceable settlement of the difficulties as might have been satisfactory to all the Southern States, whose complaints were founded upon questions connected with slavery. Of the vote given to Mr. Breckinridge in the slaveholding States, numbering 563,531, more than one-fourth of it desired a peaceable settlement upon such terms as would have been satisfactory to the friends of conciliation and compromise in the Northern States. Thus the voice of the people of the country at this time was overwhelmingly in favor of conciliation, forbearance, and compromise. The remainder of those who voted for Mr. Breckinridge were determined upon secession if it could be accomplished, and a portion of those who voted for Mr. Lincoln were determined that there should be no concession, on the ground that the Constitution and the laws were sufficient for the emergency. This state of public sentiment continued for some time, and those in favor of an adjustment indicated a decided opposition to coercive measures against the Southern States. The view which they then entertained of coercion was subsequently expressed in the emphatic words of Mr. Douglas: "You must do one of two things: either settle the difficulty amicably, or by the sword. An amicable settlement is a perpetuation of the Union. The use of the sword is war, disunion, and separation, now and forever." Meantime the Government, in its endeavors to act in conformity to these views of the country, manifested the most extreme forbearance, even in the presence of acts which, if proceeding from a foreign power, would, by common consent, have resulted in immediate war.

On the 20th of December, 1860, the ordinance of secession was passed by the State

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Convention of South Carolina, and immediately afterwards commissioners were appointed to proceed to Washington to negotiate for a peaceable surrender, by the Federal Government, of the forts and other public property within the limits of the State. (*See* SOUTH CAROLINA.)

About this time, on the 26th of December, Major Anderson transferred his garrison from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbor. (*See* FORTS, page 315, also SUMTER and CHARLESTON.) The movement excited intense indignation among the active secessionists. It was the first flash across their minds of the idea that the United States might fight before the matter was ended. This movement of Major Anderson was made upon his own responsibility, and in view of the weakness of his former position, and the excitement which existed in the city of Charleston.

Major Anderson is a native of the State of Kentucky, and entered the army as a second lieutenant by brevet, in the Second Artillery, in 1845; in 1847 he was brevetted a major. He was ordered to the forts in Charleston harbor, in August, 1860.

The resignation of Mr. Floyd, Secretary of War, followed immediately upon this movement of Major Anderson. His letter of resignation and the reply of the President were as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT, *Dec.* 29, 1860.

SIR: On the morning of the 27th inst. I read the following paper to you in the presence of the Cabinet:

COUNCIL CHAMBER, EXECUTIVE MANSION.

SIR: It is evident now from the action of the Commander of Fort Moultrie, that the solemn pledges of the Government have been violated by Major Anderson. In my judgment but one remedy is now left us by which to vindicate our honor and prevent civil war. It is in vain now to hope for confidence on the part of the people of South Carolina in any further pledges as to the action of the military. One remedy is left, and that is to withdraw the garrison from the harbor of Charleston. I hope the President will allow me to make that order at once. This order, in my judgment, can alone prevent bloodshed and civil war.

(Signed.) JOHN B. FLOYD, Secretary of War.

I then considered the honor of the Administration pledged to maintain the troops in the position they occupied, for such had been the assurances given to the gentlemen of South Carolina, who had a right to speak for her. South Carolina, on the other hand, gave reciprocal pledges that no force should be brought by them against the troops or against the property of the United States. The sole object of both parties in these reciprocal pledges was to prevent a collision and the effusion of blood, in the hope that some means might be found for a peaceful accommodation of the existing troubles, the two Houses of Congress having both raised committees looking to that object. Thus affairs stood until the action of Major Anderson, taken unfortunately while the commissioners were on their way to this capital, on a peaceful mission looking to the avoidance of bloodshed, has complicated matters in the existing manner. Our refusal or even delay to place affairs back as they stood under our agreement, invites a collision and must inevitably inaugurate civil war. I cannot consent to be the agent of such a calamity. I deeply regret that I feel myself under the necessity of tendering to you my resignation as Secretary of War, because I can no longer hold it under my convictions of patriotism, nor with honor, subjected as I am to a violation of solemn pledges and plighted faith.

With the highest personal regard,
I am most truly yours,
JOHN B. FLOYD.

To His Excellency the President of the United States.

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

WASHINGTON, *Dec.* 31, 1860.

MY DEAR SIR: I have received and accepted your resignation of the office of Secretary of War; and not wishing to impose upon you the task of performing its mere routine duties, which you have so kindly offered to do, I have authorized Postmaster-General Holt to administer the affairs of the Department until your successor shall be appointed.

Yours, very respectfully,
JAMES BUCHANAN.

Hon. JOHN B. FLOYD,

Secretary Floyd is a native of the State of Virginia; he has been a representative in Congress, Governor of his native State, and member of Mr. Buchanan's Cabinet. Subsequently an indictment was found against the ex-Secretary by the Grand Jury of the District of Columbia as being privy to the abstraction of certain bonds amounting to more than $800,000, in the custody of the Department of the Interior, in the latter part of the year 1860. The report of the proceedings in this matter is very summary. On the 19th of March, 1861, in the Criminal Court at Washington, in the case of John B. Floyd, ex-Secretary of War, for conspiracy in attempting to defraud the Government, District Attorney Ould moved to enter a *nolle prosequi*. He stated that he believed the conspiracy existed with Godard Bailey alone, and also, that as Mr. Floyd had been summoned and requested to testify before a congressional committee in relation to the matter, he could not be prosecuted by the Court, according to its ruling in the case of Russell.

Mr. Carlisle thought it was proper to state that his client (Mr. Floyd) had come here ready to answer the charges brought against him; but hearing of the decision with regard to Russell, he (Carlisle) had, upon his own responsibility, and without consultation with any one, thought proper to bring the matter before his Honor. He hoped the motion of the District Attorney would be allowed.

The Judge stated that he would take time to examine the indictment, and some other technicalities of the case. He gave a decision on the 20th, dismissing the case.

The agency of the Secretary in improving the military condition of the Southern States, filling the arsenals with arms, and preventing the occupation of the forts by the United States forces, was most important to the Confederacy. Before the close of the year he was appointed a brigadier-general in the Confederate army, and was in command at several skirmishes in Western Virginia.

On the 29th of December the commissioners from South Carolina, Messrs. Barnwell, Adams, and Orr, addressed a letter to President Buchanan, stating that they were authorized and empowered to treat with the Government of

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the United States for the delivery of the forts, magazines, light-houses, and other real estate, with their appurtenances, in the limits of South Carolina; and also for an apportionment of the public debt, and for a division of all other property held by the Government of the United States, as agent of the Confederated States, of which South Carolina was recently a member, and generally to negotiate as to all other measures and arrangements proper to be made and adopted in the existing relation of the parties, and for the continuance of peace and amity between that commonwealth and the Government at Washington.

They further laid before the President an official copy of the ordinance of secession, by which the State of South Carolina, as they said, "has resumed the powers she delegated to the Government of the United States, and has declared her perfect sovereignty and independence." They then proceed to say:

It would also have been our duty to have informed you that we were ready to negotiate with you upon all such questions as are necessarily raised by the adoption of this ordinance, and that we were prepared to enter upon this negotiation with the earnest desire to avoid all unnecessary and hostile collision, and so to inaugurate our new relations as to secure mutual respect, general advantage, and a future of good will and harmony, beneficial to all the parties concerned.

But the events of the last twenty-four hours render such an assurance impossible. We came here the representatives of an authority which could, at any time within the past sixty days, have taken possession of the forts in Charleston harbor, but which, upon pledges given in a manner that we cannot doubt, determined to trust to your honor rather than to its own power. Since our arrival here an officer of the United States, acting, as we are assured, not only without, but against your orders, has dismantled one fort and occupied another—thus altering to a most important extent the condition of affairs under which we came.

Until these circumstances are explained in a manner which relieves us of all doubt as to the spirit in which these negotiations shall be conducted, we are forced to suspend all discussion as to any arrangement by which our mutual interests may be amicably adjusted.

And, in conclusion, we would urge upon you the immediate withdrawal of the troops from the harbor of Charleston. Under present circumstances, they are a standing menace which renders negotiation impossible, and, as our recent experience shows, threatens speedily to bring to a bloody issue questions which ought to be settled with temperance and judgment.

The reply of the President is dated on the 30th. He alludes to his Message to Congress on the 3d of December, in which his position was defined. He states that he could meet them only as private gentlemen of the highest character, and was entirely willing to communicate to Congress any proposition they might have to make to that body. He then refers to that portion of their letters which speaks of the events of the previous twenty-four hours, and the change in their position, and says:

This brings me to a consideration of the nature of those alleged pledges, and in what manner they have been observed. In my Message of the 3d of December last, I stated, in regard to the property of the United States in South Carolina, that it "has been purchased for a fair equivalent, by the consent of the Legislature of the State, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, &c., and over these the authority 'to exercise exclusive legislation,' has been expressly granted by the Constitution to Congress. It is not believed that any attempt will be made to expel the United States from this property by force; but if in this I should prove to be mistaken, the officer in command of the forts has received orders to act strictly on the defensive. In such a contingency, the responsibility for consequences would rightfully rest upon the heads of the assailants." This being the condition of the parties on Saturday, December 8, four of the representatives from South Carolina called upon me, and requested an interview. We had an earnest conversation on the subject of these forts, and the best means of preventing a collision between the parties, for the purpose of sparing the effusion of blood. I suggested, for prudential reasons, that it would be best to put in writing what they said to me verbally. They did so, accordingly, and on Monday morning, the 10th inst., three of them presented to me a paper signed by all the representatives of South Carolina, with a single exception. (See page 654.)

And here I must, in justice to myself, remark that at the time the paper was presented to me, I objected to the word "provided," as it might be construed into an agreement on my part, which I never would make. They said that nothing was further from their intention—they did not so understand it, and I should not so consider it. It is evident they could enter into no reciprocal agreement with me on the subject. They did not profess to have authority to do this, and were acting in their individual character. I considered it as nothing more, in effect, than the promise of highly honorable gentlemen to exert their influence for the purpose expressed. The event has proven that they have faithfully kept this promise, although I have never since received a line from any of them, or from any member of the Convention on the subject. It is well known that it was my determination, and this I freely expressed, not to reënforce the forts in the harbor, and thus produce a collision, until they had been actually attacked, or until I had certain evidence that they were about to be attacked. This paper I received most cordially, and considered it as a happy omen that peace might be still preserved, and that time might be thus given for reflection. This is the whole foundation for the alleged pledge.

But I acted in the same manner as I would have done had I entered into a positive and formal agreement with parties capable of contracting, although such an agreement would have been, on my part, from the nature of my official duties, impossible. The world knows that I have never sent any reënforcements to the forts in Charleston harbor, and I have certainly never authorized any change to be made "in their relative military status." Bearing upon this subject I refer you to an order issued by the Secretary of War, on the 11th inst., to Major Anderson, but not brought to my notice until the 21st inst. (*See* FORTS AND ARSENALS, MOULTRIE.)

The President then proceeds to say that Major Anderson acted on his own responsibility in removing to Fort Sumter, (*see* PUBLIC DOCUMENTS, *Message of January* 8.) and justice required that he should not be condemned without a hearing. He then states that his first promptings, on hearing of the removal of Anderson, were to order him to return to Fort Moultrie, but before any steps could be taken to secure the concurrence of the South Carolina authorities, the latter took possession of the abandoned fort, and the other vacant ones. After describing the occurrences, the President thus proceeds:

It is under all these circumstances that I am urged

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immediately to withdraw the troops from the harbor of Charleston, and I am informed that without this negotiation is impossible. This I cannot do—this I will not do. Such an idea was never thought of by me in any possible contingency. No such allusion had been made in any communication between myself and any human being. But the inference is that I am bound to withdraw the troops from the only fort remaining in the possession of the United States in the harbor of Charleston, because the officer there in command of all of the forts thought proper, without instructions, to change his position from one of them to another.

At this point of writing, I have received information by telegraph from Capt. Humphreys, in command of the arsenal at Charleston, that "it has to-day (Sunday, the 30th) been taken by force of arms." It is estimated that the munitions of war belonging to this arsenal are worth half a million of dollars.

Comment is needless. After this information, I have only to add, that whilst it is my duty to defend Fort Sumter, as a portion of the public property of the United States, against hostile attacks, from whatever quarter they may come, by such means as I possess for this purpose, I do not perceive how such a defence can be construed into a menace against the city of Charleston.

To this letter of the President the commissioners sent a reply, dated January 1, 1861. It is devoted to an examination of the main points of the President's letter, and insists that he was under a pledge to preserve the *status* of affairs in Charleston harbor previous to the removal of Major Anderson to Fort Sumter, and insisting that he should observe this pledge.

This communication was returned by the President, with the following indorsement upon it: "This paper, just presented to the President, is of such a character that he declines to receive it."

After the departure of the South Carolina delegation, Messrs. Wm. Porcher Miles and Lawrence M. Keitt published at Charleston, S. C., a narrative entitled, "A statement of what transpired between the President and the South Carolina delegation," in relation to the reënforcement of Major Anderson. The following extract shows that the understanding on the subject between the President and representatives of the State was not, even in the opinion of the latter, in the nature of a pledge on either side:

The very fact that we, the representatives from South Carolina, were not authorized to commit or "pledge" the State, were not treating with the President as accredited ministers with full powers, but as gentlemen assuming, to a certain extent, the delicate task of undertaking to foreshadow the course and policy of the State, should have made the President more ready to strengthen our hands to bring about and carry out the course and policy which he professed to have as much at heart as we had. While we were not authorized to say that the Convention would not order the occupation of the forts immediately after secession, and prior to the sending on of commissioners, the President, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, could most positively say that, so long as South Carolina abstained from attacking and seizing the forts, he would not send reënforcements to them or allow their relative military *status* to be changed. We were acting in the capacity of gentlemen holding certain prominent positions, and anxious to exert such influence as we might possess to effect a peaceful solution of pending political difficulties, and prevent, if possible, the horrors of war. The President was acting in a double capacity; not only as a gentleman, whose influence in carrying out his share of the understanding or agreement was potential, but as the head of the army, and, therefore, having the absolute control of the whole matter of reënforcing or transferring the garrison at Charleston. But we have dwelt long enough upon this point. Suffice it to say that, considering the President as bound in honor, if not by treaty stipulation, not to make any change in the forts, or to send reënforcements to them unless they were attacked, we of the delegation who were elected to the Convention felt equally bound in honor to do every thing on our part to prevent any premature collision. This Convention can bear us witness as to whether or not we endeavored honorably to carry out our share of the agreement.

Affairs now continued to grow worse. The hope of an amicable adjustment was diminished by every hour's delay, and as the prospect of a bloodless settlement passed away, the public distress became more and more aggravated. The Treasury was without money, and could obtain it only at twelve per cent. interest. The military force of the Government was almost entirely on the western frontier, and the vessels of the navy were in active service in distant stations, or required immediate repairs. (*See* NAVY.)

On the 8th of January the President sent a Message to Congress, urging its immediate attention to the state of affairs. After alluding to the views advanced in his former Message, he said:

This left me no alternative, as the chief Executive officer under the Constitution of the United States, but to collect the public revenues and to protect the public property, so far as this might be practicable, under existing laws.

This is still my purpose. My province is to execute, and not to make the laws. It belongs to Congress exclusively to repeal, to modify, or to enlarge their provisions to meet exigencies as they may occur. I possess no dispensing power.

I certainly had no right to make aggressive war upon any State; and I am perfectly satisfied that the Constitution has wisely withheld that power even from Congress. But the right and the duty to use military force defensively against those who resist the Federal officers in the execution of their legal functions, and against those who assail the property of the Federal Government, are clear and undeniable.

But the dangerous and hostile attitude of the States towards each other has already far transcended and cast in the shade the ordinary Executive duties already provided for by law, and has assumed such vast and alarming proportions as to place the subject entirely above and beyond Executive control. The fact cannot be disguised that we are in the midst of a great revolution. In all its various bearings, therefore, I commend the question to Congress, as the only human tribunal, under Providence, possessing the power to meet the existing emergency. To them exclusively belongs the power to declare war, or to authorize the employment of military force in all cases contemplated by the Constitution, and they alone possess the power to remove grievances which might lead to war, and to secure peace and union to this distracted country. On them, and on them alone, rests the responsibility.

Referring to the principle which had thus far governed his conduct, he said:

At the beginning of these unhappy troubles I determined that no act of mine should increase the excitement in either section of the country. If the political conflict were to end in a civil war it was my deter-

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mined purpose not to commence it, nor even to furnish an excuse for it by any act of this Government. My opinion remains unchanged, that justice as well as sound policy require us still to seek a peaceful solution of the questions at issue between the North and the South. (*See* PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.)

On the 8th of January, Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, the Secretary of the Interior, during Mr. Buchanan's administration, resigned. He had telegraphed to Charleston and other places at the South that no more troops would be sent to Charleston for the present, and learning that more had then been ordered, he thought that his honor had been compromised, and therefore resigned. From the correspondence between him and Mr. Buchanan, it appears that the former had mistaken the action of the Cabinet. Mr. Thompson, on tendering his resignation, addressed the President as follows:

SIR: It is with extreme regret I have just learned that additional troops have been ordered to Charleston. This subject has been frequently discussed in Cabinet Council; and when on Monday night, 31st of December ultimo, the orders for reënforcements to Fort Sumter were countermanded, I distinctly understood from you that no order of the kind would be made without being previously considered and decided in Cabinet. It is true that on Wednesday, January 2, this subject was again discussed in Cabinet, but certainly no conclusion was reached, and the War Department was not justified in ordering reënforcements without something more than was then said. I learn, however, this morning, for the first time, that the steamer Star of the West sailed from New York last Saturday night with two hundred and fifty men, under Lieutenant Bartlett, bound for Fort Sumter. Under these circumstances I feel myself bound to resign my commission, as one of your constitutional advisers, into your hands.

With high respect, your obedient servant, &c.

To this President Buchanan replied on the next day:

SIR: I have received and accepted your resignation on yesterday, of the office of Secretary of the Interior.

On Monday evening, 31st December, 1860, I suspended the orders which had been issued by the War and Navy Departments to send the Brooklyn with reënforcements to Fort Sumter. Of this I informed you on the same evening. I stated to you my reason for this suspension, which you knew, from its nature, would be speedily removed. In consequence of your request, however, I promised that these orders should not be renewed "without being previously considered and decided in Cabinet." This promise was faithfully observed on my part. In order to carry it into effect I called a special Cabinet meeting on Wednesday, 2d January, 1861, in which the question of sending reënforcements to Fort Sumter was amply discussed both by yourself and others. The decided majority of opinions was against you. At this moment, the answer of the South Carolina "Commissioners" to my communication to them of 31st December was received and read. It produced much indignation among the members of the Cabinet. After a further brief conversation I employed the following language: "It is now all over, and reënforcements must be sent." Judge Black said, at the moment of my decision, that after this letter the Cabinet would be unanimous, and I heard no dissenting voice. Indeed, the spirit and tone of the letter left no doubt on my mind that Fort Sumter would be immediately attacked, and hence the necessity of sending reënforcements there without delay.

Whilst you admit "that on Wednesday, January 2, this subject was again discussed in Cabinet," you say, "but certainly no conclusion was reached, and the War Department was not justified in ordering reënforcements without something more than was then said." You are certainly mistaken in alleging that "no conclusion was reached." In this your recollection is entirely different from that of your four oldest colleagues in the Cabinet. Indeed, my language was so unmistakable that the Secretaries of War and the Navy proceeded to act upon it without any further intercourse with myself than what you heard, or might have heard me say. You had been so emphatic in opposing these reënforcements that I thought you would resign in consequence of my decision. I deeply regret that you have been mistaken in point of fact, though I firmly believe honestly mistaken. Still, it is certain you have not the less been mistaken.

Yours, very respectfully.

On his return home to Mississippi, he was welcomed by a number of neighbors and friends, to whom he made an address, stating the opinions which existed in Mr. Buchanan's Cabinet.

He said that there was "no serious difficulty" in the Cabinet until after the presidential election, when there arose a discussion upon the rights and powers of the General and State Governments. On the right of a State to secede, the Cabinet split at once; but on the right of the General Government to coerce a State, all agreed in the negative. Mr. Thompson held strongly to the right to secede, but kept his place, in the hope, as he says, of preserving peace. He agreed with the President that it was his duty to enforce the laws and hold public property, but held that the army and navy could only be used as a posse to aid the civil authority, and as all the civil and executive officers in South Carolina had resigned, there could be no attempt to uphold the laws. He held, also, that the forts in the seceding States could not be occupied as military posts without endangering the peace of the country. He not only pressed this view of the subject, but insisted that the President had no right to reënforce the defences in Charleston harbor. He says: "As I was writing my resignation, I sent a dispatch to Judge Longstreet, that the Star of the West was coming with reinforcements. The troops were thus put on their guard, and when the Star of the West arrived she received a warm welcome from booming cannon, and soon beat a retreat."

Philip F. Thomas, of Maryland, who had been appointed Secretary of the Treasury, on the resignation of Howell Cobb, of Georgia, on the 10th of December, 1860, discharged the duties of the office one month, and on the 11th of January tendered his resignation. His statement of reasons for this step is important, so far as it manifests any of the views entertained by the Cabinet at this time. He writes to President Buchanan:

MY DEAR SIR: It has not been in my power, as you are aware, to agree with you and with a majority of your constitutional advisers in the measures which have been adopted in reference to the present condition of things in South Carolina; nor do I think it at all probable that I shall be able to concur in the views which you entertain, so far as I understand them, touching the authority, under existing laws, to enforce the collection of the customs at the port of Charleston.

To avoid embarrassment on the one hand, and the exposure of himself to just criticism by those who knew his views, his resignation was tendered, &c. To this the President replied, accepting the resignation, by saying, "I very much regret that circumstances, in your opinion, have rendered this necessary."

On the same day John A. Dix, of New York, was appointed Secretary of the Treasury, and confirmed by the Senate. He was a citizen of,

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New York, had belonged to the army in the war of 1812, was subsequently a Senator in Congress, and at the time of his appointment held the office of post-master at New York City. Subsequently, on the 16th of May, he was made a major-general in the army, and commanded a force stationed at Baltimore.

The views entertained by the Government from this period until the 4th of March, were stated explicitly by Secretary Dix in his speech at the great meeting at Union Square in New York City on the 20th of April ensuing. Coming from a member of the Cabinet during the time of which he speaks, they are entitled to unreserved credit. His words were these:

"And here, fellow-citizens, it is important that we should clearly understand the position of the late Administration on this question. It is due to this Administration, as well as the last, that we should all understand it. I shall be very brief, but I must ask your close attention for the few moments that will be needed. On the 3d of December last, in his annual Message to Congress, the late President made a strong and unanswerable argument aginst the right of secession. He also indicated his purpose to collect the revenue and defend the forts in South Carolina. In a special Message to Congress, on the 8th of January, he declared (I use the language of the Message)—'The right and the duty to use military force defensively against those who resist the Federal officers in the execution of their legal functions, and against those who assail the property of the Federal Government, are clear and undeniable.' The authorities of South Carolina were repeatedly warned that, if they assailed Fort Sumter, it would be the commencement of civil war, and they would be responsible for the consequences. The last and most emphatic of these warnings is contained in the admirable answer of Mr. Holt, Secretary of War, to Mr. Hayne, the commissioner from South Carolina, on the 6th of February. It is in these words: 'If, with all the multiplied proof which exists of the President's anxiety for peace, and of the earnestness with which he has pursued it, the authorities of that State shall assault Fort Sumter, and peril the lives of the handful of brave and loyal men shut up within its walls, and thus plunge our common country into the horrors of civil war, then upon them and those they represent must rest the responsibility.' I believe the letter from which I have read this extract has never been published, for I, as a member of the Administration at the time it was written, have a right to say that it had the cordial approval of the late President and all his constitutional advisers. And this brings me to the point I wish to make. I violate no confidence in making it. It is this: if South Carolina had tendered war to the late Administration as she has to this—I mean by a hostile and deadly assault—it would have been unanimously accepted."

The President states, in his letter accepting the resignation of Secretary Thompson, that on the 2d of January, in Cabinet meeting, it was decided to reënforce Fort Sumter. On the 5th the steamer Star of the West left New York with men, arms, and ammunition on board, and arrived off Charleston on the 9th, (*see* STAR OF THE WEST,) was fired upon, and returned. This proceeding was consistent with the position taken by the President in his Message of January 8, and his correspondence with the retiring secretaries.

Meantime, on the 4th of January, an order was issued to all the available troops at Leavenworth, Kansas, to be ready to march to Fort McHenry at Baltimore. The order to march was given on the 7th. On the 7th a small force was sent to Harper's Ferry armory. A regiment of volunteers had been offered from Westchester, Penn., on the 5th. On the same day a salute in honor of Major Anderson was fired at Schenectady, N. Y. On the 10th the steamer Joseph Whitney left Boston with stores and troops for the Tortugas and other forts in Florida.

The occupation of Fort Sumter by a little garrison of Federal troops, and the waving of the Stars and Stripes daily over its walls in the harbor of Charleston, gave great annoyance to the authorities of South Carolina. The sovereignty and independence of South Carolina was not an accomplished fact, while that emblem of another power floated without her consent over a portion of the State territory. Accordingly, on the 11th of January, a demand for the surrender of the fort was made by Gov. Pickens on Major Anderson, who declined to comply, from want of authority. (*See* SUMTER.) On the same day I. W. Hayne, Attorney-General of South Carolina, was despatched as an envoy of the State to Washington, to demand the surrender of the fort by the President of the United States. On his arrival in Washington, ten Senators in Congress from seceding States advised him to delay action until those States should have formed a Confederacy. They offered to propose to the President that Fort Sumter should not be reënforced in the mean time. On this condition he acceded to their request. Those Senators, through Messrs. Fitzpatrick, Mallory, and Slidell, having laid the correspondence before the President, received through Secretary Holt a reply dated on the 22d of January.

Mr. Holt stated that the President had considered that correspondence, in which it appeared that their suggestions to Mr. Hayne to withhold his demand on the President, had received a clear and explicit answer from Mr. Hayne himself, in these words:

I am not clothed with power to make the arrangements you suggest; but provided you can get assurances, with which you are entirely satisfied, that no reënforcements will be sent to Fort Sumter in the interval, and that the public peace will not be disturbed by any act of hostility towards South Carolina, I will refer your communication to the authorities of South Carolina, and, withholding the communication with

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which I am at present charged, will await further instructions.

Mr. Holt then states that the President has endeavored to perform his duties in such a manner as to preserve the peace and prevent bloodshed. His sole object has been to act strictly on the defensive, and to authorize no movement against the people of South Carolina, unless clearly justified by a hostile movement on their part.

In regard to the proposition of Colonel Hayne, "that no reënforcements will be sent to Fort Sumter in the interval, and that the public peace will not be disturbed by any act of hostility towards South Carolina," it is impossible for him to give any such assurances. The President has no authority to enter into such an agreement or understanding. As an executive officer, he is simply bound to protect the public property, so far as this may be practicable; and it would be a manifest violation of his duty to place himself under engagements that he would not perform this duty either for an indefinite or a limited period. At the present moment, it is not deemed necessary to reënforce Major Anderson, because he makes no such request, and feels quite secure in his position. Should his safety, however, require reënforcements, every effort will be made to supply them.

In regard to an assurance from the President "that the public peace will not be disturbed by any act of hostility towards South Carolina," Mr. Holt said: "The answer will readily occur to yourselves. To Congress, and to Congress alone, belongs the power to make war, and it would be an act of usurpation for the Executive to give any assurance that Congress would not exercise this power, however strongly he may be convinced that no such intention exists."

This correspondence was forwarded to Charleston, and the Governor of South Carolina ordered Mr. Hayne to deliver his letter forthwith. The demand of Mr. Hayne was urged on these grounds:

> South Carolina, as a separate independent sovereign, assumes the right to take into her own possession every thing within her limits essential to maintain her honor or her safety, irrespective of the question of property, subject only to the moral duty requiring that compensation should be made to the owner. This right she cannot permit to be drawn into discussion. As to compensation for any property, whether of an individual or a Government, which she may deem it necessary, for her honor or safety, to take into her possession, her past history gives ample guarantee that it will be made, upon a fair accounting, to the last dollar.

In another part of his letter he speaks in terms of similar purport, as follows:

> She (South Carolina) rests her position on something higher than mere property. It is a consideration of her own dignity as a sovereign, and the safety of her people, which prompts her to demand that this property should not longer be used as a military post by a Government she no longer acknowledges. She feels this to be an imperative duty. It has, in fact, become an absolute necessity of her condition.

On the 6th of February, Mr. Holt gave a final reply, in which he said:

The proposal now presented to the President, is simply an offer on the part of South Carolina to buy Fort Sumter and contents as property of the United States, sustained by a declaration, in effect, that if she is not permitted to make the purchase, she will seize the fort by force of arms. As the initiation of the negotiation for the transfer of property between friendly Governments, this proposal impresses the President as having assumed a most unusual form. He has, however, investigated the claim on which it professes to be based, apart from the declaration that accompanies it. And it may be here remarked that much stress has been laid upon the employment of the words "property" and "public property" by the President in his several messages. These are the most comprehensive terms which can be used in such a connection, and surely, when referring to a fort or any other public establishment, they embrace the entire and undivided interest of the Government therein.

The title of the United States to Fort Sumter is complete and incontestable. Were its interest in this property purely proprietary, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, it might probably be subjected to the exercise of the right of eminent domain; but it has also political relations to it of a much higher and more imposing character than those of mere proprietorship. It has absolute jurisdiction over the fort and the soil on which it stands. This jurisdiction consists in the authority to "exercise exclusive legislation" over the property referred to, and is therefore clearly incompatible with the claim of eminent domain now insisted upon by South Carolina. This authority was not derived from any questionable, revolutionary source, but from the peaceful cession of South Carolina herself, acting through her Legislature, under a provision of the Constitution of the United States. South Carolina can no more assert the right of eminent domain over Fort Sumter than Maryland can assert it over the District of Columbia. The political and proprietary rights of the United States in either case rest upon precisely the same ground.

The President, however, is relieved from the necessity of further pursuing this inquiry by the fact that, whatever may be the claim of South Carolina to this fort, he has no constitutional power to cede or surrender it. The property of the United States has been acquired by force of public law, and can only be disposed of under the same solemn sanctions. The President, as the head of the Executive branch of the Government only, can no more sell and transfer Fort Sumter to South Carolina, than he can sell and convey the capitol of the United States to Maryland, or to any other State or individual seeking to possess it. His Excellency the Governor is too familiar with the Constitution of the United States, and with the limitations upon the powers of the Chief Magistrate of the Government it has established, not to appreciate at once the soundness of this legal proposition.

The question of reënforcing Fort Sumter is so fully disposed of in my letter to Senator Slidell and others, under date of the 22d of January—a copy of which accompanies this—that its discussion will not now be renewed. I then said: "At the present moment it is not deemed necessary to reënforce Major Anderson, because he makes no such request. Should his safety, however, require reënforcements, every effort will be made to supply them." I can add nothing to the explicitness of this language, which still applies to the existing status. The right to send forward reënforcements, when in the judgment of the President the safety of the garrison requires them, rests on the same unquestionable foundation as the right to occupy the fortress itself.

In the letter of Senator Davis and others to yourself, under date of the 15th ultimo, they say: "We, therefore, think it especially due from South Carolina to our States—to say nothing of other slaveholding States—that she should, as far as she can consistently with her honor, avoid initiating hostilities between her and the United States, or any other Power;" and you now yourself give to the President the gratifying as-

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surance that "South Carolina has every disposition to preserve the public peace;" and, since he is himself sincerely animated by the same desire, it would seem that this common and patriotic object must be of certain attainment. It is difficult, however, to reconcile with this assurance the declaration on your part that "it is a consideration of her (South Carolina's) own dignity as a sovereign, and the safety of her people, which prompts her to demand that this property should not longer be used as a military post by a Government she no longer acknowledges," and the thought you so constantly present that this occupation must lead to a collision of arms and the prevalence of civil war.

Fort Sumter is in itself a military post, and nothing else; and it would seem that not so much the fact as the purpose of its use should give to it a hostile or friendly character. This fortress is now held by the Government of the United States, for the same objects for which it has been held from the completion of its construction. These are national and defensive; and were a public enemy now to attempt the capture of Charleston or the destruction of the commerce of its harbor, the whole force of the batteries of this fortress would be at once exerted for their protection. How the presence of a small garrison, actuated by such a spirit as this, can compromise the dignity or honor of South Carolina, or become a source of irritation to her people, the President is at a loss to understand. The attitude of that garrison, as has been often declared, is neither menacing nor defiant, nor unfriendly. It is acting under orders to stand strictly on the defensive, and the Government and people of South Carolina must well know that they can never receive aught but shelter from its guns, unless, in the absence of all provocation, they should assault it, and seek its destruction. The intent with which this fortress is held by the President is truthfully stated by Senator Davis and others, in their letter to yourself of the 15th January, in which they say: "It is not held with any hostile or unfriendly purpose towards your State, but merely as property of the United States, which the President deems it his duty to protect and preserve."

If the announcement so repeatedly made of the President's pacific purposes in continuing the occupation of Fort Sumter until the question shall have been settled by competent authority, has failed to impress the Government of South Carolina, the forbearing conduct of his Administration for the last few months should be received as conclusive evidence of his sincerity. And if this forbearance, in view of the circumstances which have so severely tried it, be not accepted as a satisfactory pledge of the peaceful policy of this Administration towards South Carolina, then it may be safely affirmed that neither language nor conduct can possibly furnish one. If, with all the multiplied proofs which exist of the President's anxiety for peace, and of the earnestness with which he has pursued it, the authorities of that State shall assault Fort Sumter, and peril the lives of the handful of brave and loyal men shut up within its walls, and thus plunge our common country into the horrors of civil war, then upon them and those they represent must rest the responsibility.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant.

The question of safety to South Carolina is set aside, and her right and title to the possession of the fort thus denied by the Secretary with unanswerable force. It was at this time believed to be impossible that the authorities of South Carolina would incur the tremendous responsibility of commencing hostilities at Charleston by an attack on the handful of men shut up in the fort—the surrender of which had been thus demanded.

On the 19th of January, the Legislature of Virginia passed the series of resolutions which led to the Peace Conference at Washington on February 4. (*See* page 178, also PEACE CONFERENCE.) Under one of the resolutions, ex-President Tyler was appointed a commissioner to the President of the United States, and John Robertson a commissioner to the State of South Carolina, and the other States that had seceded, or should secede, with instructions to request the President of the United States, and the authorities of such States, "to agree to abstain, pending the proceedings contemplated, from any and all acts calculated to produce a collision of arms between the States and the Government of the United States."

On the 24th of January, ex-President Tyler called upon President Buchanan to discharge the duties of his mission. On his return to Virginia he made a report to the Legislature, respecting his mission. So much of this report as serves to explain the views of the President, and thereby those of the Government, was as follows:

On the next morning, at the hour of ten, I repaired to the President's mansion, and met from him a warm and cordial reception. I lost no time in handing him your letter of appointment, attested by the seal of the State and the legislative resolutions. He said that they were the first full copies of the resolutions which he had seen; and, after reading them, he remarked that he considered them very important, and was good enough to add that, being borne by myself, he should feel it his duty to make them the subject of a special Message to Congress. Either I suggested, or he voluntarily remarked, most probably the latter, that he should accompany them with a strong recommendation to Congress, with whom, he said, rested the entire power over the subject of war or peace, to abstain from all action of a hostile character until Virginia should have had a fair opportunity to exert all her efforts to preserve the public peace and restore harmony to the Union. I said to him that my mission was to him; that he was commander-in-chief of the army and navy; could regulate the movements of soldiers and ships in peace and in war, and that every thing Virginia desired was that the status quo should be observed.

I represented to him that the people of Virginia were almost universally inclined to peace and reconciliation; that I need not inform him of the sacrifices the State had made for the Union in its initiation, or of her instrumentality in the creation of the Constitution; that her efforts to re-construct or preserve depended, for their success, on her being permitted to conduct them undisturbed by outside collision. He replied that he had in no measure changed his views as presented in his annual Message; that he could give no pledges; that it was his duty to enforce the laws, and the whole power rested with Congress. He complained that the South had not treated him properly; that they had made unnecessary demonstrations by seizing unprotected arsenals and forts, and thus perpetrating acts of useless bravado, which had quite as well been left alone. I suggested to him that while those things were (I admitted) calculated to fret and irritate the Northern mind, yet he would see in them only the necessary results of popular excitement, which, after all, worked no mischief in the end, if harmony in the States was once more restored; that the States wherein the seizures had been made would account for all the public property, and that, in the mean time, the agencies for its preservation were only changed. He repeated his views of the obligations which rested on him; could give no pledges but those contained in his public acts, and recurred again to the proceedings of the Legislature and his intention to send them to Congress in a special Message, accompanied with a strong

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recommendation to avoid the passage of any hostile legislation. I asked if I might be permitted to see the sketch of the Message, to which he unhesitatingly replied that he would take pleasure in showing it to me next morning.

Much more occurred in the course of an interview which lasted for an hour and a half, all, however, relating exclusively to the above topics, and I left him entirely satisfied with the result of my interview. The President was frank and entirely confiding in his language and whole manner. A moment's reflection satisfied me that if the Message contained the recommendation to Congress to abstain from hostile legislation, I was at liberty to infer a similar determination on his part of a state of quietude.

Friday, 25. I waited on him again the following morning, and he lost no time in reading me so much of the sketch of the proposed Message as related to the recommendation to Congress. I suggested no change or alteration, believing it to be amply sufficient, and I became only anxious for its presentation to Congress. He said he should have it all prepared to be submitted to his Cabinet on that day, and would send it in the next day. On the afternoon of the same day (Friday 25) I was waited on by the Secretary of State and the Attorney-General, who stated that they had called upon me, at the request of the President, to express his regret that, in consequence of the adjournment over to Monday, he would not be able to send in the Message until Monday.

While in conversation with those gentlemen, which chiefly turned on the condition of public affairs, I was startled by the receipt of a telegraphic despatch from Judge Robertson, my co-commissioner, dated at Charleston, South Carolina, inquiring into the foundation of a rumor which had reached that place that the steamship Brooklyn, with troops, had sailed from Norfolk. I immediately handed over the despatch to the gentlemen, with the suitable inquiries. The Attorney-General said, in substance: "You know, sir, that I am attached to the law department, and not in the way of knowing any thing about it." The Secretary of State said that he had heard and believed that the Brooklyn had sailed with some troops, but he did not know when she sailed, or to what point she was destined. I then said: "I hoped that she had not received her orders since my arrival in Washington." On this point the gentlemen could give me no information, but expressed no doubt but that the President would give me the information if requested.

I excused myself to them, and, immediately withdrawing to the adjoining room, I addressed to the President a note, which Mr. Stanton, the Attorney-General, kindly volunteered to bear in person and without lapse of time to the President. In a short time afterwards Mr. Stanton returned to inform me that he had carried the note to the President's house, but, for a reason not necessary here to state, he could not see the President, but had placed it in the hands of his servant to be delivered at the earliest opportunity. The reply of the President reached me at half-past 11 o'clock that night. In the interim I had despatched by telegraph to Judge Robertson the information I had collected, and upon the opening of the Telegraph office the next morning, (Saturday,) the material part of the President's reply relating to the sailing of the Brooklyn, viz., that she had gone on an errand of "mercy and relief," and that she was not destined to South Carolina. The orders for the sailing of the ship, as will be seen, were issued before I reached Washington. After receiving the letter, and willingly adopting the most favorable construction of its expressions, I resolved to remain in Washington until after Monday, when the Message would go to the two Houses. I listened to its reading in the Senate with pleasure.

The following is the letter of Mr. Buchanan to Mr. Tyler relative to the steamer Brooklyn:

January 25, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR: I have just received your note. The orders were given to the Brooklyn, I believe, on Monday or Tuesday last; certainly before your arrival in this city. She goes on an errand of mercy and relief. If she had not been sent it would have been an abandonment of our highest duty. Her movements are in no way connected with South Carolina.

Your friend, very respectfully.

The resolutions of Virginia were sent to Congress accompanied by a Message, in which the President expressed his gratification on the occasion and his views of his own position. (*See* page 178.) It is manifest that from the 3d of December to this period, the views of the Government had been openly and constantly asserted relative to its position. In the Message of the President at the commencement of the session of Congress; in the correspondence with the retiring secretaries, and with the three commissioners from South Carolina; in the Message of the 8th of January; in the correspondence with Commissioner Hayne; in the interview with ex-President Tyler, and the subsequent Message to Congress, and in the speech of Secretary Dix at Union Square, the Government appears firm and steadfast, and unchangeable in its position of forbearance and conciliation, refusing all pledges, and determined to use military force if any violence should be manifested against its authority. Under such a state of facts, it is difficult to conceive of any grounds to sustain the implication contained in the Message of President Lincoln to Congress, on the 4th of July, in which he thus speaks of the reënforcement of Fort Pickens:

"An order was at once directed to be sent for the landing of the troops from the steamship Brooklyn into Fort Pickens. This order could not go by land, but must take the longer and slower route by sea. The first return news from the order was received just one week before the fall of Fort Sumter. The news itself was, that the officer commanding the Sabine, to which vessel the troops had been transferred from the Brooklyn, acting upon some *quasi* armistice of the late Administration, (and of the existence of which the present Administration, up to the time the order was despatched, had only too vague and uncertain rumors to fix attention,) had refused to land the troops."

So President Davis, in his Message to the Confederate Congress on the 20th of July, thus refers to these remarks of President Lincoln:

"Fortunately for truth and history, however, the President of the United States details with minuteness the attempt to reënforce Fort Pickens, in violation of an armistice, of which he confessed to have been informed, but only by rumors, too vague and uncertain to fix the attention of the hostile expedition despatched to supply Fort Sumter."

It is worth while to note how far the position of the Administration responded to the public sentiment of the country at this time. Congress was in session. Numerous propositions for an adjustment of difficulties were under consideration in the House. A less

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number were awaiting the action of the Senate, and particularly the Crittenden Compromise. No progress was made in the bill to give the President men and money. The Peace Conference had just convened; Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri were represented in that body, indicating a strong and powerful sentiment in favor of a peaceful solution of the difficulties in that very portion of the country whose sympathies were with the South in preference to the North —and who were certain, if a violent division must come, to join the South. New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Cincinnati, the large centres of wealth, demanded a course of conciliation and compromise. New Jersey, and a large portion of all the Middle and Western States opposed coercive measures, and were ready to make sacrifices to preserve the Union, although, if a violent division came, their first sympathies were with the North, and were sure to place them in array against the South. Even in Faneuil Hall, at Boston, on the 4th of February the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That this meeting depends for the return of the seceding States and the permanent preservation of the Union on conciliatory counsels, and a sense of the benefits which the Constitution confers on all the States of the Confederacy, and not on military coercion; and that it shrinks with horror from the thought of civil war between the North and South.

Such was the nature of all the active measures proposed in the existing state of affairs. Meantime, the Legislatures of New York and Ohio had passed resolutions, tendering to the Government all their resources in men and money for its support. But it was not expected that these would be called for unless some hostile and violent act was committed by the secessionists against the authority of the Government. Nevertheless, it was soon apparent that no party to the difficulty could succeed in procuring an acquiescence in all the constitutional and legislative arrangements it might deem necessary to secure a pacification of the others on the question of slavery. The Government seemed to be threatened with overthrow on points rather of political punctilio than practical concern. On the one hand, the Republicans insisted that they could not and would not listen to any terms of pacification at a time when the people of a portion of the Southern States stood with arms in their hands, and in the attitude of practical rebellion against the Federal Government. On the other hand, the Southern leaders justified their revolutionary proceedings on the ground that a portion of the Northern States had nullified the Constitution and laws of the land by the passage of their personal liberty laws, (*see* PERSONAL LIBERTY LAWS,) and violated the spirit, if not the letter, of the civil compact existing between the States by the election of a "sectional" candidate to the Presidency. The Republicans also sturdily refused to give any consideration to propositions involving the assumption that there could be, under the particular sanction of Federal law, any thing like property in man. The Southern leaders, on the contrary, contended that property in slaves should, in all Federal relations, be placed on the same footing as any other property. To the former, the paramount idea appeared now to be the recognition of the slave only as a person. To the latter the paramount idea appeared to be the recognition of the slave only as property. The fact was, and still is, that the slave in the different relations which he sustains, is both a person and property, and in the former of these characters, he counts as a modified element of political power recognized in the Constitution of the United States. But in the excitement and turbulence of the hour, reason and common sense were lost sight of, and these hair-splitting discriminations engrossed the attention even of Congress itself. Neither party to these views appear on the record of events, as having performed at this time any act aiming directly and solely to the restoration of peace and union thoughout the country. Amid such conflicts, by which the Union men of the Border States were paralyzed, the term of Mr. Buchanan's Administration closed. The original national drama was over. The curtain had fallen. The nature of the new period of existence to be opened on the morrow no man comprehended.

On the 4th of March, at noon, President Lincoln delivered his Inaugural Address, (*see* PUBLIC DOCUMENTS,) took the oath of his office, and commenced the discharge of its duties. What was the posture of affairs at this time, especially as compared with their state on the day of election in November. Seven Southern States had retired from the Union, the officers of the Federal Government had resigned, and there were no persons to represent its powers or execute its duties within their limits, excepting in the Post-Office Department. Within these States, also, all the forts, arsenals, dockyards, custom-houses, revenue cutters, &c., embracing all the movable and stationary articles connected therewith, had been taken possession of by the authority of these States individually, and were held by persons and officers denying any allegiance to the Federal Government, and avowing it to be due by them only to a Government created by the united action of these seven States. Only Forts Pickens, Taylor, and Jefferson, near the Florida coast, and Sumter, in Charleston harbor, continued under the flag of the Union.

The other forts thus seized were put in an improved condition, new ones built, and armed forces had been organized, and were organizing, avowedly to protect this property from recapture, and to capture those not yet seized. Around Fort Sumter batteries had been erected, with guns equal or heavier in calibre than hers, and in far greater number. Officers of the army and navy of the Union from these States, had chiefly resigned, and had been reappointed in the service of the latter. A complete Gov-

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ernment for a nation was in operation in these States, and the property thus seized was held, as the new Government avowed, to be accounted for in a peaceful settlement with the Federal Union, or to be used for the defence of those States, if assaulted by the same Union. They asked for peace, and to be "let alone," but were determined to hazard a war sooner than return to their former allegiance.

Among the other States, Kentucky made an application to Congress to call a National Convention to amend the Constitution of the United States, and requested the Legislatures of all the other States to make similar applications, and appointed commissioners to a conference of the Border States to consider and, if practicable, agree upon some suitable adjustment of the present unhappy controversies. Some of the States of the North appointed commissioners to this conference, which agreed upon terms for an adjustment, but no State action followed. Not a single slaveholding State complied with the request of Kentucky to apply to Congress to call a National Convention, whilst three non-slaveholding States so complied, and several others prepared to follow.

A Peace Conference was called by Virginia, in which twenty States were represented. Such measures would have been recommended as were desired by the seceding States if they had been present by their votes to secure their adoption. Three territorial bills were passed by Congress, in no one of which was inserted the prohibition of slavery as insisted upon hitherto by the Republicans. The North condemned the personal liberty bills of the States, declared in favor of a faithful execution of the fugitive slave law, and concurred in proposing, by the requisite constitutional majority, an amendment of the Constitution guaranteeing positively and forever the exemption of slavery in the States from the interference of Congress. This was one of the guarantees embraced in the scheme of Mr. Crittenden and also in the scheme of the Peace Conference.

Rhode Island repealed its personal liberty law outright, whilst Vermont, Maine, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin had under consideration the repeal or essential modification of their respective laws of this description. Not less than a quarter of a million of the people of the North, besides societies and representative bodies without number, petitioned Congress for the adoption of any adjustment satisfactory to States of the Southern Border.

After such a manifestation of public sentiment, there was nothing to justify the President in declaring that he should adopt a policy of coercion towards the seceding States. In his inaugural, he expressed himself in favor of a National Convention, and announced his policy. Whether it intended peace or war, was greatly discussed, at the time; public sentiment, however, generally believed it was to be peaceful. But on this point he is himself the most satisfactory exponent. In his Message, at the extra session in July, he says: "Finding this condition of things, and believing it to be an imperative duty upon the incoming Executive to prevent, if possible, the consummation of such attempt to destroy the Federal Union, a choice of means to that end became indispensable. This choice was made, and was declared in the inaugural address. The policy chosen looked to the exhaustion of all peaceful measures, before a resort to any stronger ones. It sought only to hold the public places and property not already wrested from the Government, and to collect the revenue, relying for the rest on time, discussion, and the ballot-box. It promised a continuance of the mails, at Government expense, to the very people who were resisting the Government; and it gave repeated pledges against any disturbance to any of the people or any of their rights. Of all that which a President might constitutionally and justifiably do in such a case, every thing was forborne, without which it was believed possible to keep the Government on foot."

Such was the degree of excitement in the country that the declarations of the inaugural respecting the policy of the Government, which might in ordinary times have been considered quite explicit, were now looked upon as very unsatisfactory. Even the intimate friends of the Administration were unable to say whether peace or war was before the country. A feeling of solicitude pervaded all classes, which became deeper and stronger under the continued uncertainty.

Meantime, commissioners from the Confederate States, Messrs. John Forsyth and Martin J. Crawford at first, who were joined afterwards by A. B. Roman, arrived at Washington. On the 12th, Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford addressed the Secretary of State, stating their character as commissioners, and the object of their mission:

SIR: The undersigned have been duly accredited by the Government of the Confederate States of America as Commissioners to the Government of the United States, and in pursuance of their instructions have now the honor to acquaint you with that fact, and to make known, through you, to the President of the United States, the objects of their presence in this capital.

Seven States of the late Federal Union having, in the exercise of the inherent right of every free people to change or reform their political institutions, and through conventions of their people, withdrawn from the United States and reassumed the attributes of sovereign power delegated to it, have formed a government of their own. The Confederate States constitute an independent nation, *de facto* and *de jure*, and possess a government perfect in all its parts, and endowed with all the means of self-support.

With a view to a speedy adjustment of all questions growing out of this political separation, upon such terms of amity and good will as the respective interests, geographical contiguity, and future welfare of the two nations may render necessary, the undersigned are instructed to make to the Government of the United States overtures for the opening of negotiations, assuring the Government of the United States

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that the President, Congress, and people of the Confederate States earnestly desire a peaceful solution of these great questions; that it is neither their interest nor their wish to make any demand which is not founded in strictest justice, nor do any act to injure their late confederates.

The undersigned have now the honor, in obedience to the instructions of their Government, to request you to appoint as early a day as possible, in order that they may present to the President of the United States the credentials which they bear, and the objects of the mission with which they are charged.

Three days afterwards, the Secretary prepared a reply, which was entitled a "Memorandum," and was as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, *March* 15, 1861.

Mr. John Forsyth, of the State of Alabama, and Mr. Martin J. Crawford, of the State of Georgia, on the 11th inst., through the kind offices of a distinguished Senator, submitted to the Secretary of State their desire for an unofficial interview. This request was, on the 12th inst., upon exclusively public consideration, respectfully declined.

On the 13th inst., while the Secretary was preoccupied, Mr. A. D. Banks, of Virginia, called at this Department, and was received by the Assistant Secretary, to whom he delivered a sealed communication, which he had been charged by Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford to present the Secretary in person.

In that communication, Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford inform the Secretary of State that they have been duly accredited by the Government of the Confederate States of America as Commissioners to the Government of the United States, and they set forth the objects of their attendance at Washington. They observe that seven States of the American Union, in the exercise of a right inherent in every free people, have withdrawn, through conventions of their people, from the United States, reassumed the attributes of sovereign power, and formed a government of their own, and that those Confederate States now constitute an independent nation *de facto* and *de jure*, and possess a government perfect in all its parts, and fully endowed with all the means of self-support.

Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford, in their aforesaid communication, thereupon proceeded to inform the Secretary that, with a view to a speedy adjustment of all questions growing out of the political separation thus assumed, upon such terms of amity and good will as the respective interests, geographical contiguity, and the future welfare of the supposed two nations might render necessary, they are instructed to make to the Government of the United States, overtures for the opening of negotiations, assuring this Government that the President, Congress, and people of the Confederate States earnestly desire a peaceful solution of these great questions, and that it is neither their interest nor their wish to make any demand which is not founded in strictest justice, nor do any act to injure their late confederates.

After making these statements, Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford close their communication, as they say, in obedience to the instructions of their Government, by requesting the Secretary of State to appoint as early a day as possible, in order that they may present to the President of the United States the credentials which they bear, and the objects of the mission with which they are charged.

The Secretary of State frankly confesses that he understands the events which have recently occurred, and the condition of political affairs which actually exists in the part of the Union, to which his attention has thus been directed, very differently from the aspect in which they are presented by Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford. He sees in them, not a rightful and accomplished revolution and an independent nation, with an established government, but rather a perversion of a temporary and partisan excitement to the inconsiderate purposes of an unjustifiable and unconstitutional aggression upon the rights and the authority vested in the Federal Government, and hitherto benignly exercised, as from their very nature they always must so be exercised, for the maintenance of the Union, the preservation of liberty, and the security, peace, welfare, happiness, and aggrandizement of the American people. The Secretary of State, therefore, avows to Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford that he looks patiently but confidently for the cure of evils which have resulted from proceedings so unnecessary, so unwise, so unusual, and so unnatural, not to irregular negotiations, having in view new and untried relations with agencies unknown to and acting in derogation of the Constitution and laws, but to regular and considerate action of the people of those States, in cooperation with their brethren in the other States, through the Congress of the United States, and such extraordinary conventions, if there shall be need thereof, as the Federal Constitution contemplates and authorizes to be assembled.

It is, however, the purpose of the Secretary of State on this occasion not to invite or engage in any discussion of these subjects, but simply to set forth his reasons for declining to comply with the request of Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford.

On the 4th of March inst., the newly elected President of the United States, in view of all the facts bearing on the present question, assumed the executive Administration of the Government, first delivering, in accordance with an early, honored custom, an Inaugural Address to the people of the United States. The Secretary of State respectfully submits a copy of this address to Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford.

A simple reference to it will be sufficient to satisfy those gentlemen that the Secretary of State, guided by the principles therein announced, is prevented altogether from admitting or assuming that the States referred to by them have, in law or in fact, withdrawn from the Federal Union, or that they could do so in the manner described by Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford, or in any other manner, than with the consent and concert of the people of the United States, to be given through a National Convention, to be assembled in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution of the United States. Of course the Secretary of State cannot act upon the assumption, or in any way admit that the so-called Confederate States constitute a foreign Power, with whom diplomatic relations ought to be established.

Under these circumstances, the Secretary of State, whose official duties are confined, subject to the direction of the President, to the conducting of the foreign relations of the country, and do not at all embrace domestic questions, or questions arising between the several States and the Federal Government, is unable to comply with the request of Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford, to appoint a day on which they may present the evidences of their authority and the objects of their visit to the President of the United States. On the contrary, he is obliged to state to Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford that he has no authority nor is he at liberty to recognize them as diplomatic agents, or hold correspondence or other communication with them.

Finally, the Secretary of State would observe that, although he has supposed that he might safely and with propriety have adopted these conclusions without making any reference of the subject to the Executive, yet so strong has been his desire to practise entire directness and to act in a spirit of perfect respect and candor towards Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford, and that portion of the Union, in whose name they present themselves before him, that he has cheerfully submitted this paper to the President, who coincides generally in the views it expresses, and sanctions the Secretary's decision declining official intercourse with Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford.

This communication remained in the Department of State until the 8th of April, when it

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was delivered to the secretary of the commissioners, who had been directed by the commissioners to call there for it. Reasons for this delay are stated by the commissioners in their subsequent communication, dated April 9. It was as follows:

WASHINGTON, *April* 9, 1861.

Hon. Wm. H. Seward, Secretary of State of the United States, Washington.

The "memorandum," dated Department of State, Washington, March 15, 1861, has been received through the hands of Mr. J. T. Pickett, Secretary to this Commission, who, by the instructions of the undersigned, called for it on yesterday at the Department.

In that memorandum you correctly state the purport of the official note addressed to you by the undersigned on the 12th ult. Without repeating the contents of that note in full, it is enough to say here that its object was to invite the Government of the United States to a friendly consideration of the relation between the United States and the seven States lately of the Federal Union, but now separated from it by the sovereign will of their people, growing out of the pregnant and undeniable fact that those people have rejected the authority of the United States and established a government of their own. Those relations had to be friendly or hostile. The people of the old and new Governments, occupying contiguous territories, had to stand to each other in the relation of good neighbors, each seeking their own happiness and pursuing their national destinies in their own way, without interference with the other, or they had to be rival and hostile nations. The Government of the Confederate States had no hesitation in electing its choice in this alternative. Frankly and unreservedly, seeking the good of the people who had intrusted them with power, in the spirit of humanity, of the Christian civilization of the age, and of that Americanism which regards the true welfare and happiness of the people, the Government of the Confederate States, among its first acts, commissioned the undersigned to approach the Government of the United States with the olive branch of peace, and to offer to adjust the great questions pending between them, in the only way to be justified by the consciences and common sense of good men, who had nothing but the welfare of the people of the two Confederacies at heart.

Your Government has not chosen to meet the undersigned in the conciliatory and peaceful spirit in which they are commissioned. Persistently wedded to those fatal theories of construction of the Federal Constitution always rejected by the statesmen of the South, and adhered to by those of the Administration school, until they have produced their natural and often predicted result of the destruction of the Union, under which we might have continued to live happily and gloriously together, had the spirit of the ancestry who framed the common Constitution animated the hearts of all their sons; you now, with a persistence untaught and uncured by the ruin that has been wrought, refuse to recognize the great fact presented to you of a complete and successful revolution; you close your eyes to the existence of the Government founded upon it, and ignore the high duties of moderation and humanity which attach to you in dealing with this great fact. Had you met these issues with the frankness and manliness with which the undersigned were instructed to present them to you and treat them, the undersigned had not now the melancholy duty to return home and tell their Government and their countrymen, that their earnest and ceaseless efforts in behalf of peace had been futile, and that the Government of the United States meant to subjugate them by force of arms. Whatever may be the result, impartial history will record the innocence of the Government of the Confederate States, and place the responsibility of the blood and mourning that may ensue, upon those who have denied the great fundamental doctrine of American liberty, that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," and who have set naval and land armaments in motion to subject the people of one portion of the land to the will of another portion. That that can never be done while a freeman survives in the Confederate States to wield a weapon, the undersigned appeal to past history to prove. These military demonstrations against the people of the seceded States are certainly far from being in keeping and consistency with the theory of the Secretary of State, maintained in his memorandum, that these States are still component parts of the late American Union, as the undersigned are not aware of any constitutional power in the President of the United States to levy war without the consent of Congress, upon a foreign people, much less upon any portion of the people of the United States.

The undersigned, like the Secretary of State, have no purpose to "invite or engage in discussion" of the subject on which their two Governments are so irreconcilably at variance. It is this variance that has broken up the old Union, the disintegration of which has only begun. It is proper, however, to advise you that it were well to dismiss the hopes you seem to entertain that, by any of the modes indicated, the people of the Confederate States will ever be brought to submit to the authority of the Government of the United States. You are dealing with delusions, too, when you seek to separate our people from our Government and to characterize the deliberate, sovereign act of the people, as a "perversion of a temporary and partisan excitement." If you cherish these dreams you will be awakened from them, and find them as unreal and unsubstantial as others in which you have recently indulged. The undersigned would omit the performance of an obvious duty were they to fail to make known to the Government of the United States that the people of the Confederate States have declared their independence with a full knowledge of all the responsibilities of that act, and with as firm a determination to maintain it by all the means with which nature has endowed them, as that which sustained their fathers, when they threw off the authority of the British crown.

The undersigned clearly understand that you have declined to appoint a day to enable them to lay the objects of the mission with which they are charged, before the President of the United States, because so to do would be to recognize the independence and separate nationality of the Confederate States. This is the vein of thought that pervades the memorandum before us. The truth of history requires that it should distinctly appear upon the record that the undersigned did not ask the Government of the United States to recognize the independence of the Confederate States. They only asked audience to adjust, in a spirit of amity and peace, the new relations springing from a manifest and accomplished revolution in the Government of the late Federal Union. Your refusal to entertain these overtures for a peaceful solution, the active naval and military preparations of the Government, and a formal notice to the commanding general of the Confederate forces in the harbor of Charleston, that the President intends to provision Fort Sumter by forcible means, if necessary, are viewed by the undersigned, and can only be received by the world, as a declaration of war against the Confederate States; for the President of the United States knows that Fort Sumter cannot be provisioned without the effusion of blood. The undersigned, in behalf of their Government and people, accept the gage of battle thus thrown down to them; and appealing to God and the judgment of mankind for the righteousness of their cause, the people of the Confederate States will defend their liberties to the last against this flagrant and open attempt at their subjugation to sectional power.

This communication cannot be properly closed without adverting to the date of your memorandum. The official note of the undersigned, of the 12th March, was delivered to the Assistant Secretary of State on the 13th

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of that month, the gentleman who delivered it informing him that the Secretary of this Commission would call at 12 o'clock, noon, on the next day, for an answer. At the appointed hour, Mr. Pickett did call, and was informed by the Assistant Secretary of State that the engagements of the Secretary of State had prevented him from giving the note his attention. The Assistant Secretary of State then asked for the address of Messrs. Crawford and Forsyth, the members of the Commission then present in this city, took note of the address on a card, and engaged to send whatever reply might be made to their lodgings. Why this was not done it is proper should be here explained. The memorandum is dated March 15, and was not delivered until April 8. Why was it withheld during the intervening twenty-three days? In the postscript to your memorandum you say it "was delayed, as was understood, with their (Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford's) consent." This is true; but it is also true that, on the 15th of March, Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford were assured by a person occupying a high official position in the Government, and who, as they believed, was speaking by authority, that Fort Sumter would be evacuated within a very few days, and that no measure changing the existing *status* prejudicially to the Confederate States, as respects Fort Pickens, was then contemplated, and these assurances were subsequently repeated, with the addition that any contemplated change as respects Pickens, would be notified to us. On the 1st of April we were again informed that there might be an attempt to supply Fort Sumter with provisions, but that Gov. Pickens should have previous notice of this attempt. There was no suggestion of any reënforcements. The undersigned did not hesitate to believe that these assurances expressed the intentions of the Administration at the time, or, at all events, of prominent members of that Administration. This delay was assented to for the express purpose of attaining the great end of the mission of the undersigned, to wit, a pacific solution of existing complications. The inference deducible from the date of your memorandum, that the undersigned had, of their own volition, and without cause, consented to this long hiatus in the grave duties with which they were charged, is therefore not consistent with a just exposition of the facts of the case. The intervening twenty-three days were employed in active unofficial efforts, the object of which was to smooth the path to a pacific solution, the distinguished personage alluded to cooperating with the undersigned; and every step of that effort is recorded in writing, and now in possession of the undersigned and of their Government. It was only when all these anxious efforts for peace had been exhausted, and it became clear that Mr. Lincoln had determined to appeal to the sword to reduce the people of the Confederate States to the will of the section or party whose President he is, that the undersigned resumed the official negotiation temporarily suspended, and sent their Secretary for a reply to their official note of March 12.

It is proper to add that, during these twenty-three days, two gentlemen of official distinction, as high as that of the personage hitherto alluded to, aided the undersigned as intermediaries in these unofficial negotiations for peace.

The undersigned, Commissioners of the Confederate States of America, having thus made answer to all they deem material in the memorandum filed in the Department on the 15th of March last, have the honor to be,

JOHN FORSYTH, A. B. ROMAN,
MARTIN J. CRAWFORD.

A true copy of the original by one delivered to Mr. F. W. Seward, Assistant Secretary of State, of the United States, at 8 o'clock in the evening of April 9, 1861. Attest, J. T. PICKETT, Secretary, &c., &c.

The answer to this communication, delivered on the next day, was as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.
WASHINGTON, *April* 10, 1861.

Messrs. Forsyth, Crawford, and Roman, having been apprised by a memorandum which has been delivered to them that the Secretary of State is not at liberty to hold official intercourse with them, will, it is presumed, expect no notice from him of the new communication which they have addressed to him under date of the 9th inst., beyond the simple acknowledgment of the receipt thereof, which he hereby very cheerfully gives.

A true copy of the original received by the Commissioners of the Confederate States, this 10th day of April, 1861. Attest, J. T. PICKETT, Secretary, &c., &c.

A state of uncertainty now existed. Nothing was known except what was seen.

It was announced in New York on Monday morning, April 1, that every thing was dull and uninteresting on Governor's Island, Fort Hamilton, Bedloe's Island, and the Brooklyn navy yard. On Wednesday following there was intense excitement apparent at all these places.

During Monday orders were received from Washington to fit out the United States brig-of-war Perry for sea at once. She was immediately hauled alongside the wharf at the navy yard, but operations had hardly commenced when the order was countermanded. The Powhatan was then put out of commission, and her crew temporarily transferred to the receiving ship North Carolina. This was no sooner done than they were ordered to Norfolk. And, on Tuesday, to the astonishment of every one, the Powhatan, notwithstanding the unfavorable report of the engineer, was ordered to be equipped for a new commission with all the despatch in the power of the navy yard force.

On Governor's Island, too, indications were apparent that troops were about to leave, and it was announced there was not the slightest doubt that on Saturday or Sunday a large force of soldiers would depart for some unknown destination. The garrison of Fort Hamilton was paid off Thursday—the last move preparatory to marching. Officers were arriving from Washington, individually, all day, and, carpet-bag in hand, reporting themselves for duty. The village of Fort Hamilton was like a stormed citadel. Troops that had just got their money, having been indulging freely in stimulants, thronged the sidewalks in knots of from five to ten, boisterously discussing the affairs of the nation.

The bustle and excitement continued at the navy yard and the army depots. Men were at work all Wednesday night and Thursday night on board the steam-frigate Powhatan. Thursday a large force of laborers employed on her were reënforced by the crew, lately detached, who assisted in getting in the various necessaries for a special cruise.

On Saturday, the 6th, it was again announced that vessels were chartered by the Government as transports, viz.: the Atlantic, Baltic, and Illinois. These vessels would proceed to sea under sealed orders, and their destination could only be conjectured.

The Atlantic cleared on Friday for Brazos Santiago, (Texas,) and the utmost despatch was made in fitting her out. She was coaled and well provisioned for a long trip, and accommodations were furnished for six hundred men and

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five hundred horses. She was at the foot of Canal street, and was taking in freight as rapidly as possible. The dock was covered with barrels, boxes, bales, sacks, and all conceivable packages, while twenty or more carts stood in line on the street ready to be unloaded. The main portion of the freight to be taken comprised army stores of every kind—beef, pork, flour, fish, &c.—and there was by no means a slight sprinkling of material that would feed howitzers and columbiads. The utmost haste and energy were manifested in getting the ship ready for sea.

The Illinois received a very heavy freight, consisting of about two thousand barrels of assorted stores, five hundred cases of muskets, a large quantity of ammunition, one hundred cords of oak wood, two parks of artillery, with their appurtenances, a number of gun carriages, &c.

The Powhatan was the only steam-frigate in the United States navy that was ever changed from the "lying up" to the "commission" state within three days; and such rapidity of execution could scarcely be accomplished in any other yard in the country than the one at Brooklyn. At four bells, two o'clock, on Friday, the ship went into commission. She had on board an extraordinary armament and immense quantities of shell. She carried 10 nine-inch and 1 eleven-inch shell guns; but a large portion of her ordnance consisted of ten-inch shell; consequently, these were thought to be intended for the reënforcement of some forts, or possibly for land service.

On Monday morning the revenue flag on the Harriet Lane was hauled down, and the Stars and Stripes run up at her peak. At nine o'clock Capt. Faunce visited the custom-house and bade adieu to some of his friends, to whom he stated that he had received sealed orders to sail immediately. The cutter was heavily armed, and the crew increased to eighty men. She went to sea before noon.

At Governor's Island station the utmost activity prevailed all day on Friday. Men were engaged in loading lighters with provisions, clothing, and large quantities of shell. On the dock, besides a large quantity of mortar-shells, were piles of the smaller but more destructive balls with which columbiads are loaded. Two of these guns, weighing 15,000 pounds each, were on an adjacent wharf, at which lay the schooner John N. Genin, which was to be laden with munitions of war. Within a month past two other schooners had been thus laden at the same pier, and departed for parts unknown. In the vicinity of the wharves were 37,000 shells and a large number of gun-carriages, each of which was directed to Capt. Vogdes, at Fort Pickens, Florida.

A large number of heavy transporting boats from the navy yard were alongside the wharf. Troops were packing up at Forts Columbus and Hamilton.

The correct dates of the sailing of these vessels were as follows: Two expeditions sailed from New York in the early part of April. The chartered steamers Atlantic and Illinois, which were publicly announced to have taken out clearances for the Gulf and to be under convoy of the steam-frigate Powhatan, sailed from New York, respectively, on the 7th and 8th of April, the Powhatan having left that harbor in the afternoon of the 6th. These vessels were destined for the reënforcement of Fort Pickens, which was successfully and peacefully accomplished. The expedition which proceeded to Charleston consisted of the chartered steamer Baltic, well laden with provisions, and the steam-cutter Harriet Lane, both from New York. The latter left the harbor about 10 o'clock in the forenoon of the 8th of April, and the Baltic early in the morning of the 9th. The frigates Pawnee and Pocahontas, which also went to Charleston, left Norfolk, respectively, in the evening of the 9th and the morning of the 10th of April.

At Charleston, on the other hand, it was reported that during the whole of Thursday afternoon, the 4th, all kinds of rumors were rife on the streets. A vague impression had somehow got abroad that the long agony of suspense and inaction was to be speedily and abruptly ended; but how, or when, or by whose orders, nobody could tell. Diligent inquiry was made, and—in the absence of official information, which in such a juncture is seldom made public—the following facts were deemed to be reasonably certain: 1. That the supplies of provisions and the mails, hitherto furnished regularly to the garrison of Fort Sumter, were to be cut off that day, and that no further communication would be allowed between Major Anderson and the Government at Washington. 2. That the troops at all the State fortifications were finally disposed, equipped, and provided for, so as to be ready for action at a moment's warning. 3. That no attack of any kind would be made upon Fort Sumter until further orders, unless such an attack should be provoked by Major Anderson, or by an attempt on the part of his Government to bring aid to the beleaguered fortress. 4. That these measures are taken at the instance of the Government of the Confederate States, which had lost all confidence in the professions of Mr. Lincoln's Administration.

All eyes were turned towards Fort Sumter with intense interest. It was well known that the unseen future was wrapped up in her fate. If she was peaceably supplied with stores for the starving garrison, or if peaceably evacuated, then the prospect for peace would become hopeful; if, on the other hand, an assault should be made, war, with all its horrors, fraternal war, was upon the country.

On Friday morning, the 12th, about four o'clock, fire was opened from all points upon Fort Sumter, and continued for thirty-three hours, when her commander surrendered. (See SUMTER and CONFEDERATE STATES.)

Meanwhile commissioners had been sent by the Virginia State Convention to the President

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with instructions to ask him to communicate to the Convention the policy which he intended to pursue in regard to the Confederate States.

In reply he made the following explicit statement:

"In answer, I have to say, that having, at the beginning of my official term, expressed my intended policy as plainly as I was able, it is with deep regret and mortification I now learn there is great and injurious uncertainty in the public mind as to what that policy is, and what course I intend to pursue. Not having as yet seen occasion to change, it is now my purpose to pursue the course marked out in the inaugural address. I commend a careful consideration of the whole document as the best expression I can give to my purposes. As I then and therein said, I now repeat, 'The power confided in me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess property and places belonging to the Government, and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what is necessary for these objects there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere.' By the words 'property and places belonging to the Government,' I chiefly allude to the military posts and property which were in possession of the Government when it came into my hands. But if, as now appears to be true, in pursuit of a purpose to drive the United States authority from these places, an unprovoked assault has been made upon Fort Sumter, I shall hold myself at liberty to repossess it, if I can, like places which had been seized before the Government was devolved upon me; and in any event I shall, to the best of my ability, repel force by force. In case it proves true that Fort Sumter has been assaulted, as is reported, I shall, perhaps, cause the United States mails to be withdrawn from all the States which claim to have seceded, believing that the commencement of actual war against the Government justifies and possibly demands it. I scarcely need to say that I consider the military posts and property situated within the States which claim to have seceded, as yet belonging to the Government of the United States as much as they did before the supposed secession. Whatever else I may do for the purpose, I shall not attempt to collect the duties and imposts by any armed invasion of any part of the country; not meaning by this, however, that I may not land a force deemed necessary to relieve a fort upon the border of the country. From the fact that I have quoted a part of the inaugural address, it must not be inferred that I repudiate any other part, the whole of which I reaffirm, except so far as what I now say of the mails may be regarded as a modification."

The attack on Fort Sumter began on the 12th. The fort surrendered on the afternoon of the 13th, and was evacuated on Sunday, the 14th. As the news flashed over the country by the telegraph it was instantly followed by the summons of the President, "to arms; to arms." His proclamation, ordering seventy-five thousand men into the field, was issued on the night of the 14th, as follows:

By the President of the United States.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas the laws of the United States have been for some time past and now are opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed, in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshals by law:

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, in virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution and the laws, have thought fit to call forth, and hereby do call forth, the militia of the several States of the Union, to the aggregate number of seventy-five thousand, in order to suppress said combinations, and to cause the laws to be duly executed.

The details for this object will be immediately communicated to the State authorities through the War Department.

I appeal to all loyal citizens to favor, facilitate and aid this effort to maintain the honor, the integrity, and the existence of our National Union, and the perpetuity of popular Government, and to redress wrongs already long enough endured.

I deem it proper to say that the first service assigned to the forces called forth will probably be to re-possess the forts, places, and property which have been seized from the Union; and in every event the utmost care will be observed, consistently with the objects aforesaid, to avoid any devastation, any destruction of or interference with property, or any disturbance of peaceful citizens in any part of the country.

And I hereby command the persons composing the combinations aforesaid to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes within twenty days from this date.

Deeming that the present condition of public affairs presents an extraordinary occasion, I do hereby, in virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution, convene both Houses of Congress.

Senators and Representatives are therefore summoned to assemble at their respective Chambers, at 12 o'clock, noon, on Thursday, the fourth day of July next, then and there to consider and determine such measures as, in their wisdom, the public safety and interest may seem to demand.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this fifteenth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand [L. S.] eight hundred and sixty-one, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-fifth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President:

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

A call for troops was issued by the Secretary of War, Cameron, in accordance with this proclamation, and sent to the Governors of the respective States, giving the quotas allotted to each, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF WAR,
WASHINGTON, *April* 15, 1861.

To His Excellency the Governor of ——:

SIR: Under the act of Congress for calling for the "Militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, repel invasions," &c., approved February 28, 1795, I have the honor to request your Excellency to cause to be immediately detached from the militia of your State the quota designated in the table below, to serve as infantry or riflemen, for the period of three months, unless sooner discharged.

Your Excellency will please communicate to me the time at or about which your quota will be expected at

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its rendezvous, as it will be met as soon as practicable by an officer or officers to muster it into the service and pay of the United States. (*See* ARMY.)

These documents were spread through the country on Monday, and on Wednesday the Sixth Regiment of Massachusetts, completely equipped, passed through New York for Washington, so eager was the State to be the first in the field.

A most uncontrollable excitement now burst over the country. Both North and South rushed to arms—the former to maintain the Government and to preserve the Union, the latter to secure the independence of the Confederate States and the dissolution of the Union.

The national city of Washington became the most conspicuous object before the country. Northern troops hastened thither to secure its possession in the hands of the Government, and Southern troops gathered on its outskirts to seize it as their first prize.

The manner in which the requisition of the Secretary of War for troops was received by the authorities of the respective States, indicates the controlling sentiment of the people in those States at this time. The Governor of Kentucky replied on the same day: "Kentucky will furnish no troops for the wicked purpose of subduing her sister Southern States." (*See* KENTUCKY.) The Governor of North Carolina answered: "You can get no troops from North Carolina." (*See* NORTH CAROLINA). The Governor of Virginia wrote on the next day to the Secretary of War, saying: "The militia of Virginia will not be furnished to the powers at Washington for any such use or purpose as they have in view." (*See* VIRGINIA.) The Governor of Tennessee replied: "Tennessee will not furnish a single man for coercion, but fifty thousand, if necessary, for defence of our rights, or those of our Southern brothers." The Governor of Missouri answered that "the requisition is illegal, unconstitutional, revolutionary, inhuman, diabolical, and cannot be complied with."

The Governor of Rhode Island replied by tendering the services of a thousand infantry and a battalion of artillery.

The Governor of Massachusetts immediately ordered out troops, and in fifty hours three regiments had been gathered, equipped, and had left for Washington.

The Governor of Connecticut also issued his proclamation at once, calling for troops.

The Legislature of New York adjourned on the 16th; but previously to adjournment appropriated three millions of dollars to defend the Federal Government. The Seventh Regiment left for Washington on the 18th.

Orders for four regiments were issued by the Governor of New Jersey on the 17th.

A detachment of five hundred men left Philadelphia on the night of the 17th for Washington.

The first regiment from Indiana left for Washington on the 18th. The Legislature also resolved "That the faith, credit, and resources of the State in both men and money are hereby pledged in any amount and to every extent which the Federal Government may demand to subdue rebellion;" &c. At the same time, the State Bank tendered to the Governor a loan for the State of all the money necessary to fit out the required quota.

All the Northern or free States responded alike and instantly to the summons from Washington. The defence of the Government was proclaimed to be a most sacred cause, more especially such a Government as this of the United States had been. Arms, money, men, railroads, and all other "sinews of war," were freely offered. Men of wealth, influence, and position, without regard to party, stepped forth patriotically at this call.

Four days after the issue of the proclamation, the Sixth Regiment from Massachusetts, on its way to Washington, was attacked in the streets of Baltimore by the populace. Many were killed on both sides. (*See* BALTIMORE.) The Governor of the State strongly advised the President against the passage of any more Northern troops through the city, to which the President replied as follows:

WASHINGTON, *April* 20, 1861.

Governor Hicks and Mayor Brown:

GENTLEMEN: Your letter by Messrs. Bond, Dobbin, and Brune is received. I tender you both my sincere thanks for your efforts to keep the peace in the trying situation in which you are placed.

For the future, troops must be brought here, but I make no point of bringing them through Baltimore. Without any military knowledge myself, of course I must leave details to General Scott. He hastily said this morning in the presence of these gentlemen, "March them around Baltimore, and not through it." I sincerely hope the General, on fuller reflection, will consider this practical and proper, and that you will not object to it. By this a collision of the people of Baltimore with the troops will be avoided, unless they go out of their way to seek it. I hope you will exert your influence to prevent this.

Now and ever I shall do all in my power for peace consistently with the maintenance of the Government.

Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

Again, through the Secretary of State, the President thus replied:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, *April* 22, 1861.

His Excellency Thos. H. Hicks, Gov. of Maryland:

SIR: I have had the honor to receive your communication of this morning, in which you inform me that you have felt it to be your duty to advise the President of the United States to order elsewhere the troops then off Annapolis, and also that no more may be sent through Maryland; and that you have further suggested that Lord Lyons be requested to act as mediator between the contending parties in our country to prevent the effusion of blood.

The President directs me to acknowledge the receipt of that communication, and to assure you that he has weighed the counsels which it contains with the respect which he habitually cherishes for the Chief Magistrates of the several States, and especially for yourself. He regrets, as deeply as any magistrate or citizen of the country can, that demonstrations against the safety of the United States, with very extensive preparations for the effusion of blood, have made it his duty to call out the force to which you allude.

The force now sought to be brought through Maryland is intended for nothing but the defence of this

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capital. The President has necessarily confided the choice of the national highway which that force shall take in coming to this city to the Lieutenant-General commanding the Army of the United States, who, like his only predecessor, is not less distinguished for his humanity, than for his loyalty, patriotism, and distinguished public service.

The President instructs me to add, that the national highway thus selected by the Lieutenant-General, has been chosen by him, upon consultation with prominent magistrates and citizens of Maryland, as the one which, while a route is absolutely necessary, is farthest removed from the populous cities of the State, and with the expectation that it would therefore be the least objectionable one.

The President cannot but remember that there has been a time in the history of our country when a General of the American Union, with forces designed for the defence of its capital, was not unwelcome anywhere in the State of Maryland, and certainly not at Annapolis, then, as now, the capital of that patriotic State, and then, also, one of the capitals of the Union.

If eighty years could have obliterated all the other noble sentiments of that age in Maryland, the President would be hopeful, nevertheless, that there is one that would forever remain there and everywhere. That sentiment is that no domestic contention whatever, that may arise among the parties of this Republic, ought in any case to be referred to any foreign arbitrament, least of all to the arbitrament of an European monarchy.

I have the honor to be, with distinguished consideration, your Excellency's most obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

At the request of the President, the Mayor of Baltimore and other influential citizens waited upon him. This interview shows the importance which the Government attached to the free passage for troops through Maryland and also Baltimore. At the same time the object for which the troops were summoned, was stated. It took place in presence of the Cabinet and Gen. Scott, and was thus reported to the public by the Mayor:

The President, upon his part, recognized the good faith of the city and State authorities, and insisted upon his own. He admitted the excited state of feeling in Baltimore, and his desire and duty to avoid the fatal consequences of a collision with the people. He urged, on the other hand, the absolute, irresistible necessity of having a transit through the State for such troops as might be necessary for the protection of the Federal Capital. The protection of Washington, he asseverated with great earnestness, was the sole object of concentrating troops there, and he protested that none of the troops brought through Maryland were intended for any purposes hostile to the State, or aggressive as against the Southern States. Being now unable to bring them up the Potomac in security, the Government must either bring them through Maryland or abandon the capital.

He called on General Scott for his opinion, which the General gave at length, to the effect that troops might be brought through Maryland, without going through Baltimore, by either carrying them from Perrysville to Annapolis, and thence by rail to Washington, or by bringing them to the Relay House on the Northern Central Railroad, and marching them to the Relay House on the Washington Railroad, and thence by rail to the Capital. If the people would permit them to go by either of those routes uninterruptedly, the necessity of their passing through Baltimore would be avoided. If the people would not permit them a transit thus remote from the city, they must select their own best route, and, if need be, fight their way through Baltimore—a result which the General earnestly deprecated.

The President expressed his hearty concurrence in the desire to avoid a collision, and said that no more troops should be ordered through Baltimore if they were permitted to go uninterrupted by either of the other routes suggested. In this disposition the Secretary of War expressed his participation.

Mayor Brown assured the President that the city authorities would use all lawful means to prevent their citizens from leaving Baltimore to attack the troops in passing at a distance; but he urged, at the same time, the impossibility of their being able to promise any thing more than their best efforts in that direction. The excitement was great, he told the President; the people of all classes were fully aroused, and it was impossible for any one to answer for the consequences of the presence of Northern troops anywhere within our borders. He reminded the President also that the jurisdiction of the city authorities was confined to their own population, and that he could give no promises for the people elsewhere, because he would be unable to keep them if given. The President frankly acknowledged this difficulty, and said that the Government would only ask the city authorities to use their best efforts with respect to those under their jurisdiction.

The interview terminated with the distinct assurance, on the part of the President, that no more troops would be sent through Baltimore unless obstructed in their transit in other directions, and with the understanding that the city authorities should do their best to restrain their own people.

The Mayor and his companions availed themselves of the President's full discussion of the questions of the day to urge upon him respectfully, but in the most earnest manner, a course of policy which would give peace to the country, and especially the withdrawal of all orders contemplating the passage of troops through any part of Maryland.

The troops were afterwards conveyed to Washington through Perrysville and Annapolis, until such steps were taken by the Government as to place Baltimore under military control. No further disturbance then took place, and the city became the common highway for tens of thousands.

On the 19th of April the President issued another proclamation, declaring the ports of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Lonisiana, and Texas, to be blockaded. This document was as follows:

By the President of the United States of America:

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas an insurrection against the Government of the United States has broken out in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, and the laws of the United States for the collection of the revenue cannot be effectually executed therein conformably to that provision of the Constitution which requires duties to be uniform throughout the United States:

And whereas a combination of persons, engaged in such insurrection, have threatened to grant pretended letters of marque to authorize the bearers thereof to commit assaults on the lives, vessels, and property of good citizens of the country lawfully engaged in commerce on the high seas, and in waters of the United States:

And whereas an Executive Proclamation has been already issued, requiring the persons engaged in these disorderly proceedings to desist therefrom, calling out a militia force for the purpose of repressing the same, and convening Congress in extraordinary session to deliberate and determine thereon:

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, with a view to the same purposes before mentioned, and to the protection of the public peace, and the lives and property of quiet and orderly citizens pursuing their lawful occupations, until Con-

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gress shall have assembled and deliberated on the said unlawful proceedings, or until the same shall have ceased, have further deemed it advisable to set on foot a blockade of the ports within the States aforesaid, in pursuance of the laws of the United States and of the laws of nations in such case provided. For this purpose a competent force will be posted so as to prevent entrance and exit of vessels from the ports aforesaid. If, therefore, with a view to violate such blockade, a vessel shall approach, or shall attempt to leave any of the said ports, she will be duly warned by the Commander of one of the blockading vessels, who will endorse on her register the fact and date of such warning, and if the same vessel shall again attempt to enter or leave the blockaded port, she will be captured and sent to the nearest convenient port, for such proceedings against her and her cargo as prize as may be deemed advisable.

And I hereby proclaim and declare that if any person, under the pretended authority of the said States, or under any other pretence, shall molest a vessel of the United States, or the persons or cargo on board of her, such person will be held amenable to the laws of the United States for the prevention and punishment of piracy.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed. Done at the city of Washington, this [L. S.] nineteenth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-fifth. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President:
WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

At 3 o'clock on the afternoon of the 20th of April, by order of the Government, a seizure was made by the United States marshals, of the despatches which had accumulated, during the previous twelve months, in every considerable telegraph office in all the Northern States. In these offices the originals of all despatches which are sent off, and the copies of all received, are placed on file. The object of the Government in making this seizure was to obtain evidence of the operations of Southern citizens with their Northern friends. The confidential telegrams passing between them could most certainly furnish this.

An additional proclamation was issued by the President on the 27th of April, extending the blockade to the ports of the States of North Carolina and Virginia. The most energetic measures were commenced by the Government to carry out this blockade. All the available war vessels were put into service. Mercantile steamers, and such as were not used for purposes of transportation, were fitted out as gunboats to cruise off the coast and run up shallow waters.

On the 3d of May the President issued another proclamation, calling into the service of the United States forty-two thousand and thirty-four volunteers for three years, unless sooner discharged, also ordering an addition to the army of eight regiments of infantry, one regiment of cavalry, and one regiment of artillery, or twenty-two thousand one hundred and fourteen officers and men; also eighteen thousand seamen for the navy. Again, on the 16th, he issued the following proclamation:

Whereas an insurrection exists in the State of Florida, by which the lives, liberty, and property of loyal citizens of the United States are endangered:

And whereas it is deemed proper that all needful measures should be taken for the protection of such citizens and all officers of the United States in the discharge of their public duties in the State aforesaid:

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do hereby direct the Commander of the forces of the United States on the Florida coast to permit no person to exercise any office or authority upon the islands of Key West, the Tortugas, and Santa Rosa which may be inconsistent with the Laws and Constitution of the United States, authorizing him at the same time, if he shall find it necessary, to suspend there the writ of *habeas corpus*, and to remove from the vicinity of the United States fortresses all dangerous or suspected persons.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed. Done at the city of Washington, this tenth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight [L. S.] hundred and sixty-one, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-fifth.

By the President: ABRAHAM LINCOLN.
WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

The President, in this proclamation, not only directs that no person shall be allowed to exercise any authority, in the places named, inconsistent with the laws, &c., of the United States, but commands the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, if necessary. (*See* HABEAS CORPUS.)

The Secretary of the Treasury likewise issued instructions to all collectors in the Northern and Western States relative to seizures of arms and munitions of war, saying: "In carrying out these instructions, you will bear in mind that all persons or parties in armed insurrection against the Union, however such persons or parties may be organized or named, are engaged in levying war against the United States; and that all persons furnishing to such insurgents arms, munitions of war, provisions, or other supplies, are giving them aid and comfort, and so, guilty of treason within the terms of the second section of the third article of the Constitution; and you will, therefore, use your utmost vigilance and endeavor to prevent the prohibited shipments, and to detect and bring to punishment all who are in any way concerned in furnishing to such insurgents any of the articles above described." So rigid were the details now adopted that the most insignificant coasting vessel, under a license, was required to obtain a permit in order to pass out of a district.

At this time the post-office department discontinued the steamboat mails on the Mississippi River from St. Louis to New Orleans; the steamboat mail from Mobile via Lake Ponchartrain; the steamship mail from New Orleans via Pensacola, Appalachicola, Cedar Keys, and Tampa Bay to Key West; also, all the steamship mails from New Orleans to the sea-ports in Texas, as Sabine City, Galveston, Indianola, and Brazos Santiago. This made a reduction of some $400,000 per annum of mail pay. These were all discontinued in consequence of the act of Congress at the session commencing December, 1860, directing the postmaster-general to discontinue mails when the service was interrupted in any of the States.

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On the 20th of June an order was issued from the department, requiring all passports issued to persons about to proceed beyond the lines of the United States forces, or to a foreign country, to be countersigned by the Secretary of State.

Orders were also issued on the 8th of July that the telegraph would convey no despatches concerning the operations of the army not permitted by the commanding General.

Congress had now convened in extra session under the call of the President. It was prompt and efficient to furnish the means to carry on the war, and placed at the command of the President whatever amount of money or number of men he desired. (*See* CONGRESS, UNITED STATES, also ARMY AND NAVY.) The course pursued by the Government to extricate itself from financial embarrassment was very successful. (*See* FINANCES OF THE UNITED STATES.) The position taken by the Federal Government relative to the Confederate States, was to regard them still as a part of the United States, whose inhabitants were in a condition of insurrection against the Government. Those carrying on active hostilities were to be subdued by military force. When all vestiges of military power on the part of the insurgents were destroyed, it was expected that the good sense of the people of those States would convince them of the great blessings of the Union, and induce their hearty return to its support. From the outset the Government was confident of its ultimate success. This was founded upon the peculiar character of the insurgent people, being that of masters rather than laborers, and upon their commercial inability to sustain a long war. The policy of the Government, therefore, was to blockade all the ports, and thereby shut out all foreign manufactures and all foreign aid from a people exclusively devoted to agriculture, and almost entirely dependent upon other States or nations for their market, and for all the comforts and luxuries of life. The military conquest was expected to be very easy and rapid, until the disaster at Bull Run taught the Government that success would result only from the most extensive, careful, and thoroughly organized military preparations.

On the other hand, the people of the Confederate States had, at first, looked upon secession as hopeless if it should be powerfully opposed by the Federal Government and Northern people; but within a short period they had become convinced that the North would not fight, and therefore flattered themselves that certain success was within their grasp. Their amazement at the valor, bravery, and vigor of the Northern troops has been inexpressible, and with the loss of all hope of foreign assistance, they have seen their prospects of success entirely fade away.

Congress, at its extra session in July, passed an act entitled "An Act to increase the pay of the privates in the regular army of the volunteers in the service of the United States, and for other purposes," The third section of the act contains these words:

> That all the acts, proclamations, and orders of the President of the United States, after the 4th of March, 1861, respecting the army and navy of the United States and calling out or relating to the militia or volunteers from the States, are hereby approved, and in all respects made legal and valid, to the same intent and with the same effect as if they had been issued and done under the previous express authority and direction of the Congress of the United States.

A reference to the debates of Congress will explain the occasion for this section, and the object intended to be accomplished by it. This was to approve of the extraordinary acts and proceedings which President Lincoln authorized or executed prior to the assemblage of that body. The question of the constitutionality of this section was brought before the Circuit Court of the United States at Washington, when Judge Wayne expressed this opinion:

> It is my opinion that Congress has constitutional power to legalize and confirm Executive acts, proclamations, and orders done for the public good, although they were not, when done, authorized by any existing laws; and such legislation by Congress may be made to operate retroactively to confirm what may have been done under such proclamations and orders, so as to be binding upon the Government in regard to contracts made, and the persons with whom they were made; and that the third section of an act of Congress of the 6th day of August, 1861, legalizing the acts, proclamations, and orders of the President, after the 4th of March, 1861, respecting the army and navy, and calling out and relating to the militia and volunteers of the States, is constitutional and valid.

The course of the Government relative to the slave property in the Confederate States was designed to be in strict conformity with its views of the Constitution and laws. (*See* SLAVES.) The foreign policy of the Government was conducted on the principle that the troubles of the country formed a domestic affair of its own, and the interference of foreign nations was neither desired nor would be allowed. (*See* DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE.) The prompt manner in which the Confederate States were acknowledged as belligerents by France and England is a proof that not a doubt was entertained by the Governments of those nations of the ultimate independence of the new Confederacy.

After the adjournment of the extra session of Congress, the plan of the Government was to make the most ample and perfect preparations to recover and repossess the strongholds in the Confederate States. In its progress, due regard was had to the will of Congress, and the requirements of the emergency With a surprising unanimity among the people, its measures were steadily sustained.

The army around Washington was reorganized, greatly increased in numbers, and brought up to the highest state of discipline. In its front the camps of the flower of the Confederate States were spread, and the year closed with the two armies watching each other. The one was growing more formidable and better prepared for the approaching strife, while the

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other was growing weaker by the overstrained effort to maintain a position which it finally yielded without a single blow. A foothold was obtained on the coast of North Carolina, and another at Port Royal, in the waters of South Carolina, and adjacent to Georgia. Preparations were commenced for an expedition designed to attack New Orleans. (*See* EXPEDITIONS.) The effect of these movements was to cut off all hope of foreign aid, either military or commercial, from the people of the Confederate States. Meantime a powerful expedition was organized in the West. It consisted of two branches, one of which was prepared in Kentucky under Gen. Buell, and the other at St. Louis. In connection with the military force, a large number of light draft steam gunboats were built, many of which were clad with iron, and designed to coöperate on the rivers with the armed force on land. At the same time a sort of skirmishing warfare was conducted in Western Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, which resulted in the complete withdrawal of the Confederate forces from those States and that portion of Virginia. In this section of the country the people were so evenly divided in their sympathies between the North and South, that whichever had the largest force for the time, controlled the greatest portion of territory. A list of the skirmishes is embraced in the statements respecting those States. In the efforts for the war even Nebraska furnished two regiments, and the loyal people of New Mexico took the field, determined to defend their own, if no assistance came from the "States."

On the 31st of October, Gen. Winfield Scott, the lieutenant-general of the army of the United States, or the executive officer under the President, who is the commander-in-chief, determined to resign his position. Age and its infirmities had imposed this step upon him. This office was created and tendered to General Scott after the close of the Mexican war, in which he conducted the American arms with so much glory into the very halls of the Montezumas.

Born near Petersburg, in Virginia, June 13, 1785, he entered the army as captain of light artillery May 3, 1808, and served his country with unvarying success for more than half a century. In that time he proved his right to rank with the first commanders of the age. He was twice honored with a gold medal from Congress for distinguished services, and now retired from active duty with the reputation, after fifty years of command, of never having lost a battle when he was present in person.

To accomplish his purpose, he addressed the following letter to the Secretary of War:

HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
WASHINGTON, *October* 31, 1861.

The Hon. S. CAMERON, Secretary of War:

SIR: For more than three years I have been unable, from a hurt, to mount a horse, or to walk more than a few paces at a time, and that with much pain. Other and new infirmities—dropsy and vertigo—admonish me that repose of mind and body, with the appliances of surgery and medicine, are necessary to add a little more to a life already protracted much beyond the usual span of man.

It is under such circumstances—made doubly painful by the unnatural and unjust rebellion now raging in the Southern States of our (so late) prosperous and happy Union—that I am compelled to request that my name be placed on the list of army officers retired from active service.

As this request is founded on an absolute right, granted by a recent act of Congress, I am entirely at liberty to say it is with deep regret that I withdraw myself, in these momentous times from the orders of a President who has treated me with distinguished kindness and courtesy; whom I know, upon much personal intercourse, to be patriotic, without sectional partialities or prejudices; to be highly conscientious in the performance of every duty, and of unrivalled activity and perseverance.

And to you, Mr. Secretary, whom I now officially address for the last time, I beg to acknowledge my many obligations, for the uniform high consideration I have received at your hands; and have the honor to remain, sir, with high respect, your obedient servant,

WINFIELD SCOTT.

This letter was laid before a Cabinet meeting called for the purpose of considering it, and it was concluded, under the authority of a recent act of Congress, to place Gen. Scott on the retired list of the army, with the full pay and allowances of his rank. At 4 o'clock on the afternoon of the same day the President, accompanied by the Cabinet, proceeded to the residence of General Scott, and read to him the official order carrying out this decision.

The venerable general, oppressed by infirmity and emotion, rose with difficulty to make to the President his acknowledgments, which he did in touching terms, concluding with the declaration that the kindness manifested towards him on this occasion he felt to be the crowning reward of a long life spent in the service of his country, and his deep conviction of the ultimate triumph of the national arms and the happy termination of the unnatural war.

The President responded, expressing the profound sentiment of regret with which the country, as well as himself, would part with a public servant so venerable in years, and so illustrious for the services he had rendered.

The following was the official order:

On the first day of November, A. D. 1861, upon his own application to the President of the United States, Brevet Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott is ordered to be placed, and hereby is placed, upon the list of retired officers of the army of the United States, without reduction of his current pay, subsistence, or allowances.

The American people will hear with sadness and deep emotion that Gen. Scott has withdrawn from the active control of the army, while the President and unanimous Cabinet express their own and the nation's sympathy in his personal affliction, and their profound sense of the important public services rendered by him to his country during his long and brilliant career, among which will ever be gratefully distinguished his faithful devotion to the Constitution, the Union, and the Flag, when assailed by parricidal rebellion.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

On the same day the following order was issued by the President:

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, *Nov.* 1, 1861.

GENERAL ORDERS, NO. 94.

The President is pleased to direct that Major-General George B. McClellan assume the command of the

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Army of the United States. The head-quarters of the army will be established in the city of Washington. All communications intended for the Commanding General will hereafter be addressed direct to the Adjutant-General. The duplicate returns, orders, and other papers heretofore sent to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Head-quarters of the Army, will be discontinued.

By order of the Secretary of War:

L. THOMAS, Adjutant-General.

Less than six months previous, General McClellan was engaged as the President of the eastern division of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad. Born in Philadelphia in 1826, he entered the army from West Point, and rose to distinction in the war with Mexico, and was subsequently sent by the Government as one of a deputation from the army, to the Crimea during the war of France, England, and Sardinia with Russia. A few years afterwards he resigned his commission in the army and retired to private life. This appointment received the highest approbation of the retiring General.

On taking the command of the army, General McClellan issued the following order:

HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
WASHINGTON, *Nov.* 1, 1861.

In accordance with General Order No. 94, from the War Department, I hereby assume command of the armies of the United States.

In the midst of the difficulties which encompass and divide the nation, hesitation and self-distrust very well accompany the assumption of so vast a responsibility; but, confiding as I do, in the loyalty, discipline, and courage of the troops; and, believing as I do, that Providence will favor ours as the just cause, I cannot doubt that success will crown our efforts and sacrifices.

The army will unite with me in the feeling of regret, that the weight of many years, and the effect of increasing infirmities, contracted and intensified in his country's service, should just now remove from our head the great soldier of our nation, the hero who, in his youth, raised high the reputation of his country in the fields of Canada, which he sanctified with his blood; who in more mature years proved to the world that American skill and valor could repeat, if not eclipse, the exploits of Cortez in the land of the Montezumas; whose whole life has been devoted to the service of his country; whose whole efforts have been directed to uphold our honor at the smallest sacrifice of life; a warrior who scorned the selfish glories of the battle field, when his great qualities as a statesman could be employed more profitably for his country; a citizen whose declining years have given to the world the most shining instances of loyalty in disregarding all the ties of birth, and clinging still to the cause of truth and honor. Such have been the career and character of Winfield Scott, whom it has long been the delight of the nation to honor—both as a man and as a soldier. While we regret his loss, there is one thing we cannot regret—the bright example he has left for our emulation. Let us all hope and pray that his declining years may be passed in peace and happiness, and that they may be cheered by the success of the country, and the cause he has fought for and loved so well. Beyond all that, let us do nothing that can cause him to blush for us; let no defeat of the army he has so long commanded embitter his last years, but let our victories illuminate the close of a life so grand.

GEO. B. McCLELLAN,
Major-General, Commanding U. S. A.

Gen. McClellan had undertaken, after the battle of Bull Run, to re-organize the army of the Potomac, and to these duties, together with those arising from his new position, he now devoted himself.

The only event of importance which occurred before the close of the year, was the surrender of Messrs. Mason and Slidell on the demand of the English Government. The capture of these Commissioners, and the possibility of a rupture with Great Britain, turned the attention of the Government to the unprotected condition of the northern coast and frontier. A letter was therefore addressed by the Secretary of State to the Governors of the respective States, requesting them to repair the fortifications within their limits. For further details of the year, see President Lincoln's Message, December 3, under PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

It may not be out of place here to mention some of those brave men whom the war found engaged in peaceful pursuits of life, or in subordinate military positions, but who, upon the first call to arms, hastened to the field and trained the soldiers, and led them to victory.

Major-General John Charles Fremont was born in South Carolina in January, 1813; graduated at Charleston College in 1830; studied and taught civil engineering; employed by the Government on Mississippi survey; commissioned lieutenant of engineers, and in 1842 sent to explore the passes of the Rocky Mountains; made three exploring expeditions thither, of great interest and importance; assisted in the conquest of California; was made its first governor, became the victim of a quarrel between two American commanders, and was stripped of his command by court-martial; reinstated by the President, but resigned his connection with the army; made another expedition across the Rocky Mountains, and nearly perished in the snow; was sent to Washington as the first senator from California; held a large tract of land in the Mariposa gold region, but became greatly involved for a time by litigation of its title; was republican candidate for the Presidency in 1856; improved his Mariposa estate and made it profitable in 1858–60; visited Europe in autumn of 1860; rendered material service to the United States there in 1860–61; was appointed major-general in the regular army, May, 1861, and assigned to Western Department in July, 1861; removed from command in November, 1861, and ordered to report himself at Washington; reinstated in command in February, 1862, and assigned to Mountain Department.

Major-General Henry Wager Halleck was born in Oneida County, New York, in 1819; graduated at West Point in 1839, third in a class of 31; second lieutenant of engineers same year; acting assistant professor of engineers from July, 1839 to June, 1840; first lieutenant in 1845; author of a work on "Bitumen and its Uses," published 1841, and another on "Elements of Military Art and Science" in 1846; brevetted captain for gallant and meritorious conduct in 1847; Secretary of State in the military governments

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of Gens. Kearney, Mason, and Riley, 1847–49; chief of staff to Com. Shubrick, 1847–'8; aided in forming the Constitution of California, 1849; promoted to captaincy of engineers, 1853; resigned in 1854, to engage in the practice of law in San Francisco; abandoned a large and lucrative practice in the summer of 1861; appointed major-general of the regular army, and put in charge of the Department of the West. Head-quarters at St. Louis.

Major-General Don Carlos Buell is a native of Ohio, born in 1820; entered West Point, 1837; graduated in 1841; became second lieutenant same year; first lieutenant in 1846; brevetted captain in 1848 for gallant and meritorious conduct at the battle of Monterey; was adjutant in 1847 and 1848; distinguished himself at Cerro Gordo; was brevetted major for services at Contreras and Churubusco, and severely wounded in the latter battle; assistant adjutant-general in 1848; relinquished his rank in the line in 1851, but subsequently resumed it, and was in service as major in California at the commencement of the war; appointed brigadier-general by Congress May 17, 1861, and given a command on the Potomac; assigned to the Department of Ohio on resignation of Anderson, and made major-general.

Major-General David Hunter, a native of the District of Columbia, born about 1802, graduated at West Point in 1822; became first lieutenant in 1828; captain First Dragoons, 1833; resigned in 1836, but returned to the army as temporary paymaster in 1841, and paymaster in 1842. In the present war, colonel in May at Washington; brigadier-general, and engaged in battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861; sent to Missouri, made major-general, and took Gen. Fremont's place temporarily; transferred to Department of Kansas in December, 1861.

Major-General John Ellis Wool was born at Newburgh, New York, 1789. At the commencement of the war with Great Britain in 1812, he obtained a captain's commission in the Thirteenth Regiment of infantry, and joined the army on the Niagara frontier. At the battle on Queenstown Heights he distinguished himself, but by the surrender was made a prisoner; upon his exchange was assigned to the Twenty-ninth Regiment infantry, having previously been appointed major. In September, 1861, appointed inspector-general, with the rank of colonel; in 1818 lieutenant-colonel, and in 1826, "for ten years' faithful service," brevetted brigadier-general; in 1836 assisted in the removal of the Indians from the Cherokee country to Arkansas; appointed brigadier-general in 1841; distinguished himself in the war with Mexico, and was brevetted major-general in 1848; after the Mexican war, Gen. Wool was assigned to the command in the Eastern Military Department; on August 12, 1861, he was ordered to the command of the forces at Fortress Monroe, and was subsequently raised to the rank of major-general.

Major-General Benjamin F. Butler is a native of New Hampshire, born about the year 1818; chose the legal profession; was admitted to the bar in 1842, and settled in practice at Lowell, Mass., where he became distinguished as a criminal lawyer, and a rising politician; was democratic candidate for Governor in 1859; volunteered in command of one of the three-months Massachusetts regiments in April, 1861; was appointed brigadier-general in May; stationed first at Baltimore, and subsequently at Fortress Monroe; ordered the expedition to Great Bethel; was promoted to major-generalship; commanded the land forces in Hatteras expedition, and subsequently in the Ship Island expedition.

Major-General John Adams Dix was born in Boscawen, New Hampshire, July 24, 1798; entered West Point Military Academy in 1812; ensign Fourteenth Infantry, 1813; second lieutenant, 1814; first lieutenant artillery, 1818; aide-de-camp to Gen. Brown in 1819; captain artillery, 1825; resigned, 1828, and same year settled as a lawyer in Cooperstown, New York; adjutant-general of State, 1830; Secretary of State, 1833; United States Senator, 1845–49; assistant treasurer United States, New York, in 1853; postmaster New York City, 1860; Secretary of the Treasury, (close of Buchanan Administration,) 1861; appointed brigadier-general, and major-general in summer of 1861; in command of Federal forces at Baltimore. Has travelled extensively abroad, and is the author of "Resources of the City of New York," 1827; "A Winter in Madeira," 1851; "A Summer in Spain and Florence," 1855.

Major-General Nathaniel P. Banks born in Waltham, Mass., January, 1816. In 1848 was representative for Waltham. In 1850 was sent to the State Senate; in 1852 was elected to Congress; was chosen Speaker of the 34th Congress; in 1856 elected Governor of Massachusetts, serving three terms. Was appointed major-general of volunteers in the United States army, May 11, 1861; was first commander of the Department of Annapolis, and since, of that of Shenandoah.

Brigadier-General Edwin V. Sumner, born in Massachusetts about 1800; appointed second lieutenant of infantry in 1819; first lieutenant, 1823; assistant commissary of subsistence in 1827; captain of dragoons, 1833; major Second Regiment of dragoons, 1846; brevet lieutenant-colonel for gallant and meritorious conduct at Cerro Gordo, where he commanded a regiment of mounted rifles and was wounded; brevet colonel for conduct at Molino del Rey; lieutenant-colonel, 1848; colonel First Cavalry, 1855; defeated a body of Cheyenne warriors in Kansas in 1857; remained in Kansas till 1859; made brigadier-general in August, 1861.

Brigadier-General Samuel P. Heintzelman is a native of Pennsylvania, born about 1806; graduated at West Point, 1826; second lieutenant infantry same year; first lieutenant, 1833; assistant commissary, 1836; assistant quartermaster, 1838; captain same year; bre-

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vet major for gallantry at battle of Huamantla, Mexico, 1847; major, 1855; colonel May, 1861; brigadier-general of volunteers May 17, 1861; fought at battle of Bull Run, and retained his connection with the army of the Potomac.

Brigadier-General Erasmus D. Keyes is a native of Massachusetts, born about 1812; graduated at West Point in 1832; became first lieutenant artillery in 1836; aid to Major-General Scott from 1837 to 1841; appointed assistant adjutant-general in July, 1838; captain of artillery in November, 1841; instructor of artillery and cavalry at the military academy, 1844 to 1848; distinguished himself in the Indian wars in Oregon and Washington Territory in 1856 and 1858; attained the rank of major in 1858; appointed colonel of volunteers at the commencement of the war; made brigadier-general May 17, 1861; served in the battle of Bull Run, and has since that time been connected with the army of the Potomac.

Brigadier-General Fitz John Porter is a native of New Hampshire, born about 1825; graduated at West Point in 1845; became first lieutenant of artillery in 1847; brevetted captain and major for gallant and meritorious conduct at Molino del Rey and Chapultepec, wounded at the gate of Belen; was assistant instructor at the military academy from 1849 to 1856; appointed assistant adjutant-general in June, 1856; and captain, October of the same year. At the commencement of the present war he was appointed colonel of volunteers, and made brigadier-general May 17, 1861. Was in the battle of Bull Run, and has since commanded a brigade in the army of the Potomac.

Brigadier-General Andrew Porter is a native of Pennsylvania, born about 1820; was in the military academy 1836 to January, 1837; was appointed first lieutenant mounted rifles in May, 1846; captain, May, 1847; distinguished himself, and was brevetted major and lieutenant-colonel for gallant and meritorious conduct at Cerro Gordo, Contreras, Churubusco, and Chapultepec. At the commencement of the present war was appointed colonel of volunteers, and made brigadier-general May 17, 1861. He belongs to the army of the Potomac.

Brigadier-General William Benjamin Franklin is a native of Pennsylvania, born about 1823; graduated at West Point in 1843 first in his class, and was appointed to corps of topographical engineers; brevetted first lieutenant for gallant and meritorious conduct at Buena Vista; acting assistant professor of philosophy at military academy from 1848 to 1850; promoted to first lieutenant in 1853, and captain in 1857; was assigned to light-house duty in 1853; May 17, 1861, he was appointed brigadier-general of volunteers, and was connected with the army of the Potomac, in which he now commands a division.

Brigadier-General William Tecumseh Sherman is a native of Ohio, born about 1820; graduated at West Point in 1840; became first lieutenant of artillery in November, 1841; was acting assistant adjutant-general in 1847; brevetted captain for meritorious service in California during the Mexican war; appointed commissary of subsistence in 1850, and resigned in 1853. At the commencement of the present war he entered the service, and was appointed brigadier-general of volunteers May 17, 1861, and on the resignation of Gen. Anderson placed in command of the Department of Kentucky, in which he was superseded November 8, 1861, by Gen. D. C. Buell.

Brigadier-General Charles P. Stone is a native of Massachusetts, born about 1824; graduated at West Point in 1845, seventh in his class, and appointed brevet second lieutenant ordnance same year; was acting assistant professor of ethics at military academy 1845–'6; brevetted first lieutenant and captain for gallant and meritorious conduct at Molino del Rey and Chapultepec; advanced to the rank of first lieutenant in 1853; resigned in 1856. In May, 1861, he was appointed brigadier-general of volunteers. In October, 1861, he was in command on the Maryland side of the Potomac, and on the 21st of that month directed the movement which resulted in the disastrous battle of Ball's Bluff. His subsequent conduct led to suspicions of his loyalty, and early in 1862 he was arrested and consigned to Fort Warren on a charge of treason.

Brigadier-General John A. McClernand is a citizen of Illinois, born about 1817, and was a prominent political leader in that State for some years. He was a member of the 36th Congress; and resigned to enter the army in 1861; was appointed brigadier-general of volunteers May 17, 1861, and distinguished himself at the battle of Belmont, and subsequently at forts Henry and Donelson.

Brigadier-General Henry W. Benham is a native of Connecticut, born about 1816; graduated at West Point in 1837, first in his class; made first lieutenant of engineers in 1838, wounded at battle of Buena Vista, and brevetted for his gallant and meritorious conduct there; attained the rank of captain in May, 1848; appointed assistant in United States coast survey, 1853; appointed brigadier-general of volunteers in August, 1861; distinguished himself for bravery and military skill in the battle and pursuit of the Confederate forces at Rich Mountain and Cheat Mountain pass; in consequence of a misunderstanding between him and General Rosecrans in relation to the pursuit of Gen. Floyd on the 12th of November, 1861, he was ordered by General Rosecrans to report himself at Washington as under arrest; but was, on examination, reinstated in his command, and assigned to the Department of the South.

Brigadier-General Joseph K. F. Mansfield is a native of Connecticut, born in 1798; graduated at West Point in 1823, second in his class; was chief engineer of the army of occupation in the Mexican war, and repeatedly promoted for gallant and meritorious conduct. In

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1853 was made inspector-general, with the rank of colonel; and during the present war has been promoted to a brigadier-generalship in the regular army.

Brigadier-General Charles Ferguson Smith was a native of Pennsylvania, born about 1805; graduated at West Point in 1825, and made second lieutenant artillery the same year; in 1859 appointed assistant instructor in infantry tactics at West Point; in 1831 promoted to an adjutancy, and in 1832 made first lieutenant. In 1838 he was appointed instructor in infantry tactics in the military academy, and promoted to a captaincy the same year. He distinguished himself in the Mexican war at Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, Contreras, and Churubusco, and was brevetted major and lieutenant-colonel for his gallant conduct in these battles, and the same year appointed acting inspector-general in Mexico. In 1854 he attained the rank of major, and in 1855 that of lieutenant-colonel. On the 31st of August, 1861, he was made brigadier-general of volunteers, and put in command of troops at Paducah, Ky. He distinguished himself at Fort Donelson by a brilliant charge of his brigade, which he led in person, and which was the decisive action of the battle. He died at Savannah, Tenn., April 25, 1862.

Brigadier-General Horatio Gates Wright is a native of Connecticut, born about 1821; graduated at West Point, second in his class, in 1841; was acting assistant and assistant professor of engineering from 1842 to 1844; made first lieutenant, 1848, and captain of engineers, 1855, and served for four years as assistant to Gen. Totten. He was appointed brigadier-general of volunteers September 14, 1861, and attached to the Port Royal expedition as commander of the third brigade. He distinguished himself there in several actions.

Brigadier-General William Nelson, a native of Kentucky, born about 1828; was at first connected with the navy, and attained the rank of passed midshipman, July, 1846; served with the navy battery at Vera Cruz in 1847; appointed lieutenant in the army in 1855; made brigadier-general Sept. 16, 1861, and placed in command in Eastern Kentucky, where he defeated Humphrey Marshall in several engagements.

Brigadier-General John G. Barnard, a native of Massachusetts, born about 1813, graduated at West Point, second in his class, in 1833, and became second lieutenant of engineers same year; captain in 1838; brevetted major for meritorious conduct in the Mexican war; instructor in practical engineering at the military academy in 1854; superintendent of the military academy, 1855–'6; major, 1858; author of several works on engineering and mathematical science; appointed brigadier-general of volunteers, September 23, 1861.

Brigadier-General Irvin McDowell is a native of Ohio, born about 1818; received his early education in France; graduated at West Point in 1838; second lieutenant of First Regiment of Artillery same year; aide-de-camp to Gen. Wool, 1845; assistant adjutant-general, 1847; brevetted captain for meritorious conduct at Buena Vista; resigned in 1851; made brigadier-general in the regular army in May, 1861; commanded at Bull Run; remained with the army of the Potomac in command near Fredericksburg.

Brigadier-General Thomas W. Sherman was born in Rhode Island about 1816; graduated at West Point, 1836, and was appointed second lieutenant in the Third Artillery same year; was promoted to the first lieutenancy, 1838, and to the captaincy in 1846; was engaged in the Mexican war, and, "for gallant and meritorious conduct," was brevetted major. At the commencement of the present war was promoted colonel; made brigadier-general August, 1861; he commanded the land forces in the Port Royal expedition, and captured Tybee Island.

Brigadier-General John Pope, born in Illinois, about 1822, but was appointed a cadet from Kentucky; graduated at West Point in 1842, and received an appointment at once in the corps of topographical engineers; brevetted first lieutenant and captain for gallant and meritorious conduct at Monterey and Buena Vista; captain in 1859; colonel in June, 1861, and brigadier-general of volunteers, July, 1861; commanded in Northern Missouri in February, 1862, captured New Madrid, and aided in the capture of Island Number Ten.

Brigadier-General Charles D. Jameson was born in Cumberland County, Maine, February 24, 1827. Early in life he embarked in the lumber business, and in time became one of the most extensive manufacturers and shippers on the Penobscot River. At the commencement of the present war he was put in command of the First Regiment in his native State, and marched to the defence of the capital. On account of meritorious conduct at the battle of Bull Run, he received the appointment of brigadier-general, September 3, 1861, and was soon afterwards placed in command of one of the brigades in Gen. Heintzelman's division.

Major-General Ulysses S. Grant is a native of Ohio, born in 1822; graduated at West Point, July, 1843, and was made second lieutenant of the Fourth Regiment of United States infantry. In 1847 was made first lieutenant. He was with Gen. Taylor in the Mexican war, and for gallant and meritorious conduct at the battle of Chapultepec, was brevetted captain, 1847; attained rank of captain, 1853. At the opening of the present war he offered his services to Gov. Yates of Illinois, and was appointed colonel of the Twenty-first Regiment of Illinois Volunteers. He was made brigadier-general, and won himself much honor at the battle of Belmont and the capture of Fort Donelson.

Brigadier-General George H. Thomas is a native of Virginia, born about 1820; graduated at West Point, 1840; brevetted first lieutenant for gallantry and good conduct in the war against

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the Florida Indians in 1841; first lieutenant, 1844; brevet captain for conduct at Monterey, 1846; brevet major, for conduct at Buena Vista, 1847; instructor of artillery and cavalry at the military academy, 1850–55, with rank of captain after 1853; major Second Cavalry, 1855; brigadier-general of volunteers, August, 1861; assigned to Department of Kentucky; fought battle of Mill Spring; and was engaged on the 6th and 7th of April, 1862, in the battle of Shiloh.

Brigadier-General Ormsby McKnight Mitchell was born in Union County, Ky., July, 1810; graduated at West Point in 1829, and appointed brevet second lieutenant of artillery; made assistant professor of mathematics 1829–31; engaged in railroad surveys June to September, 1831; detailed to St. Augustine, Fla.; resigned, 1832; went to Cincinnati, practised law for two years, then opened a scientific school; in 1836 became professor of mathematics, philosophy, and astronomy in Cincinnati College; projected, and, in spite of great difficulties, achieved the establishment of the Cincinnati Observatory; has lectured extensively on astronomy; edited "Sidereal Journal," 1846–55; invented a magnetic clock in 1848; in 1859 was appointed superintendent of Dudley Observatory at Albany; has published several works on astronomy; soon after the commencement of the war, he resigned, and offered his services to the Government; was appointed brigadier-general, and assigned to the Department of Ohio. (Has distinguished himself in April, 1862, by the capture of Huntsville, Alabama, and taking possession of nearly 200 miles of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad; made major-general by Congress soon after.)

Brigadier-General Thomas W. Sweeney was born in Ireland in 1818; came to this country in childhood; was second lieutenant of New York Volunteers in the Mexican war; lost an arm at Churubusco; served on the western frontier subsequently, and was promoted to a captaincy; was appointed colonel of volunteers at the commencement of the present war, and made brigadier-general in the session of 1861–'2. He distinguished himself at Wilson's Creek.

Brigadier-General Harvey Brown is a native of New Jersey, born about 1798; graduated at West Point in 1818; became first lieutenant of artillery in 1821; was aid to Major-General Brown in 1824–'5; lieutenant-colonel of mounted Creek Volunteers in the Florida war, in 1836–'7; brevetted major for his gallant conduct in that war; distinguished himself at Monterey, Contreras, Churubusco, and Belen, and received two brevets for his meritorious conduct there; promoted to rank of major in 1851, and colonel in 1858; took command of Fort Pickens, Fla., in June, 1861, and twice engaged the Confederate batteries and forts on the main land; was made brigadier-general of the regular army by Congress in its session of 1861–'2, and placed in command of the forts in New York harbor.

Brigadier-General George Archibald McCall, born in Pennsylvania, about 1802, graduated at West Point, 1822; made first lieutenant of infantry, 1829; aide-de-camp to Gen. Gaines from 1831 to 1836; promoted captain, 1836; brevet major and lieutenant-colonel in 1846, for gallant conduct at Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, 1846; assistant adjutant-general, 1846; major, 1847; inspector-general, 1850; brigadier-general of volunteers, 1861.

Brigadier-General William S. Rosecrans is a native of Ohio, born in 1825. He graduated with high rank at West Point in 1842; appointed brevet second lieutenant of engineers same year, and made assistant professor of engineering, and afterwards of natural philosophy at the military academy. Resigned his commission in April, 1854, and established himself as an architect and civil engineer in Cincinnati, and subsequently as a manufacturer of kerosene oil; entered the army as colonel at the breaking out of the war; distinguished himself in several battles in Western Virginia; was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general in the regular army May 16, 1861.

Brigadier-General Isaac I. Stevens was born at Andover, Mass., about the year 1818; graduated as the first scholar in his class at West Point, July, 1839; was appointed first lieutenant of engineers, July, 1840. He served upon General Scott's staff throughout the Mexican war, and for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battles of Contreras, Churubusco, and Chapultepec was brevetted captain and major in 1848. Since 1849 Major Stevens has assisted in the United States Coast Survey. In 1853 he was appointed Governor of Washington Territory, and in 1857 was a delegate to Congress. At the commencement of the war he volunteered, and was subsequently given the command of the Seventy-ninth Highlanders. He was made brigadier-general, September, 1860, and commanded a brigade under General Sherman at Port Royal.

Brigadier-General Benjamin M. Prentiss was born in Belleville, Wood County, Virginia, November 23, 1819. In 1840 he removed to Illinois and in 1846, being captain of the Quincy Blues, volunteered for the Mexican war with his company, and was in the battle of Buena Vista. At the commencement of the present struggle he reorganized the Quincy Blues, was elected colonel of the Seventh Regiment of Illinois, and upon the organization of a brigade at Cairo was appointed brigadier-general.

Brigadier-General Robert C. Schenck is a native of Warren County, Ohio; was born in 1810. He graduated at the Miami University, and afterwards was a professor in that institution. He studied law, and settled in Dayton; served as State representative several years, and was twice elected to Congress; was appointed Minister to Brazil during the administration of President Fillmore. He received his commission of brigadier-general May 17, 1861.

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Brigadier-General Frederick W. Lander was a native of Massachusetts, born about 1820. He was for some years connected with the overland route to California; acted as second of Hon. E. F. Potter in the threatened Pryor and Potter duel; was appointed colonel of a regiment in Western Virginia early in the war, and distinguished himself by his brilliant dashes at the enemy; captured Philippi in June, 1861; was made brigadier-general for services at Rich Mountain; was wounded at the battle of Ball's Bluff, October 21, 1861; drove the Confederates from Romney in February; died from congestion of the brain, and the results of his wound, March 2, 1862.

Flag-officer Andrew H. Foote is a native of Connecticut, born in 1807, a son of the late Governor Samuel A. Foote; entered the navy in 1822 as midshipman, and has advanced through all the grades to the highest; serving in the East Indies, where he routed the pirates; on the coast of Africa, where he made the slave trade unsafe; and on the coast of China, where he maintained the rights of American citizens and the honor of their flag. At the commencement of the war, he succeeded Commodore Breese in command of the Brooklyn Navy Yard, and in the fall of 1861 was assigned to the command of the Mississippi River squadron, captured Fort Henry, and aided in the capture of Fort Donelson, where he was severely wounded. In conjunction with Gen. Pope, he took Island Number Ten after twenty-three days' siege, and subsequently besieged Fort Wright on the Mississippi.

Flag-officer Samuel F. Dupont is a native of New Jersey, born about 1802. He entered the navy in 1815; served with great distinction under Commodore Shubrick in California; with one hundred men defeated and routed five hundred Mexicans; and commanded the Minnesota on the China station in 1858–'9 with great success. He was appointed commander of the Philadelphia Navy Yard in 1859, and flag-officer of the Port Royal expedition in 1861.

Brigadier-General Egbert L. Viele was born in Saratoga County, New York, in 1825. He graduated at West Point, 1846; served in the Mexican war; for several years has pursued his profession of civil engineer in New York, and was chief engineer upon the Central Park. In 1843 he was appointed chief engineer of the State of New Jersey; and was made brigadier-general of volunteers, August, 1861.

Brigadier-General Thomas Francis Meagher is a native of Ireland, born about 1818. He was distinguished as a lawyer for his eloquence; took part in the Irish rebellion in 1848; was banished by the English Government to Australia in 1849; but made his escape to California in 1853, and attained distinction there as an advocate and orator. He joined the Sixty-ninth (Irish) Regiment of Colonel Corcoran as captain, and was promoted to be major; was in the battle of Bull Run; aided in organizing the Irish brigade from New York; was appointed colonel, and subsequently brigadier-general; and is now in service with his brigade in the army of the Potomac.

Brigadier-General James A. Mulligan was born in the city of Utica, New York, in 1829, of Irish parents. He was educated at the Catholic college of North Chicago; studied law in 1852-54; edited the *Western Tablet* in Chicago; admitted to the bar in 1856; clerk in Department of the Interior, Washington, 1857; captain of Shields' Guards, Chicago, 1859–61; colonel of the "Irish Brigade," Chicago, in June, 1861; defended Lexington, Missouri, for three days against a force five times his own, and finally surrendered with the honors of war.

Major-General Franz Siegel was born in the Grand Duchy of Baden, in 1824. He was educated in the military school of Carlsruhe, became chief adjutant in the Baden army in 1847, and was considered the best artillerist in Germany. In the revolution of 1848 he became commander-in-chief of the Revolutionary army, but was overpowered by the immense army of the Austrians and Prussians, and emigrated to this country. He was colonel of a German regiment in New York, professor of military science in St. Louis, colonel and acting brigadier-general under Lyon, made a successful retreat after the battle of Wilson's Creek, was present in a three days' fight at Pea Ridge, Arkansas, February, 1862; received a vote of thanks from Congress, and was made a major-general for his bravery and skill in that battle.

V

VERMONT, one of the New England States, the first admitted under the Federal Constitution. It is situated between lat. 42° 44′ and 45° N., and long. 71° 33′ and 73° 25′ W., and is bounded north by Lower Canada, east by New Hampshire, from which the Connecticut River separates it, south by Massachusetts, and west by New York and Lake Champlain, of which about two-thirds lies within the State. Its area is 9,056¼ square miles, or 5,795,960 acres. It is divided into 14 counties. The population, according to the census of 1860, was 315,116. It is eminently an agricultural State. In 1860, 4,995,624 acres of land were taxed, and the average price at which the land was assessed was over $14 per acre. A large proportion of the land is better adapted to grazing than to tillage, and the horses, cattle, sheep, and swine of the State are of excellent quality. On the 1st of January, 1862, there were 576 miles of railroad completed or in progress in the State, of which 555 miles, costing for construction

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and equipment $22,586,705, were open for traffic. According to the census of 1860, the value of the products of industry for the year ending June 1, 1860 were, in round numbers, $16,000,000. The following were some of the items: sawed and planed lumber, $1,060,000; flour, $1,660,000; steam engines and machinery, $490,000; agricultural implements, $160,000; tanned leather, $1,000,000; iron ore, $18,000; bar iron, $63,000; pig iron, $93,000. The commerce of Vermont is conducted entirely on Lake Champlain. The enrolled and licensed tonnage of the State in 1860 was 7,744 tons; the arrivals 29,232 tons, and the clearances 23,460. The exports of the State the same year were $783,702, of which $257,083 were domestic products, and $526,619 foreign. The imports were $2,731,857, of which a large proportion were British goods admitted through Canada under the reciprocity treaty. The number of banks in the State in 1861 was 44, whose condition was as follows:

Capital	$3,872,642
Loans and discounts	6,748,500
Stocks	190,372
Real estate	174,736
Other investments	168,662
Due by other banks	1,299,595
Notes of other banks	58,558
Cash items	103,537
Specie	185,670
Circulation	3,784,673
Deposits	814,623
Due to other banks	15,042

The number of savings banks was 14, of which 2 were in the hands of receivers in chancery, 2 were winding up their affairs, and 10 were receiving deposits. The deposits in 12 of these banks were $1,145,263. The State valuation of the real and personal estate of its inhabitants in 1860 was $86,871,851.65. The government valuation under the census of 1860 was $122,477,170. Up to January, 1861, the State had no permanent debt; a temporary loan, to be reimbursed by State tax, of $175,000, had been contracted for the completion of a new State house. The government of the State had been conducted with great economy, the entire expenditure for executive, legislative, and judicial purposes seldom or never reaching the sum of $200,000.

No State in the Union responded more heartily or willingly to the President's proclamation of the 15th of April, 1861, than Vermont.

On the 21st of April, despatches received from all the principal towns of the State reported the prevalence of intense enthusiasm and interest, and the rapid enlistment of volunteers. Gov. Hall called an extra session of the Legislature, which convened at Montpelier on the 22d of April, and in the course of a brief session passed an appropriation of one million dollars for military purposes, one-half absolutely, and one-half at the Governor's discretion.

The organization of one regiment for immediate service, in response to the call of the Government, was authorized, and also the organization and placing upon a war footing, without delay, of two more regiments, with provisions for drilling the same in barracks or encampment.

The Governor was empowered to call out four more regiments, if needed, (making seven in all,) with provision for filling the ranks of all the regiments by draft from the enrolled militia, when volunteers are wanting.

An act exempting militia men, in service, from arrest on civil process; granting to each private seven dollars a month, in addition to the regular pay of the United States army; providing for their families at the cost of the State, in case of destitution; and paying for the uniforms of those enlisting after March 12, 1861, was passed.

An act authorizing banks to loan over ten per cent. of their capital to the State, and an act for a State tax of ten cents on the dollar, were also adopted.

They also repealed sections ten and eleven of the Personal Liberty bill, which had been complained of as inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States, and substituted for it the following law:

It is hereby enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Vermont, as follows:

SECTION 1. If any person shall kidnap or unlawfully carry off or attempt to kidnap or unlawfully carry off any other person, or shall decoy, or attempt to decoy, any other person from, or shall without due process of law remove, or aid, or assist in removing any other person from this State, or shall without due process of law deprive any other person of his liberty, with intent to remove, or aid, or assist in removing such other person from this State, he shall be punished by a fine of not less than one hundred and not exceeding three thousand dollars, or be imprisoned in the State prison for a term not exceeding three years, or both said punishments, in the discretion of the court.

SEC. 2. Sections ten and eleven of chapter one hundred and one of the compiled statutes, and sections two, three, four, six, seven and eight of an act entitled "An act to secure freedom to all persons within this State," approved Nov. 25, A. D. 1858, are hereby repealed.

SEC. 3. This act shall take effect from its passage.

The raising of the sum of one million dollars, by loan or otherwise, was an unprecedented measure in the little State of Vermont. So large a sum had hardly ever been mentioned before in its Legislature, and the levying of a tax of ten cents on the dollar on the grand list, was an act equally without parallel in its history; yet there was no hesitation, and no dissenting voices.

On the 10th of May, her first regiment arrived in New York, admirably equipped, under the command of Colonel (now General) J. Wolcott Phelps, a graduate of West Point. This regiment was in many respects the most remarkable of the many which entered the service as three-months men. It was composed to an extraordinary extent of men of superior education and social position. Nearly one-tenth of its numbers, including many privates, were

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graduates of New England colleges. Many were professional men of high standing, and almost all were men of strictly temperate habits. The remarkable stature of a considerable number of the men attracted attention. Ten men from one of the companies lay down upon the ground for measurement, and formed a line sixty-seven feet and ten inches in length. A visitor admired the unusually firm and substantial character of their blankets, so different from the shoddy blankets of some of the regiments from other States; "Our wives and sisters made them," said the Vermonter, proudly. A second regiment from Vermont reached New York on the 25th June, and a third on the 24th July. Two more followed in September, and a sixth in October, making in all over 6,000 men sent from this State. A cavalry regiment, in addition, was subsequently organized, and a large number of the citizens of the State enlisted in regiments from adjacent States.

The apportionment of the United States tax of August 6, 1861, due from Vermont, and amounting to $211,068, was assumed by the State.

The State election in September resulted in an overwhelming majority for the Republican and Union candidates. Frederick Holbrook, the Republican and Union candidate for Governor, received 40,000 votes, against 5,000 cast for the other two candidates, one of whom was nominated as "Union;" the Legislature was almost unanimously Union. The vote of the State at the presidential election in 1860 was as follows: Lincoln, 33,808; Douglas, 6,849; Breckinridge, 218; Bell, 1,969.

VICAT, LOUIS JOSEPH, a French engineer, born at Grenoble, France, March 31, 1786, died at the same city, April 10, 1861. In 1804, he entered the Polytechnic School, and graduated in the corps of roads and bridges, in which he speedily attained the rank of an engineer of the first class. The study of mortars and cements, then in its infancy, attracted his attention, and in 1818 he published the first results of his persevering researches under the title *Recherches experimentales sur les chaux de construction les bétons et les mortiers*, Paris, 1818, 4to. Encouraged by his success, he made a chemical analysis of those mortars which had proved most durable, and found that they were made with hydraulic cement, and that their good properties were dependent upon the clay disseminated through them. He published his discoveries in this direction in his *Résumé des connaissances actuelles sur les mortiers et les ciments calcaires*, Paris, 1828. The result of this publication was an entire revolution in the method of constructing the foundations of bridges. M. Vicat was the first to apply his own principles at Souillac in 1822, on a bridge whose construction gave him a high reputation. He was next charged by government with the investigation of the localities in France which produced the best natural hydraulic lime, and with experiments for ascertaining the proper materials and proportions for reproducing it artificially. In this investigation he visited and explored 80 of the departments of France, and his report was adjudged worthy of the statistical prize of the Academy of Sciences in 1837. He had been elected a corresponding member of the Academy in 1833. The report which received the prize was published in 1839. The municipal council of Paris, in token of their appreciation of his labors, voted him a silver vase of the value of $480, with the inscription, "The City of Paris to M. Vicat, in commemoration of the services rendered by his discoveries." Vicat gave freely to the public the results of his investigations, seeking no profit from their exclusive use; and, in token of their appreciation of his disinterestedness, the French Chamber of Deputies, in 1843, on motion of M. Arago, decreed him a pension of $1,200 per annum with reversion to his children. He also received the decoration of the orders of Russia, Prussia, and Piedmont, and the rank of Commander in the Legion of Honor, in February, 1846. After serving as engineer in chief of the corps of roads and bridges for more than 20 years, he retired in 1851 to his native city. His discoveries in the subject of cements have been of immense value to France. He was also the author of two or three works on suspension bridges.

VIENNA is a small village on the railroad which extends from Alexandria to Leesburg, in Virginia. It is fifteen miles from Alexandria and twenty-three miles from Leesburg. It was the scene of surprise and disaster to the First Ohio Regiment, Col. McCook, on the 17th of June. On the day previous, a train of cars passing over this portion of the road had been fired upon, and one man killed. In consequence, the Government resolved to place pickets along the road, and this regiment, accompanied by Brig.-Gen. Schenck, set out in a train of cars, and the men were distributed in detachments along the line. As the cars approached Vienna, Col. Gregg, with 600 South Carolinians, and a company of artillery and two companies of cavalry, on a reconnoitring expedition, heard the whistle of the locomotive. He immediately wheeled his column and marched back to Vienna, which he had just left. This force had scarcely time to place two cannon in position, when the train, consisting of six flats and a baggage car, pushed by the locomotive, came slowly around the curve. As the train was about to stop, the artillery opened a well-directed fire, which raked the cars from front to rear. At the same time the coupling of the locomotive became detached or destroyed, and the engineer retired, leaving the cars in their exposed position. The Ohio Volunteers immediately took to the woods on each side, and were pursued a short distance by the Confederate infantry and cavalry. The Federal loss was five killed, six wounded, and seven missing. The cars were burned, and a considerable quantity of

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carpenters' tools, blankets, and other baggage was taken by the Confederates, who sustained no loss.

VIRGINIA, one of the largest States of the Union, is bounded on the North by Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Maryland; east by Maryland and the Atlantic Ocean; south by North Carolina and Tennessee; and west by Kentucky and Ohio. The population in 1860 was 1,047,613 white, 57,579 free colored, and 490,887 slaves. The area of the State is about 61,352 square miles. The assessed value of real property in 1860 was $417,952,228; of personal property, $239,069,108. (*See* NEW AMERICAN CYCLOPÆDIA.) The popular vote for President in 1860 was as follows: Lincoln, 1,929; Douglas, 16,290; Breckinridge, 74,323; Bell, 74,681. That at the election in 1856 was: Fremont, 291; Buchanan, 89,706; Fillmore, 60,310.

No State watched the proceedings in South Carolina and Alabama relative to secession, with greater interest than Virginia. In favor of the Union by a large majority, she still possessed the warmest sympathy with the slaveholding States. Public affairs, however, maintained their ordinary course until the 7th of January, when an extra session of the Legislature convened at Richmond. Governor Letcher, in his Message, alluding to the condition of the country, said that all see, know, and feel that the danger is imminent, and all true patriots are exerting themselves to save the country from impending perils. He renewed the proposition in his previous Message for a convention of all the States, and said it is "monstrous to see a Government like ours destroyed merely because men cannot agree about a domestic institution. It becomes Virginia to be mindful of her own interests. A disruption is inevitable, and if new confederations are to be formed, we must have the best guarantees before we can attach Virginia to either." He charged upon the non-slaveholding States the responsibility for the state of affairs, and, if the Union was disrupted, upon them would rest the blame. He alluded at length to their aggressions, and said they have the power to end the strife and restore confidence. "Will they do it?" He awaited their response without apprehension.

The Governor further declared he would regard any attempt of the Federal troops to pass through Virginia for the purpose of coercing any Southern State as an act of invasion, which would be repelled. He was not without a hope that the present difficulties would find a satisfactory solution. "Let New England and Western New York be sloughed off and ally themselves with Canada." He opposed a State convention, and suggested such measures as to him seemed most suitable for the crisis. In the House, a resolution was unanimously adopted to appoint a committee with instructions to report a bill for assembling a State convention; and anti-coercion resolutions were passed, saying that "any attempt to coerce a State would be resisted by Virginia." The bill in favor of calling a State convention was finally adopted, and February 4th fixed as the day for the election of the delegates, and the 13th as the day for them to assemble.

Numerous Union meetings, at this time, were held in Western Virginia. Resolutions were passed by the Legislature, declaring that the Union, being formed by the assent of the States, ought not to be maintained by force, that the Federal Government had no power to make war on a State, and that they would resist all attempts at coercion into reunion or submission.

On the 10th of January another resolution, having for its object to preserve peace, was adopted in the House. It requested the President, and also the Governors of the seceded States to give assurances that the *statu quo* in all matters tending to a collision should be maintained for the present. In the Senate the resolution was amended to ask of the President an assurance of absolute preservation of the peace for sixty days, and the whole matter was then referred to a committee. It was also resolved in the House to submit to the people on the election for delegates to the State convention, the question whether, if any action should be taken in convention relative to the Federal Union, it should be submitted to the people for ratification or rejection. The vote was ayes 77, nays 61. This was considered by the friends of the South as so "emasculating" the convention bill as to throw into imminent peril "all that the people of Virgina held most sacred and dear, both as to the Federal Constitution and the rights and honor of the State."

On the 14th propositions were introduced in the Legislature looking to a national convention, to be held at Washington on February 4th. (*See* page 178.) Meantime Union meetings were held in Winchester, Portsmouth, and other towns, particularly in the western part of the State.

On the 17th the Governor communicated to the Legislature the resolutions which had been adopted by the New York Legislature, with a Message expressing the utmost disdain; saying, at the close, that the threat conveyed can inspire no terror with freemen. The Legislature ordered these resolutions to be returned to Gov. Morgan, in New York, as an expression of the indignation with which they were received, because understood to countenance the doctrine and contemplate the policy of coercion. (*See* NEW YORK.) On the same day the House adopted the resolutions contemplating a national convention at Washington, providing that the commissioners should at all times be subject to the control of the Legislature or the State convention, if in session. This was regarded as embracing an approval of the Crittenden propositions.

The passage of the propositions for a peace conference at Washington were a matter of considerable interest, not only to the State,

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but to the country. It was hailed, at the time, as a step on the part of that ancient commonwealth to effect a peaceable solution of the difficulties of the country, and to preserve the Union with its friendly and fraternal feeling. When the resolutions were before the House, a motion to amend of such a character as to bring up the question of the right and present policy of secession was offered and voted down, ayes 36, nays 96. On the adoption of these resolutions in the Senate, another was offered of this purport:

Resolved, That if all efforts to reconcile the unhappy differences between sections of our country shall prove abortive, then every consideration of honor and interest demands that Virginia shall unite her destinies with her sister slave-holding States.

This resolution was adopted unanimously.

Messrs. John Tyler and John Robertson were appointed Commissioners, the former to President Buchanan, and the latter to Gov. Pickens, to request them to abstain from hostile acts during the session of the Conference, and to obtain from South Carolina a representation therein.

On the 18th a bill passed the House appropriating one million of dollars for the defence of the State. It was also passed by the Senate on the 23d.

On the 22d the Governor sent to the Legislature the resolutions of the State of Ohio, breathing a coercive spirit. He suggested that such resolutions sent to slave-holding States had no other effect than to excite resentments and inflame prejudices, as well as to increase the difficulties, and embarrass, if not defeat, all the efforts being made to adjust the controversy. He suggested also the propriety of a rebuke to the Governor of Ohio for his refusal to surrender Owen Brown and Francis Merriam when demanded by the Executive of Virginia, as fugitives from justice. The Message was laid on the table by a small majority.

The members of Congress from Virginia, even at this period, had, it seems, given up all hope of an adjustment of the difficulties of the country. Ten of them sent an address to the people of the State, giving a view of the proceedings and the probable action of Congress, and declaring: "It is vain to hope for any measures of conciliation and adjustment from Congress which the people of Virginia could accept." They said, further, that they were satisfied the Republican party designed by civil war alone to coerce the Southern States, under the pretext of enforcing the laws, unless it should become speedily apparent that the seceding States were so numerous, determined, and united as to make such an attempt hopeless. They concluded by expressing their conviction that prompt and decided action by the people of Virginia in the Convention would afford the surest means, under the providence of God, of averting the impending civil war, and preserving the hope of reconstructing a Union already dissolved.

Messrs. Tyler and Robertson, the Commissioners, proceeded to discharge their duty. The reply of the President was that he had no power to make such an agreement. (*See* UNITED STATES.) The reply of South Carolina was embraced in the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted by the Legislature of that State:

Resolved unanimously, That the separation of South Carolina from the Federal Union is final, and she has no further interest in the Constitution of the United States; and that the only appropriate negotiations between her and the Federal Government are as to their mutual relations as foreign States.

The reply from Maryland, through Governor Hicks, to the request from Virginia to meet in conference at Washington, concludes with these words: "I am rejoiced that Virginia has made the move, and I trust it will be met in a corresponding spirit by the other States; if so, we may anticipate the best of consequences from their patriotic action." The letter was ordered to be printed by the Legislature. The views of the Legislature on coercion are embraced in this resolution, to which there were only five dissentient votes in the House:

Resolved, That when any one or more of the States have determined, or shall determine, under existing circumstances, to withdraw from the Union, we are unalterably opposed to any attempt on the part of the Federal Government to coerce the same into re-union or submission, and that we will resist the same by all the means in our power.

The number of delegates to the State Convention was 152, a large majority of those elected preferring the Union to secession. This was considered as a declaration against precipitate secession, and in favor of making every honorable effort to restore the Union. Virginia demanded her rights in the Union, looking to the conservative people of the North, if they were in a majority, to make a peaceful adjustment of difficulties. Of unconditional "Unionists," and extremists on the other side, there were very few elected. The effect of this election on the people of Maryland, Tennessee, Kentucky, and North Carolina was exceedingly favorable for the Union. All party distinctions had thus been forgotten in the choice of the delegates.

On the 11th of February the Governor sent to the Legislature the report of Commissioner Robertson, who had been sent to the seceded States. He reported that the Governor of Georgia accepted the mediation of Virginia, and gave assurances that the authorities of Georgia would abstain, during the period contemplated, from all acts calculated to produce a collision between that State and the General Government. The Commissioner believed that the Governor of Alabama would give a favorable answer, and that South Carolina would conform her course to the action or recommendation of the Southern Congress. The resolutions from the Legislature of Michigan were ordered to be returned to the Governor of that State.

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The State Convention met at Richmond on the 13th of February. John Janney, of Loudon, was elected President of the Convention, and upon taking the chair, he made an address friendly to the Union, but said that Virginia would insist on her own construction of her rights as a condition of her remaining in the present Union. The next day was devoted to perfecting the organization. The Commissioners from South Carolina, Mississippi, and Georgia were invited to seats in the Convention.

The object of the people of Virginia, as expressed by their Legislature, and by their vote at the election for delegates to the Convention, was, if it could be done, honorably "to restore the Union of the States, and preserve that Union for all time to come."

On the 16th numerous resolutions were offered, which, while expressing a hope that the difficulties then existing might be reconciled and the Union perpetuated, yet denounced the idea of coercing in any way the seceding States.

Mr. Wise, of Princess Anne, reiterated his policy of fighting in the Union, and counselled speedy action.

Mr. Moore, of Rockingham, opposed haste. He would not be driven by the North, nor dragged by the cotton States, who had acted without consulting Virginia. He was opposed to coercion; but if the seceded States choose to assault the forts, let them take the consequences.

Mr. Carlisle contended that the Government had not yet attempted to coerce the South, and when this was done the people would resist it.

Addresses were made to the Convention by the Commissioners from other States who were present. Mr. Preston, from South Carolina, in his remarks, said that the Union could never be reconstructed "unless power should unfix the economy of good. No sanctity of human touch could reunite the people of the North and South."

Mr. Hall introduced resolutions declaring that Virginia had a legal right to secede; that the mere election of Mr. Lincoln was not just ground for secession; but, since a portion of the South had seceded, leaving the Border States greatly in a minority in Congress, Virginia should demand additional guarantees and proper amendments to the Constitution; that she should present an ultimatum to the Northern States, and fix a time beyond which she would not wait; and, if she failed in these, Virginia should take the proper steps to secure her just rights out of the Union.

On the 20th of February, numerous resolutions were offered and referred. They generally expressed an attachment to the Union and the desire for an equitable settlement, but denounced coercion, and declared a purpose to resist it. Others maintained that the union of the South was the safety of the South, and that each State should speedily resume the powers delegated to the General Government. A resolution was offered to raise a committee to inquire whether any movement of arms or men had been made by the General Government towards strengthening any fort or arsenal in or bordering on Virginia, indicating preparations for an attack or coercion. It was laid on the table without further action, but taken up the next day and adopted. The report of the committee on the election of members stated that all the counties except sixteen had sent in returns thus far, and the majority for referring the action of the Convention to the people was 52,857.

On the 28th of February, Mr. Morton made a speech in favor of immediate secession, and denouncing the result of the Peace Conference as a failure.

On the 1st of March, resolutions were offered and referred that an ordinance should be passed submitting to the voters of the State the question whether Virginia shall remain with the North, or secede and go with the South; also, that Virginia should use her best efforts to procure a vote in all the States on the question of Union on the basis of the Peace Conference propositions or disunion, and that she would coöperate with the States agreeing with her in the result of the vote.

Mr. Baylor endorsed the Peace Conference propositions, and opposed the right of secession, as well as the right of coercion.

Mr. Turner said he meant to exert all his efforts to obtain an adjustment, but if they failed, Virginia ought to unite with the South.

Mr. Goode, of Mecklenburg, denounced the Peace Conference.

Mr. Goode, of Bedford, introduced the following resolution:

Whereas the powers delegated by Virginia to the Federal Government have been perverted to her injury and oppression; and whereas the moderate and reasonable demands known as the Crittenden propositions, with the essential modifications presented by the General Assembly as a final effort to restore the integrity of the Union, have been deliberately rejected by the Northern confederates; therefore

Resolved, That every consideration of duty, interest, honor, and patriotism requires that an ordinance be adopted by the Convention and submitted to the people, by which Virginia will resume all the powers delegated to the Federal Government, and declare her connection with that Government dissolved.

The resolution was referred.

Mr. Fisher presented resolutions suggesting that the General Government should early negotiate with the Confederate States for the transfer of Forts Sumter and Pickens to said Confederacy, and for an equitable division of the public property and obligations. These were also referred.

The Inaugural Address of President Lincoln created much excitement among the members of the Convention and others. A resolution instructing the Committee on Federal Relations to report a plan for a Border State Convention was offered on the 5th of March, to which a substitute was moved to instruct the committee, in view of the coercive policy of President Lincoln, to report an ordinance for Virginia to se-

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cede and declare herself free from future alliance with the United States, &c., &c. To this an amendment was offered, instructing the committee to report in effect that,

Whereas it is plain that it is Mr. Lincoln's purpose to plunge the country into a civil war by a coercive policy which Virginia will resist; therefore

Resolved, That the Legislature make the needful appropriation of means, and provide the necessary forces to resist and repel every attempt of the Federal authorities to "hold, occupy, and possess" the property and places claimed by the United States in any of the seceded States, or those that may withdraw, or collect duties on imports in the same.

On the other hand, resolutions were offered opposing coercive measures for the collection of the revenue, &c., declaring that Virginia would repel such attempts, &c.; and though, while Virginia remained a member of the Union, she would assume no hostile attitude to the General Government, she would prepare to repel any assaults made upon her. All the members of the Convention appeared to be opposed to coercion. The committee appointed to examine into the subject reported that, in their opinion, there had been no movement of armed men towards the Virginia forts by the General Government, indicating any attempt at attack or coercion.

On the 7th of March, Mr. Carlisle made a speech against the resolution instructing the Committee on Federal Relations to make a report pledging the State to resist Mr. Lincoln's policy of coercion, and requesting the Legislature to make the needful preparations for that purpose. He denounced it as a treasonable measure; upheld the right of the Government to collect the revenues in the seceded States; was agreeably disappointed in the pacific tone of Mr. Lincoln's inaugural; and opposed any action by which Virginia should place herself in a hostile attitude to the General Government. He believed in the power of the people yet to restore the Union.

On the next day Mr. Wysor offered an ordinance dissolving the political connection between Virginia and the other States of the Union, and for establishing a separate independence. The former part was referred. Mr. Brent, in a Union speech, opposed the policy of secession, but at the same time opposed coercion. He thought Mr. Lincoln's inaugural unsusceptible of a warlike construction, but disagreed with many of its doctrines.

The Committee on Federal Relations, to whom the principal business of the Convention had been referred, and whose action would decide, in a measure, the character of all their proceedings, submitted several reports on the 10th. The report of the majority consisted of a series of resolutions, which were summarily as follows:

The first reaffirmed the doctrine of State rights.

The second declared any interference of slavery by the Federal or other authorities, or by the people, contrary to the Constitution, offensive, and dangerous.

The third condemned the formation of geographical or sectional parties.

The fourth demanded a fair partition of the Territories, and equal protection therein.

The fifth declared that in a time of profound peace with foreign nations, as now existed, and when no symptoms of domestic insurrection appeared, it was impolitic and offensive to accumulate within the limits of a State interested in irritating pending questions of the deepest importance an unusual amount of troops, munitions of war, &c.

The sixth indulged in the hope of a restoration of union and fraternal feelings.

The seventh recommended a repeal of unfriendly and unconstitutional legislation, and proper amendments to the Constitution.

The eighth conceded the right of States to withdraw from the Union for just causes.

The ninth alluded to the position of the Federal Government as disclaiming the power, under the Constitution, to recognize a withdrawal.

The tenth, without expressing an opinion on the question of power, desired to confer upon the General Government the powers necessary to deal peaceably with the questions involved, and, if necessary, to recognize separate and combined seceding States, to make treaties, and to pass any laws such separation may make necessary.

The eleventh recommended the people of the sister States to respond, at their earliest convenience, to the foregoing positions, and to the proposed amendments to the Constitution, and to a consultation intended to be held afterwards; and in the event that Virginia failed to obtain satisfactory responses from the non-slaveholding States, she would feel compelled to resume her sovereign powers and throw herself upon her reserved rights.

The twelfth made it an indispensable condition that a pacific policy be adopted towards the seceded States, and that no attempt be made to reënforce or recapture the forts, or exact payment of imposts upon commerce, or any measure calculated to provoke hostilities.

The thirteenth affirmed that Virginia would regard any hostile action on either side as hurtful and unfriendly, and as leaving Virginia free to determine as to her future policy.

The fourteenth recommended a conference of the Border States at Frankfort, Kentucky, on the last Monday of May.

The foregoing report did not fully meet the approval of the Union members, because it apparently recognized the right of secession.

Mr. Wise submitted the minority report, giving a list of demands, and requesting the States to give their answers by October, and in the mean time that every step should be taken to preserve the peace; that neither the General Government nor the seceded States should commence hostilities; and that the Government should retain only a sufficient number of men in the forts, &c., to preserve and guard the public property therein.

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Mr. Harvie submitted a minority report, with three signatures, for the passage of an ordinance of secession.

Mr. Barbour, of Culpepper, submitted another minority report, to the effect that the Government must immediately adopt measures to afford the people of the slaveholding States full constitutional assurances of their safety in continuing a further association with them under the common Government; also, recommending the appointment of commissioners to Montgomery to confer with the Confederate authorities.

Mr. Baldwin, from the minority of the committee, submitted a report, endorsing the Peace Conference propositions; recommending a Border State convention at Frankfort, Kentucky; opposing coercion; favoring the removal of all causes of the present complaints, and charging the present condition of affairs on the politicians.

Mr. Wickham presented another minority report, opposing coercion; proposing a Border State conference at Frankfort; and favoring the peace propositions as a fair and honorable adjustment.

A resolution, tendering the thanks of the people of Virginia to Senator J. J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, "for his recent able, zealous, and patriotic efforts in the Senate of the United States to bring about a just and honorable adjustment of our national difficulties," passed by a vote of ayes 107, noes 16. Mr. Tyler, who had returned from the Peace Conference, was opposed to the adoption of the peace propositions. He desired Virginia to put forth an ultimatum, demanding full and ample security as the only condition of remaining in the Union. He thought such security, if guaranteed, might ultimately bring back the cotton States. Virginia could not exist without them.

On the 25th the Convention refused, ayes 4, noes 116, to strike out the report of the majority of the Committee on Federal Relations and substitute the report of the Peace Conference.

On the 28th the first and second resolutions of the report, were adopted.

Mr. Hall, of Wetzel, offered the Constitution of the Confederated States as a substitute for the report of the Committee on Federal Relations. The majority accepted the opportunity to make a test vote on the proposition, and the minority (the friends of secession) vainly sought to withdraw it. A vote, after considerable parliamentary manœuvring, was forced, and the proposition substituting the Constitution was rejected—yeas none, nays 78.

On the 4th of April the Convention proceeded to vote on the other resolutions reported by the Committee on Federal Relations.

The third resolution, which opposed the formation of geographical or sectional parties in respect to Federal politics, was adopted.

The fourth resolution was taken up, and, on motion, was amended by inserting the words "the several States," in lieu of the words "the United States," making it declare that the Territories constitute a trust fund, to be administered for the common benefit of the people of the several States, &c. This was agreed to—yeas 68, nays 66. Mr. Morton moved to amend by striking out the last sentence, namely, "If equal admission of slave and free labor into any Territory excites an unfriendly conflict between the two systems, a fair partition of the Territories ought to be made, and each system protected within the limits assigned to it by laws necessary to its proper development." This was lost—yeas 38, nays 91. The fourth resolution, as amended, was adopted.

The fifth resolution coming up, Mr. Flournoy moved to amend it by striking out the words "and to aid in suppressing domestic insurrection," thus making the declaration simply that the legitimate use of the forts, &c., is to protect the country against a foreign force. This was agreed to—68 against 61.

The sixth resolution being under consideration, Mr. Harvie moved to strike out the whole of it, and to insert in lieu thereof the following:

Resolved, That an ordinance of secession, resuming the powers delegated by Virginia, and providing for submitting the same to the qualified voters of the commonwealth for adoption or rejection at the polls in the Spring elections in May next, should be adopted by this Convention.

Several motions that the Convention adjourn were voted down. Mr. Harvie's substitute was then rejected—yeas 45, nays 89. It was not strictly a test vote.

On the sixth resolution Mr. Wise moved to strike out the whole, and insert a substitute contemplating resistance to the wrongs of the South, indulging a desire for an adjustment, and that Virginia should not offer or adopt any terms of adjustment which ought not to be acceptable to the seceded States, and restore them to the Union. The Convention, by a vote of 57 ayes and 83 noes, refused this substitute. Mr. Wise then moved to amend by adding the last clause of the foregoing substitute, which was rejected—64 to 74. The resolution was then adopted as amended. The seventh, with slight amendments, was also adopted.

The Convention then referred to the eighth resolution, recognizing the right of secession for just causes. Mr. Carlisle moved to strike it out, and insert a substitute embodying President Madison's language, justifying secession only in the event of the failure of every constitutional resort. The Convention rejected the motion—yeas 22, nays 114. Other amendments were proposed and rejected. The eighth resolution was then adopted, after striking out the words "they concede."

On the ninth resolution Mr. Bouldin moved to strike out the whole, and insert a substitute embodying a declaration that the independence of the seceded States ought to be acknowledged without further delay, and such laws passed as a separation may make proper. The amend-

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ment was rejected—yeas 68, nays 71. The resolution was adopted—yeas 92, nays 37.

Mr. Preston offered a preamble and resolution, which were modified, on the suggestion of Mr. Baldwin, and accepted by Mr. Preston, as follows:

Whereas, in the opinion of this Convention, the uncertainty which prevails in the public mind as to the policy the Government intends to pursue towards the seceded States is extremely injurious to the commercial and industrial interests of the country, tends to keep up an excitement which is unfavorable to an adjustment of the pending difficulties, and threatens a disturbance of the public peace; therefore

Be it resolved, That a committee of three delegates be appointed to wait on the President of the United States, and respectfully ask him to communicate to this Convention what course he intends to pursue.

Mr. Carlisle offered an amendment to include a desire to know what policy the seceded States intended to pursue towards the General Government, which was rejected, and Mr. Preston's resolution, as modified, was adopted. The Commissioners appointed under this resolution were Messrs. Wm. Ballard Preston, A. H. H. Stuart, and Geo. W. Randolph, who waited upon the President. For his reply *see* UNITED STATES. The tenth resolution was adopted by a vote of 120 against 20.

The eleventh resolution was then taken up, when Mr. Wickham offered an amendment, expressing confidence in the justice of the people of the other States; appealing to them for a satisfactory adjustment by the adoption of the amendments to the Constitution hereto appended; and declaring that a definite refusal or neglect of the non-slaveholding States to accede to such amendments should and would result in a total and final disruption of the Union.

Mr. Goode offered an amendment, declaring further that in such event Virginia will feel compelled to resume her powers and throw herself upon her reserved rights. This was rejected—54 against 70, and Mr. Wickham's amendment was also lost—57 against 68.

Mr. Tarr moved to strike out the last sentence in the eleventh resolution, declaring that the State of Virginia will resume her powers in the event of a failure to receive satisfactory responses. Rejected—54 against 70.

On the 10th, the Convention considered the other resolutions. The twelfth having been taken up, Mr. Carlisle moved to strike out that portion making it an indispensable condition that no attempt shall be made to reëenforce or recapture the forts, &c., This was rejected—17 against 104. Mr. Wise moved to add a clause declaring that all forts, &c., in the limits of seceded States ought to be evacuated for purposes of pacification. Lost—60 against 67. The resolution was adopted.

On the 13th the debate turned exclusively upon the surrender of Fort Sumter. Messrs. Carlisle and Early deprecated the action of South Carolina in firing upon the fort, and expressed devotion to the flag of their country. Others applauded the gallantry of South Carolina and maintained that whatever the Convention might do, the people would take Virginia out of the Union.

A communication was received fom the Governor, submitting a dispatch from Gov. Pickens, giving an account of Friday's bombardment. He said: "There was not a man at our batteries hurt. The fort fired furiously upon us. Our iron battery did great damage to the south wall of the fort; the shells fell freely into the fort, and the effect is supposed to be serious, as they are not firing this morning. Our 'Enfield' battery dismounted three of Anderson's largest columbiads. We will take the fort, and can sink the ships if they attempt to pass the channel. If they land elsewhere, we can whip them. We have now 7,000 of the best troops in the world, and a reserve of 10,000 on the routes to the harbor. The war has commenced, and we will triumph or perish. Please let me know what your State intends to do."

Governor Letcher replied: "The Convention will determine."

On the 15th the reply of the President was presented by the Commissioners. A resolution was offered to go into secret session to consider this report. A debate followed. The proclamation of President Lincoln, calling for seventy-five thousand men, constituted the principal theme. Messrs. Scott and Preston (Unionists) declared that if the President meant subjugation of the South, Virginia had but one course to pursue. A difference of opinion existed as to whether it would be best to secede immediately or await the coöperation of the Border States, and it was believed the alternative propositions would be submitted to the people. Some delegates doubted the authenticity of the proclamation, and, in deference to their wishes, the Convention adjourned.

The reply of the Governor to the requisition of the Secretary of War was made on the 16th, as follows:

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
RICHMOND, (VA.,) *April* 16, 1861.

Hon. Simon Cameron, Secretary of War.

SIR: I received your telegram of the 15th, the genuiness of which I doubted. Since that time I have received your communication, mailed the same day, in which I am requested to detach from the militia of the State of Virginia "the quota designated in a table," which you append, "to serve as infantry or riflemen for the period of three months, unless sooner discharged."

In reply to this communication, I have only to say that the militia of Virginia will not be furnished to the powers at Washington for any such use or purpose as they have in view. Your object is to subjugate the Southern States, and a requisition made upon me for such an object—an object, in my judgment, not within the purview of the Constitution or the act of 1795—will not be complied with. You have chosen to inaugurate civil war, and, having done so, we will meet it in a spirit as determined as the administration has exhibited towards the South. Respectfully,

JOHN LETCHER.

On the 16th the Convention assembled in secret session. This was immediately after the surrender of Fort Sumter.

On the 17th an ordinance of secession was passed by the Convention. The vote was 88 in

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its favor and 55 against it. Only 91 delegates had signed it at the expiration of the first month after its passage. It is stated by a member that when the Convention assembled, a clear majority was for the Union, at which a mob excitement existed in Richmond. It was then calculated that if ten Union men could be kept away, there would be a majority for secession. Accordingly, ten members were waited upon and informed that they were given the choice of doing one of three things: either to vote for the secession ordinance, to absent themselves, or to be hanged. Resistance was found to be useless, and the ten yielded and were absent. The report of the vote, however, shows that at the final moment the majority in favor of the ordinance was large.

The following is the Ordinance of Secession:

An Ordinance to repeal the ratification of the Constitution of the United States of America, by the State of Virginia, and to resume all the rights and powers granted under said Constitution.

The people of Virginia, in the ratification of the Constitution of the United States of America, adopted by them in Convention, on the 25th day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, having declared that the powers granted under the said Constitution were derived from the people of the United States, and might be resumed whensoever the same should be perverted to their injury and oppression, and the Federal Government having perverted said powers, not only to the injury of the people of Virginia, but to the oppression of the Southern slaveholding States;

Now, therefore, we, the people of Virginia, do declare and ordain, that the Ordinance adopted by the people of this State in Convention on the twenty-fifth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and all acts of the General Assembly of this State ratifying or adopting amendments to said Constitution, are hereby repealed and abrogated; that the union between the State of Virginia and the other States under the Constitution aforesaid is hereby dissolved, and that the State of Virginia is in the full possession and exercise of all the rights of sovereignty which belong and appertain to a free and independent State. And they do further declare that said Constitution of the United States of America is no longer binding on any of the citizens of this State.

This Ordinance shall take effect and be an act of this day, when ratified by a majority of the votes of the people of this State, cast at a poll to be taken thereon, on the fourth Thursday in May next, in pursuance of a schedule hereafter to be enacted.

Done in Convention in the city of Richmond, on the seventeenth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, and in the eighty-fifth year of the commonwealth of Virginia.

A true copy, JNO. L. EUBANK,
Secretary of Convention.

At the same time the Convention passed an ordinance requiring the Governor to call out as many volunteers as might be necessary to repel invasion, and to protect the citizens of the State. The following is the Governor's Proclamation:

Whereas seven of the States formerly composing a part of the United States have, by authority of their people, solemnly resumed the powers granted by them to the United States, and have framed a Constitution and organized a Government for themselves, to which the people of those States are yielding willing obedience, and have so notified the President of the United States by all the formalities incident to such action, and thereby become to the United States a separate, independent, and foreign Power; and whereas the Constitution of the United States has invested Congress with the sole power "to declare war," and until such declaration is made the President has no authority to call for an extraordinary force to wage offensive war against any foreign Power; and whereas on the 15th instant the President of the United States, in plain violation of the Constitution, issued a proclamation calling for a force of seventy-five thousand men, to cause the laws of the United States to be duly executed over a people who are no longer a part of the Union, and in said proclamation threatens to exert this unusual force to compel obedience to his mandates; and whereas the General Assembly of Virginia, by a majority approaching to entire unanimity, declared at its last session that the State of Virginia would consider such an exertion of force as a virtual declaration of war, to be resisted by all the power at the command of Virginia; and subsequently, the Convention now in session, representing the sovereignty of this State, has re-affirmed in substance the same policy, with almost equal unanimity; and whereas the State of Virginia deeply sympathizes with the Southern States in the wrongs they have suffered and in the position they have assumed, and having made earnest efforts peaceably to compose the differences which have severed the Union, and having failed in that attempt through this unwarranted act on the part of the President; and it is believed that the influences which operate to produce this proclamation against the Seceded States will be brought to bear upon this Commonwealth if she should exercise her undoubted rights to resume the powers granted by her people, and it is due to the honor of Virginia that an improper exercise of force against her people should be repelled:

Therefore I, John Letcher, Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia, have thought proper to order all armed volunteer regiments or companies within this State forthwith to hold themselves in readiness for immediate orders, and upon the reception of this proclamation to report to the Adjutant-General of the State their organization and numbers, and prepare themselves for efficient service. Such companies as are not armed and equipped will report that fact that they may be properly supplied.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the Commonwealth to be affixed, this 17th day of April, 1861, and in the eighty-fifth year of the Commonwealth. JOHN LETCHER.
[L. S.]

During the next day, it was announced from the hall of the Convention, that an ordinance of secession had been passed, to take effect as an act of that day, should the same be ratified by the people on a vote to be taken thereon on the fourth Thursday of May. The intelligence spread throughout Richmond and produced immense excitement. Loud and prolonged cheering proceeded from the assembled crowds. In a very short time a rush was made by a party of citizens to the custom-house, for the purpose of signalizing the act of secession in a more demonstrative manner. The gilt letter sign, "United States Court," over the portico was speedily displaced and taken down, and the occupants of the building notified that the United States jurisdiction over the property had ceased. The next act was to raise a Southern Confederacy flag, with eight stars, over the capitol, in which the Convention held its sessions.

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The Confederate flag was displayed on the same day from the custom-house, hotels, and private residences, eight stars being generally the number on the flag—one having been added for Virginia. The custom-house was also taken out of the hands of the United States officials, and placed under a guard of State troops. The steamships Yorktown and Jamestown (belonging to the Virginia and New York Steamship Company) were both seized and put in charge of Virginia State troops. Many other seizures were also made.

The Traders' Bank at Richmond tendered the State a loan of $50,000.

A proclamation was issued by the Governor, prohibiting the exportation of flour, grain, and provisions from Virginia, and another was issued ordering all private vessels and property recently seized or detained, with the exception of the steamers Jamestown and Yorktown, to be released and delivered up to their masters or owners. For this purpose proper officers of the State were assigned to each of the rivers Rappahannock, York, Potomac, and James, with orders to release such vessels and property, and give certificates for damages incurred by their seizure or detention.

The supply of troops, under the call of the Governor authorized by the State Convention, was so great that further orders were issued directing no more troops to proceed to Richmond until called for. About 6,000 had assembled there, and 4,000 at Harper's Ferry.

An intelligent citizen of Richmond thus describes the military spirit existing there on the 25th of April: "Our beautiful city presents the appearance of an armed camp. Where all these soldiers come from, in such a state of preparation, I cannot imagine. Every train pours in its multitude of volunteers, but I am not as much surprised at the number as at the apparent discipline of the country companies. Some of them really march like regulars, and with their stalwart forms, dark, fierce countenances, and the red-coated negro fifers and drummers in front, present quite a picturesque as well as most warlike aspect.

"General R. E. Lee, late of the United States Army, has been appointed by the Governor to the chief command of the Virginia forces. Colonel Walter Gwynn, formerly of the United States Army, received a commission of Major-General.

"Yesterday evening, in addition to the large force pouring in from all parts of the country, five hunded troops arrived from South Carolina, under command of Brigadier-General M. D. Bonham. About the same number from the same State will arrive to-day.

"The Cadets of the Virginia Military Institute, under the Superintendent and officers, are here drilling and disciplining the various companies of military who require such aid. But I can give you no idea of the military spirit of the State. Augusta County, a strong Whig Union county in Western Virginia, and Rockingham, an equally strong Democratic Union county, lying side by side with Augusta, each contribute 1,500 men to the war. These are like all our volunteer companies, farmers, mechanics, professional men, the bone and sinew of the country. It was of Augusta that Washington said in the darkest hour of the Revolution that, if defeated everywhere else, he would unfurl a banner on the mountains of Augusta, and raise the prostrate form of Liberty from the dust. Amherst County, with a voting population of only 1,500, contributes 1,000 volunteers.

"But the war spirit is not confined to the men nor to the white population. The ladies are not only preparing comforts for the soldiers, but arming and practising themselves. Companies of boys, also, from ten to fourteen years of age, fully armed and well drilled, are preparing for the fray. In Petersburg 300 free negroes offered their services, either to fight under white officers, or to ditch and dig, or any kind of labor. An equal number in this city and across the river in Chesterfield have volunteered in like manner."

The lights on the Virginia shore of Chesapeake Bay were removed or extinguished, by order of the authorities of the State.

The accession of Virginia to the Southern Confederacy was announced by the Governor in the following proclamation:

Whereas the Convention of this Commonwealth has, on this, the 25th day of April, 1861, adopted an ordinance "for the adoption of the Constitution of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America;" and has agreed to a "Convention between the Commonwealth of Virginia and the Confederated States of America, which it is proper should be made known to the people of this Commonwealth and to the world:

Therefore, I, John Letcher, Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia, do hereby publish and proclaim that the following are authentic copies of the Ordinance and Convention aforesaid.

Given under my hand as Governor, and under the seal of the Commonwealth at Richmond, [L. S.] this twenty-fifth of April, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, and in the eighty-fifth year of the Commonwealth.

JOHN LETCHER.

By the Governor.

GEO. W. MUNFORD, Secretary of the Commonwealth.

An Ordinance for the adoption of the Constitution of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America.

We, the delegates of the people of Virginia, in Convention assembled, solemnly impressed by the perils which surround the Commonwealth, and appealing to the Searcher of hearts for the rectitude of our intentions in assuming the grave responsibility of this act, do by this Ordinance adopt and ratify the Constitution of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America, ordained and established at Montgomery, Alabama, on the eighth day of February, eighteen hundred and sixty-one; provided that this Ordinance shall cease to have any legal operation or effect if the people of this Commonwealth, upon the vote directed to be taken on the Ordinance of Secession passed by this Convention, on the seventeenth day of April, eighteen hundred and sixty-one, shall reject the same. A true copy.

JNO. L. EUBANK, Secretary.

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Convention between the Commonwealth of Virginia and the Confederate States of America.

The Commonwealth of Virginia, looking to a speedy union of said Commonwealth and the other slave States with the Confederate States of America, according to the provisions of the Constitution for the Provisional Government of said States, enters into the following temporary Convention and agreement with said States, for the purpose of meeting pressing exigencies affecting the common rights, interests, and safety of said Commonwealth and said Confederacy.

1st. Until the union of said Commonwealth with said Confederacy shall be perfected, and said Commonwealth shall become a member of said Confederacy, according to the Constitutions of both powers, the whole military force and military operations, offensive and defensive, of said Commonwealth, in the impending conflict with the United States, shall be under the chief control and direction of the President of said Confederate States, upon the same principles, basis, and footing as if said Commonwealth were now, and during the interval, a member of said Confederacy.

2d. The Commonwealth of Virginia will, after the consummation of the union contemplated in this Convention, and her adoption of the Constitution for a permanent Government of said Confederate States, and she shall become a member of said Confederacy under said permanent Constitution, if the same occur, turn over to said Confederate States all the public property, naval stores, and munitions of war, etc., she may then be in possession of, acquired from the United States, on the same terms and in like manner as the other States of said Confederacy have done in like cases.

3d. Whatever expenditures of money, if any, said Commonwealth of Virginia shall make before the union under the Provisional Government, as above contemplated, shall be consummated, shall be met and provided for by said Confederate States.

This Convention, entered into and agreed to in the city of Richmond, Virginia, on the twenty-fourth day of April, 1861, by Alexander H. Stephens, the duly authorized commissioner to act in the matter for the said Confederate States, and John Tyler, William Ballard Preston, Samuel McD. Moore, James P. Holcombe, James C. Bruce, and Lewis E. Harvie, parties duly authorized to act in like manner for said Commonwealth of Virginia; the whole subject to the approval and ratification of the proper authorities of both Governments respectively.

In testimony whereof the parties aforesaid have hereto set their hands and seals, the day and year aforesaid and at the place aforesaid, in duplicate originals.

[Seal] ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS,
Commissioner for Confederate States.

[Seal] JOHN TYLER, WM. BALLARD PRESTON, S. McD. MOORE, JAMES P. HOLCOMBE, JAMES C. BRUCE, LEWIS E. HARVIE, Commissioners for Virginia.

Approved and ratified by the Convention of Virginia, on the 25th day of April, 1861.

JOHN JANNEY, President.

JNO. L. EUBANK, Secretary.

In Western Virginia, on the 23d of April, at a public meeting held in Clarksburg, Harrison County, eleven delegates were appointed to meet delegates from other north-western counties at Wheeling on May 13th, to determine what course should be pursued in the present emergency. This movement resulted in the separation of Western from Eastern Virginia.

The State Convention appointed delegates to the Confederate Congress, which assembled on the 29th of April. A resolution was passed, inviting the Congress to make Richmond the seat of government for the Southern Confederacy. The banks were authorized to suspend specie payments. An ordinance establishing a navy for Virginia, and providing for enlistments in the State army was passed. The Convention further ordered a poll to be held in the camps of Virginia Volunteers on the Ordinance of Secession. It also dismissed all militia officers, from generals to captains, thus removing a mass of incapable, and opening their places to competent men. Thus the ancient commonwealth of Virginia bared her breast as the shield and her arm as the defence of the Southern Confederacy. Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and South Carolina now hurried forward troops to Virginia, and before the year expired, nearly a million of soldiers from North and South were encamped within her borders.

The State Convention adjourned from the first of May to the eleventh of June. The injunction of secrecy was still retained as to their proceedings relative to the secession ordinance. The acts of violence which had been committed thus far, such as the march upon Harper's Ferry, and the sinking of vessels at the mouth of the Elizabeth River, were done in opposition to the authority of the State. The Governor refused to consent that troops should be ordered to the Ferry. It was his purpose to preserve the State in an uncommitted position until after the vote on the Ordinance of Secession. The seizure at Harper's Ferry was, however, afterwards approved by him, and his thanks given to the party who made it. He also issued his proclamation calling out troops, in accordance with the requisition of the Confederate Government. Whatever might have been his previous purposes, he seems now to have had only one object in view, which was, to secure Virginia to the Southern Confederacy. The vote on the Ordinance of Secession in the Convention was not published by them. It was rumored to have been—ayes 88, nays 55. Many of the negatives were subsequently induced to acquiesce with the majority.

In Western Virginia, the attachment to the Union was so strong, and the opposition to secession so great, that this state of feeling soon manifested itself in public meetings in different townships of several counties; the result was, that delegates were appointed in these counties to meet in convention at Wheeling. This Convention assembled on the 13th of May. Delegates were present from twenty-five counties. The Union flag floated from all the principal buildings, and was raised with much ceremony over the custom-house. The topic discussed in the Convention was the division of the State of Virginia.

Subsequently, the Convention adopted resolutions, condemning the Ordinance of Secession and annexation to the Southern Confederacy, as being destructive of the rights and interests, social and political, of Western Virginia, and providing for holding a Convention, to be composed of all the counties in the State favorable to the division thereof, on the 11th day of June,

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provided the Ordinance of Secession was ratified against the vote of Western Virginia. The Convention then adjourned. (*See* VIRGINIA, WESTERN.)

Great activity took place in Eastern and Southwestern Virginia in the organization and equipment of troops. It was claimed as early as the 20th of May, that the whole number volunteered was 85,000, and that 48,000 of these were under arms, and distributed at Richmond, Norfolk, Petersburg, Lynchburg, Fredericksburg, Alexandria, Staunton, and Harper's Ferry. These points were nearly all connected by railroad. There were said to be, in addition, about 8,000 from other States. This assembling of troops in such positions that a rapid concentration of forces could be easily effected at any moment, doubtless caused the authorities at Washington to make an advance into Virginia and occupy the heights opposite that city and Alexandria. This occupation was commenced on the night of the 23d of May. In consequence, Northeastern Virginia was occupied by hostile armies during the remainder of this year. At its close a great battle appeared more nearly impending than ever before. The advance of Southern troops upon Washington was stayed by intrenchments on the south side of the Potomac, defended by at least two hundred thousand men from the North. The advance from the North upon Richmond was stopped by an equal number of men intrenched at Manassas Junction.

The advance of Ohio and Indiana and Western Virginia troops, under Gen. McClellan, through Western Virginia towards the Potomac was among the earliest military movements. The sympathy of the inhabitants was strongly on the side of the Union, and the State troops, under the command of officers in the Confederate service, were repulsed and driven out. It was in the early period of these operations that the Governor of Virginia addressed the following letter to a commandant of the State troops.

RICHMOND, VA., *May* 25, 1861.

DEAR SIR: When you get matters in proper condition at Grafton, take the train some night, run up to Wheeling, and seize and carry away the arms recently sent to that place by Cameron, the United States Secretary of War, and use them in arming such men as may rally to your camp. Recover the State arms also recently seized by the malcontents at Kingwood.

It is advisable to cut off telegraphic communication between Wheeling and Washington, so that the disaffected at the former place cannot communicate with their allies at head-quarters. Establish a perfect control over the telegraph, (if kept up,) so that no despatch can pass without your knowledge and inspection before it is sent.

If troops from Ohio and Pennsylvania shall be attempted to be passed on the railroad, do not hesitate to obstruct their passage by all means in your power, even to the destruction of the road and bridges.

Having confidence in your discretion, I am sure you will manage all things wisely and well.

Yours, truly, JOHN LETCHER.

Col. PORTERFIELD, Grafton, Va.

The popular vote on the Ordinance of separation was almost unanimously against it in Western Virginia, while with equal unanimity Eastern Virginia voted in favor of it. It was carried by a large majority of the votes cast. The vote in the city of Richmond was 2,400 in favor to 24 against it, being less than half the vote (5,400) polled at the presidential election in November previous.

As the troops arrived from the South, Richmond became the general rendezvous whence, as soon as inspected and properly outfitted for active duty, they were distributed wherever most needed. It was estimated that there were, by the 5th of June, in active service in Virginia, about fifty thousand Confederate troops, namely: about eight thousand at or near Manassas Junction; about five thousand at Fredericksburg and Acquia Creek; about twelve thousand at Norfolk and its neighborhood; about five thousand at Yorktown and Williamsburg; and about fourteen thousand at Harper's Ferry. Of this aggregate, nearly all, exclusive of the force at Harper's Ferry, were so posted that they could be concentrated by railroad at any point between Norfolk and Alexandria within twenty-four hours. About forty thousand, it was calculated at Richmond, could be thrown almost at once upon the Union troops whenever they might present themselves along the line. Such a movement, however, had a certain degree of hazard connected with it, as any concentration by which they withdrew their troops from the seaboard, exposed them to invasion from the fleet.

On the 15th of June the State Convention again assembled. A resolution was offered, inquiring into the number of the members of the Convention whose seats were vacant, the causes of their absence, their attitude towards the commonwealth, and proposing the punishment of such by hanging or otherwise. Various resolutions and ordinances relative to the more efficient organization of volunteers and militia companies throughout the State; to the more speedy and efficient protection of the northwestern counties, and "to the summary chastisement of the cowards and traitors who have entered our State for purposes of subjugation," were referred to the appropriate committees. Special instructions were given to the Military Committee to report the best mode in which it became Virginia to meet the policy proclaimed by Gen. Butler, and approved by the Federal Administration, in reference to the slave property. A resolution placing the bonds of the Southern Confederacy on a par with the notes issued by the banks of Virginia, and another authorizing military commanders throughout the State to compel free negroes to labor on all works of defence, were adopted.

On the 24th, the ordinance proposing to repudiate the payment of the interest on State bonds, the property of the United States Government or any State or citizen thereof, which were owned by the same on the 23d of May, the day on which the Ordinance of Secession was ratified, was taken up.

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Mr. Morton and Mr. McFarland opposed the ordinance. They were of the opinion that such a course would place Virginia in a suspicious and unenviable position before the enlightened world, and maintained that plighted faith should never be broken, however strong the temptation might be. In the course of Mr. McFarland's remarks he said that he was not aware of a single instance in which any such course had been pursued in the North towards the South, but, on the contrary, the North had thus far liquidated their obligations with all propriety and promptness.

Mr. Ambler asked the gentleman whether he did not know that the usurpation at Washington had declared money to be contraband of war, and arrested it in its transmission from the North to the South?

Mr. McFarland replied that, as far as his information extended, the usurpation at Washington may have expressed opinions of that character, but he was not aware of any official act to that effect. He continued to urge the policy of retaining their ancient prestige, and coming up manfully to their obligations, alluding with especial emphasis to the power in the hands of the North, where many of their citizens owned valuable property.

Mr. Ambler made a reply to the argument of Mr. McFarland, contending that it was not only just, but proper, for Virginia to keep out of the hands of her enemies the means of prosecuting this war upon her. He referred to legal authorities and to history in support of his position.

Mr. Holcombe made a brief reply, in which he maintained that the ordinance proposed was inconsistent with public and constitutional law, and that the precedents referred to by the gentleman related to individual debts, and not to debts in which the honor of a State was concerned.

Mr. McFarland was about to make some additional remarks, when he gave way to a motion to lay the ordinance on the table for the present, and the Convention then adjourned. On a subsequent day the act was passed—ayes 58, nays 37, prohibiting the payment of interest as above stated. The interest on all other bonds, except those payable in London, was made payable in currency or State notes at the State treasury.

The following delegates were chosen by the Convention to represent the State in the Southern Congress, at its adjourned session in Richmond, on the 20th of July: R. M. T. Hunter, John Tyler, W. H. McFarland, Roger A. Pryor, Thomas S. B. Cooke, W. C. Rives, Robert E. Scott, James M. Mason, John W. Brockenbaugh, Charles W. Russell, Robert Johnson, Walter Staples, Walter Preston. For the State at large, James A. Seddon, and W. B. Preston.

The acceptance or holding of office under the Federal Government by any citizen of Virginia, after the 1st day of August, was declared to be evidence of treason to the State. The privileged question, regarding the expulsion of certain members of the Convention, was called up, and the following named members, mostly from the western section of the State, were expelled by nearly a unanimous vote in every instance: Wm. G. Brown, of Preston County; James Burley, of Marshall; John S. Burdett, of Taylor; John S. Carlisle, of Harrison; Ephraim B. Hall, of Marion; Chester D. Hubbard, of Ohio; Gen. John J. Jackson, of Wood; James E. McGrew, of Preston; George McPorter, of Hancock; Chapman J. Steuart, of Doddridge; Campbell Tarr, of Brooke; and Waitman I. Willey, of Monongalia.

A proclamation was issued by the Governor, stating the popular vote on the question of ratifying the secession ordinance to be: for ratification, 125,950; for rejection, 20,373; majority, 105,577. He therefore proclaimed that "The Constitution of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America, ordained and established at Montgomery, Alabama, on the 18th day of February, 1861, was now in full force in the Commonwealth, and must be respected and obeyed."

The Governor stated that the returns from some of the counties had not been received, "in consequence of the presence of a hostile force in the northwestern, and of the blockade in the eastern portions of the State." Among this number were thirty-four counties in Western Virginia. The average majority in these counties was as four to one against secession. The total vote of the State at the presidential election was 167,223.

A requisition from the Confederate authorities was made upon the Governor at this time, for calling into immediate service the militia of the counties north of James River and east of the Blue Ridge, as well as all the militia in the valley of the State, north of James River. The necessary proclamation was issued on the 16th. By another proclamation of same date, the following persons were exempted from the call: operatives employed in the manufacture of arms, munitions of war, and woollens; millers, railroad employees, farm overseers, bank officers, city police officers, and telegraph agents. By another proclamation he prohibited the bills or notes of the Merchants' and Mechanics' Bank of Wheeling, and the Northwestern Bank, with the offices of discount and deposit of each, except the branch of the Northwestern Bank at Jeffersonville, from being received in payment of any money due to the State. The reason was that the banks named had "given aid to the enemy."

The following note, addressed to the commandant of the Loudon County militia, describes the measures to which the Confederate troops were compelled to resort to obtain supplies:

HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF POTOMAC,
MANASSAS, *July* 23, 1861.

COLONEL: Mr. George Johnson, special agent of the Quartermaster's Department, is sent to Loudon County for the purpose of collecting wagons, teams, and grain forage for the use of this army. It is expected that he will have no difficulties whatsoever;

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that the loyal citizens of your rich county will be glad to have an opportunity thus to furnish supplies for our army, which has so gloriously maintained the independence and sovereignty of Virginia, and driven back in ignominious flight the invaders of her soil. But, at the same time, all classes of your citizens must contribute their quota; therefore, if necessary, it is expected that constraint must be employed with all who are forgetful of their obligations.

By order of Gen. Beauregard.

Respectfully, Colonel, your obedient servant,

THOS. JORDAN, A. A. Adj't-General.

To Col. A. T. M. Rust,
Commandant Militia Loudon County.

A flood of paper money was now issued throughout the seceded portion of the State. Every bank, every town and village corporation, even the State itself, and private bankers, deluged the State with currency in notes from five cents to one dollar. Gold and silver were eagerly bought at eight per cent. premium for these notes, and carefully hoarded away. In North and South Carolina these notes were often printed on coarse brown paper, without any pretensions to a bankable appearance. Such was the amount of this species of currency thrown upon the community in Eastern Virginia, that alarm was excited among the people. In Lynchburg the notes of numberless defunct Southern banks were long imposed on the ignorant and unsuspecting; and finally, individual notes of denominations of ten, twenty, and twenty-five cents made their appearance. This "rag currency" passed off readily with the ignorant, and soldiers who were strangers.

The entire military strength of Virginia was now required in the field. In some counties, in which the militia refused to turn out, force was used, and if this was ineffectual, orders were given to treat those who refused as deserters, or alien enemies. All between the ages of eighteen and forty-five were required to enlist, and not such only as a draft would call into the field. The extreme measures often used were proof of a degree of desperateness and urgency hardly to be believed.

For this struggle, so suddenly commenced, Virginia had for some time been making such preparations as her means enabled her, and although she was not so well provided as the secessionists desired, still, she was better prepared than most of her Southern sisters—better, perhaps, than any one of them. For some time anterior to the secession she had been engaged in the purchase of arms of different kinds, ammunition, and other necessary articles, and in mounting artillery, in anticipation of the event which subsequently occurred. A large portion of the ammunition which was used during the year was captured at Norfolk, and the heavy guns supplied to the Southern States for coast, river, and land defence, were captured at the same time with the navy yard. All the field artillery issued belonged exclusively to the State of Virginia, and much the larger part of it had been in her possession for half a century. The small arms were all her own exclusive property, save 7,500 altered percussion muskets, furnished by Governor Ellis, of North Carolina.

On the 30th of June, in compliance with the request of the Confederate Government, Virginia paid off her troops. The report of the paymaster-general states that at that time he had paid seventy-eight companies of cavalry, fifty-two companies of artillery, four hundred and two companies of infantry, one company of cadets and seven companies of militia, while there remained to be paid six companies of infantry and one of cavalry; making 547 companies of all arms, and comprising on June 30 41,885 men. The precise number of troops which the State had in the field near the close of the year was not known, owing to the fact that the mustering officers at Norfolk, Lynchburg, Abingdon, Staunton, Winchester, Harper's Ferry, the Potomac division, and other places had not made their returns. The number was estimated at not less than seventy thousand by Governor Letcher. There were fifty-nine regiments of infantry, and a considerable number of infantry battalions and companies not organized into regiments; also eight organized regiments of cavalry, and a number of companies attached to different commands, sufficient for three regiments. Three hundred and fifteen pieces of artillery were issued, and nearly all in service in the field, and one artillery regiment was organized. The expenditures of the State for war purposes subsequently to the 17th of April, up to the close of the year, exceeded six millions of dollars. The military operations of the year took place in Eastern and Western Virginia. (For the latter, *see* VIRGINIA, WESTERN.) The term Eastern Virginia as here used, is intended to include that portion of the State adjacent to the Potomac River, at and below Harper's Ferry, to the mouth of that river, and thence along the shore to Norfolk. Below Washington, on the Potomac, the skirmishes which took place were chiefly between Federal gunboats and batteries on the shore; the latter being placed for the purpose of stopping the passage of Federal vessels engaged in carrying supplies to Washington. The blockade, thus attempted was never effective. During the months of September and October, when the number of batteries was the largest, many vessels came up to Washington, and it was seldom that one was injured. No lives were lost. In the neighborhood of Fortress Monroe, nothing of special moment occurred, except the battle at Great Bethel, after the troops were established in their positions. Newport News was occupied by a Federal force, and Yorktown by a considerable Confederate force. The latter position was the proper landing point for an army destined to attack Richmond. The occupation of Manassas by the Confederate army was intended to prevent an advance of Federal troops into Virginia, or rather to defend the territory of the State, and to threaten Washington. The flank of this force on the left was posted at Winchester, to defend the valley of

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the Shenandoah. The battle of Bull Run was the most serious conflict between the Confederate forces in this part of the State and the Federal troops. (*See* BULL RUN.) It resulted in no change in the military operations in Virginia on either side. A list of a large number of battles and skirmishes throughout the State is appended below. They occurred chiefly in Western Virginia, and in the neighborhood of the Potomac River above Washington. On two occasions a Confederate force crossed the river into the State of Maryland, and a skirmish took place at Darnestown, in which one Federal and several Confederate troops were killed. This was on the 15th of September. Previously, on the 5th of August, a small affair took place at Point of Rocks, in which seven Confederate prisoners were taken. These were the only instances of the invasion by Confederate troops of any State east of the Alleghany Mountains, which had not joined the Confederacy.

The condition of affairs in the State is thus described by the Governor of Western Virginia in his message to the Legislature of that section, near the close of the year: "I have embraced all the sources of information in my power to ascertain the truth. There seems no reason to doubt that nearly all the able-bodied men between the ages of sixteen and sixty have been forced into the Confederate army, including thousands who are at heart true to the Constitution and the Union. I need not mention that our public improvements, railroads, canals, bridges, and public buildings have been destroyed wherever the secession forces have had control of the country. Rapine and plunder have marked their path; and men, arrogating to themselves a superior civilization, derived, as they say, from the existence of negro slavery among them, have abandoned the rules of civilized warfare, and made war, like savages, a scene of indiscriminate and useless destruction. A large proportion of the slaves have been sent further South for security. All the live stock within the rebel lines have been seized for the use of their army. Farms have been stripped of horses, wagons, fencing, and timber, and the houses of the people of blankets, and even clothing—whatever, in short, that could be made useful to the soldiers. The property of men known or supposed to be true to the Union has been taken without compensation, and they regard themselves fortunate if their lives are spared. The property which is pretended to be paid for is paid for in Treasury notes of the Confederate States, or in bank notes issued on the deposit of such Treasury notes. This currency, even at Richmond, is already at a discount of not less than thirty per cent., and the papers there are seeking to maintain its credit by denouncing the penalties of death or confiscation against merchants and bankers who make any distinction between such notes and coin. Yet this circulation is really valueless. If the rebellion fails to sustain itself, the notes must go down with it; if

Battles and Skirmishes in Virginia, 1861.

PLACE.	DATE.	Federal Loss.			Confed. Loss.		
		Killed.	Wounded.	Prisoners.	Killed.	Wounded.	Prisoners.
Aquia Creek	May 31 / June 1	..	1	..	serv'l.	..	..
Anandale	Dec. 4	1	..	..	7	..	3
Back River	July 25	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ball's Bluff	Oct. 21	223	266	455	36	264	2
Ball's Cross Roads	Aug. 30	..	..	..	1	..	..
" " "	Sept. 18	4	..	..	..	..	..
Beallington	July 8	2	6	..	20	40	..
Barboursville	July 12	1	..	..	10	serv'l.	..
Beverly	July 12	13	40	..	150	..	600
Bolivar Heights	Oct. 16	4	7	2	150	..	4
Boone Court House	Sept. 1	..	6	..	80	many	40
Blackburn's Ford	July 18	19	38	26	15	53	..
Buckhannon	July 1	1	..	..	23	200	..
Bunker Hill	July 15	..	..	..	4	..	5
Bull Run	July 21	481	1011	1460	269	1488	..
Camp Allegiany	Dec. 13	20	107	..	25	97	30
Carnifex Ferry	Sept. 10	15	80	..	large	..	..
Chapmansville	Sept. 25	4	9	..	30	50	47
Cheat Mountain	Sept. 12	9	121	60	100	..	12
Chincoteague Inlet	Oct. 5	..	4	..	8	..	..
Cross Lane	Aug. 21	2	7	4	..	..	..
Dranesville	Nov. 26	2	..	..	8	..	3
"	Dec. 20	7	63	..	90	10	8
Edward's Ferry	June 18	1	..	..	40	..	..
Elkwater	Sept. 11	6	4	..	28	14	..
Falling Waters	July 2	3	11	..	31	56	10
Fairfax Court House	June 1	1	4	..	some	..	5
Fall's Church	June 28	1	..	..	2	..	..
" "	Sept. 29	10	20	..	..	..	..
" "	Nov. 19	..	1	..	serv'l.	..	..
Gauley's Bridge	Nov. 10	8	11	..	90	10	8
Grafton	Aug. 18	..	..	..	21	..	..
Great Bethel	June 10	16	34	..	6	..	..
Great Falls	July 7	2	..	..	100	..	..
"	Sept. 4	2	..	..	..	..	..
Greenbrier	Oct. 3	8	32	..	100	75	13
Green River	Oct. 12	..	..	..	5	8	..
Guyandotte	Nov. 10	7	20	45	7	15	12
Hawks' Nest	Aug. 26	8	..	..	50	..	serv'l.
Harper's Ferry	June 14	..	..	..	serv'l.	..	..
" "	July 4	2	8	..	..	..	..
Haynesville	July 1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Harrisonville	July 23	..	..	..	14	..	..
Hampton	Aug. 8	..	..	..	..	..	..
Hunter's Chapel	Dec. 2	1	..	..	4	..	..
Kanawha Valley	Nov. 10	2	..	..	..	..	..
Lady's Fork	Aug. 18	2	2	..	..	..	2
Laurel Hill	July 10	1	3	..	..	..	..
Lewensville	..	3	9	4	..	..	..
Lovettsville	Aug. 8	..	..	..	1	5	..
Martinsburg	July 11	1	..	..	..	..	..
Matthias Point	July 28	1	4	..	..	..	..
"	Aug. 6	8	1	..	..	..	..
Middle Fork Bridge	July 6	1	13	7	..	..	..
New Market	Nov. 20	..	..	..	2	5	..
" "	Nov. 12	..	..	..	2	serv'l.	..
Newport News	July 12	..	..	12	..	..	..
" "	Dec. 22	..	5	..	..	..	..
" "	July 8	6	..	..	3	..	..
Occoquan River	Nov. 12	2	5	..	..	..	..
Phillippi	June 3	2	2	..	16	..	10
Patterson Creek	June 26	1	..	..	17	..	..
Opp. Point of Rocks	Aug. 6	..	..	..	8	2	7
" "	Nov. 14	..	..	..	3	..	..
Quantico Creek	Oct. 11	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rappahannock River	June 24	2	6	..	..	..	..
Rich Mountain	July 11	11	85	..	160	..	100
Romney	June 11	..	1	..	2	1	..
"	Oct. 26	2	18	..	20	15	..
"	Sept. 24	8	10	..	35	..	..
"	Nov. 14	2	serv'l.	..	..	..	12
Scarry Hill	July 18	..	..	..	7	..	..
Shorter Hill	July 28	1	1	..	2	1	..
Summersville	Aug. 26	15	40	..	h'vy	..	..
Shepardstown	Sept. 14	..	..	..	4	16	..
Stewart's Hill	Sept. 11	..	..	..	12	..	..
Upton's Hill	Nov. 16	..	..	28	..	..	..
Vienna	June 17	5	6	..	6	..	..
"	Nov. 26	..	29	..	serv'l.	..	..
"	Dec. 3	..	4	9	3	..	..
Webster County	Nov. 6	..	1	..	serv'l.	..	13
West Court House	Nov. 19	..	..	..	1	5	..
Worthington	Sept. 2	2	..	..	..	..	..

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it succeeds from the immense amount issued and the character of the leaders, we may safely assume the repudiation of the debt as inevitable."

An amended constitution of the State was adopted during the year. It provides that the members of the Assembly shall be elected annually, and hold annual sessions. It abolishes the Board of Public Works, and provides for a new one. The district courts were abolished. The judges of the appellate and circuit courts are to be elected by the Assembly instead of an election by the people. Their term of office expires when they arrive at the age of seventy years. Clerks and attorneys for the State are to be appointed by the courts, and the attorney-general elected by the Assembly and not by the people. A right of voting is preserved to volunteers in the service. Numerous other amendments were made of local importance.

Virginia, east of the Chesapeake Bay, consists of the counties of Accomac and Northampton. It is a peninsula, having the Atlantic ocean on the east, and the bay above mentioned on the west. It was understood, near the close of the year, that a body of secessionists, who were chiefly residents, were in arms and exercising a hostile control over the inhabitants of these two counties. General Dix, then in command of that Department, with his head-quarters at Baltimore, despatched a body of troops to restore the Federal authority. At the same time he issued a proclamation, stating the objects of the expedition, which produced the happiest results. The troops as they advanced met with no opposition. The people declared their intention to submit to the authority of the United States before the arrival of the military force. On the night of November 15, a force of Confederate troops, in Accomac County, mostly drafted militia disbanded. They gave as reasons that they were satisfied with the proclamation, and they believed they could not withstand the military force. In Northampton County, the secessionists to the number of 1,800 laid down their arms, and the Union troops held peaceful possession of the entire county. The following was the proclamation of General Dix:

HEAD-QUARTERS, BALTIMORE, *Nov.* 13, 1861.

To the People of Accomac and Northampton Counties, Va.:

The military forces of the United States are about to enter your counties as a part of the Union. They will go among you as friends, and with the earnest hope that they may not by your own acts be compelled to become your enemies. They will invade no right of person or property. On the contrary, your laws, your institutions, your usages, will be scrupulously respected. There need be no fear that the quietude of any firesides will be disturbed, unless the disturbance is caused by yourselves. Special directions have been given not to interfere with the condition of any person held to domestic servitude; and, in order that there may be no ground for mistake or pretext for misrepresentation, commanders of regiments or corps have been instructed not to permit such persons to come within their lines.

The command of the expedition is intrusted to Brigadier-General Henry H. Lockwood, of Delaware—a State identical in some of the distinctive features of its social organization with your own. Portions of his force come from counties in Maryland bordering on one of yours. From him and from them you may be assured of the sympathy of near neighbors, as well as friends, if you do not repel it by hostile resistance or attack.

This mission is to assert the authority of the United States, to reopen your intercourse with the loyal States, and especially with Maryland, which has just proclaimed her devotion to the Union by the most triumphant vote in her political annals; to restore to commerce its accustomed guides, by reëstablishing the lights on your coast; to afford you a free export for the produce of your labor, a free ingress for the necessaries and comforts of life which you require in exchange, and in a word, to put an end to the embarrassments and restrictions brought upon you by a causeless and unjustifiable rebellion.

If the calamities of intestine war which are desolating other districts of Virginia, and have already crimsoned her lands with fraternal blood, fall also upon you, it will not be the fault of the Government. It asks only that its authority may be recognized. It sends among you a force too strong to be successfully opposed—a force which cannot be resisted in any other spirit than that of wantonness and malignity. If there are any among you, who, rejecting all overtures of friendship, thus provoke retaliation and draw down upon themselves consequences which the Government is most anxious to avert, to their account must be laid the blood which may be shed, and the desolation which may be brought upon peaceful homes. On all who are thus reckless of the obligations of humanity and duty, and all who are found in arms, the severest punishment warranted by the laws of war will be visited.

To those who remain in the quiet pursuit of their domestic occupations, the public authorities assure all they can give peace, freedom from annoyance, protection from foreign and internal enemies, a guarantee of all constitutional and legal rights, and the blessings of a just and parental Government.

JOHN A. DIX,
Major-General Commanding.

The following were the wholesale prices of certain articles at Richmond, on November 20th: Bacon, hog round, 23 to 26 cts. Butter, 45 to 50 cts., very scarce. Corn meal, 80 to 85 cts. Candles, tallow, 20cts.; adamantine, 45 to 49 cts. Coffee, none in the market. Hay, timothy or clover, $1.35 per hundred. Halifax herrings, $8 to $10, but none to be had. Pig iron, $40 to $45, stock small. Nails 7 to 7½ cts. Refined English iron, $115 to $120. Leather, 60 to 65 cts.; demand immense, stock very light. Lead 7½ to 7¾. New Orleans molasses, 52 to 65 cts. Pepper, 70 to 75 cts., very scarce. Salt, fine Liverpool, $9.50 to $10. Wool, washed Virginia, (common) 50 to 60 cts.; fine merino do., 50 to 60 cts. Exchange on New York in Richmond, 6 to 6½ per cent. premium; silver at 15 per cent., and gold at 20 per cent.; Confederate States bonds, ($15,000,000 issued,) 98 to 98½, Confederate money being rated at par.

VIRGINIA, WESTERN, is that part of the State of Virginia which refused to acquiesce in the vote by which the Ordinance of Secession was passed. The attachment to the Union was here so strong and so nearly unanimous, that the people rejected the authority at Richmond. By the aid of the United States

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troops from Ohio and Indiana and the volunteers in this region, the Confederate and regular State troops were forced to retire entirely. Under this new aspect of affairs the people determined to form a political organization of their own, which should either supplant the old State organization throughout Virginia, or become separate and distinct from it.

This district of country known as Western Virginia, is bounded north by Ohio and Pennsylvania; east, by the Alleghany Mountains; south, by these mountains and South-western Virginia; and on the west by Ohio and Kentucky. In consequence of its location, the affinities of its inhabitants are more naturally with those of the free States, than with those of the slave States; the soil, climate, and productions are the same as those of Ohio and Pennsylvania adjoining. The number of slaves has always been small, and their labor afforded small remuneration, except in other pursuits than agriculture. These circumstances placed her inhabitants among the loyal people of the North, devoted to the Union, and desirous of its perpetual preservation. Their preliminary movements for a political organization of their own, (*see* VIRGINIA,) resulted in the assembling of a convention of representatives of the people at Wheeling, on the 11th of June. About forty counties were represented. The Convention was organized, and before proceeding to business, each county delegation came forward and took the following oath: "We solemnly declare that we will support the Constitution of the United States and the laws made in pursuance thereof, as the supreme law of the land, any thing in the Ordinance of the Convention that assembled in Richmond on the 13th day of February last to the contrary notwithstanding, so help us God."

On the next day a committee of thirteen, which had been previously appointed to prepare business, reported a Bill of Rights for adoption. It repudiated all allegiance to the Southern Confederacy, and vacated the offices of all who adhered to it, whether legislative, executive, or judicial. This was laid over for the day. Resolutions were also offered and adopted, declaring the intention never to submit to the Ordinance of Secession, but to maintain the rights of Virginia in the Union, and calling on all persons in arms against the United States to disband and to return to their allegiance.

On the 13th an ordinance was reported, vacating the offices held by all State officers acting in hostility to the Federal Government, and providing for the establishment of a Provisional Government and the election of officers; and further requiring all State, county, and town officers immediately to take the oath of allegiance.

On the 17th a form of Declaration of Independence was adopted unanimously, and signed by all the members present.

On the 20th, under an ordinance previously adopted, a Governor, Frank Pierpont, a Lieutenant-Governor, and Council were elected. The new Governor was inaugurated on the same day. The Declaration of Independence, which had previously been adopted by the Convention, thus reviews the proceedings of the Richmond Convention:

The true purpose of all government is to promote the welfare and provide for the protection and security of the governed; and when any form or organization of government proves inadequate for or subversive of this purpose, it is the right, it is the duty of the latter to alter or abolish it. The Bill of Rights of Virginia, framed in 1776, reaffirmed in 1830, and again in 1851, expressly reserves this right to the majority of her people; and the existing Constitution does not confer upon the General Assembly the power to call a Convention to alter its provisions, or to change the relations of the Commonwealth, without the previously expressed consent of such majority. The act of the General Assembly calling the Convention which assembled at Richmond in February last, was, therefore, usurpation; and the Convention thus called has not only abused the powers nominally entrusted to it, but, with the connivance and active aid of the Executive, has usurped and exercised other powers, to the manifest injury of the people, which, if permitted, will inevitably subject them to a military despotism.

The Governor, on taking the oath of office, delivered a speech in which he thus defined the position of Western Virginia:

We have been driven into the position we occupy to-day by the usurpers at the South, who have inaugurated this war upon the soil of Virginia, and have made it the great Crimea of this contest. We, representing the loyal citizens of Virginia, have been bound to assume the position we have assumed to-day for the protection of ourselves, our wives, our children, and our property. We, I repeat, have been driven to assume this position; and now we are but recurring to the great fundamental principle of our fathers, that to the loyal people of a State belongs the law-making power of that State. The loyal people are entitled to the Government and governmental authority of the State. And, fellow-citizens, it is the assumption of that authority upon which we are now about to enter.

Meantime Governor Letcher issued the following address to the inhabitants of this part of the State.

To the People of North-western Virginia:

The sovereign people of Virginia, unbiased, and by their own free choice, have, by a majority of nearly one hundred thousand qualified voters, severed the the ties that heretofore bound them to the Government of the United States, and united this Commonwealth with the Confederate States. That our people have the right "to institute a new Government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness," was proclaimed by our fathers, and it is a right which no freeman should ever relinquish. The State of Virginia has now, the second time in her history, asserted this right, and it is the duty of every Virginian to acknowledge her act when ratified by such a majority, and to give his willing coöperation to make good the declaration. All her people have voted. Each has taken his chance to have his personal views represented. You, as well as the rest of the State, have cast your vote fairly, and the majority is against you. It is the duty of good citizens to yield to the will of the State. The Bill of Rights has proclaimed "that the people have a right to uniform government; and, therefore, that no government separate from or independent of the government of Virginia ought to be erected or established within the limits thereof."

The majority, thus declared, therefore, have a right

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to govern. But notwithstanding this right, thus exercised, has been regarded by the people of all sections of the United States as undoubted and sacred, yet the Government at Washington now utterly denies it, and by the exercise of despotic power is endeavoring to coerce our people to abject submission to their authority. Virginia has asserted her independence. She will maintain it at every hazard. She is sustained by the power of ten of her sister Southern States, ready and willing to uphold her cause. Can any true Virginian refuse to render assistance? Men of the northwest, I appeal to you, by all the considerations which have drawn us together as one people heretofore, to rally to the standard of the Old Dominion. By all the sacred ties of consanguinity, by the intermixtures of the blood of East and West, by common paternity, by friendships hallowed by a thousand cherished recollections and memories of the past, by the relics of the great men of other days, come to Virginia's banner, and drive the invader from your soil. There may be traitors in the midst of you, who, for selfish ends, have turned against their mother, and would permit her to be ignominiously oppressed and degraded. But I cannot, will not, believe that a majority of you are not true sons, who will not give your blood and your treasure for Virginia's defence.

I have sent for your protection such troops as the emergency enabled me to collect, in charge of a competent commander. I have ordered a large force to go to your aid, but I rely with the utmost confidence upon your own strong arms to rescue your firesides and altars from the pollution of a reckless and ruthless enemy. The State is invaded at several points, but ample forces have been collected to defend her.

There has been a complaint among you that the eastern portion of the State has enjoyed an exemption from taxation to your prejudice. The State, by a majority of 50,000, has put the two sections on an equality in this respect. By a display of magnanimity in the vote just given, the East has, by a large majority, consented to relinquish this exemption, and is ready to share with you all the burdens of Government, and to meet all Virginia's liabilities. They come now to aid you as you came in former days to aid them. The men of the Southern Confederate States glory in coming to your rescue. Let one heart, one mind, one energy, one power, nerve every patriot to arm in a common cause. The heart that will not beat in unison with Virginia now is a traitor's heart; the arm that will not strike home in her cause now is palsied by common fear.

The troops are posted at Huttonsville. Come with your own good weapons and meet them as brothers!

Given under my hand, and under the seal of the [L. S.] Commonwealth, this 14th day of June, 1861, and in the 85th year of the Commonwealth.

By the Governor: JOHN LETCHER.

GEO. W. MUNFORD, Secretary of the Commonwealth.

The Commanding General, McClellan, of this Department, issued a proclamation in which he thus states the position of military affairs:

To the Inhabitants of Western Virginia:

The army of this Department, headed by Virginia troops, is rapidly occupying all Western Virginia. This is done in coöperation with and in support of such civil authorities of the State as are faithful to the Constitution and laws of the United States. The proclamation issued by me, under date of May 26, 1861, will be strictly maintained. Your houses, families, property, and all your rights will be religiously respected. We are enemies to none but armed rebels, and those voluntarily giving them aid. All officers of this army will be held responsible for the most prompt and vigorous action in repressing disorder and punishing aggression by those under their command.

The Legislature of Western Virginia organized at Wheeling on July 2. Gov. Pierpont delivered a Message, stating the circumstances under which that body was convened, and recommended the passage of such acts and appropriations as were necessary for the newly organized government.

John S. Carlisle and Waitman T. Willey were chosen United States Senators from the State of Virginia, to occupy the seats vacated by Messrs. Mason and Hunter. (*See* CONGRESS, U. S.)

A resolution was passed by the House, instructing the Senators and requesting the Representatives in Congress to vote the necessary appropriations of men and money for a vigorous prosecution of the war, and to oppose all compromise; $27,000 in specie, belonging to the State and deposited in the Exchange Bank at Weston, were seized and brought to Wheeling.

A stay law was enacted by the Legislature, and an act authorizing the Governor to organize a patrol in such counties as may need it; and about $200,000 were appropriated for carrying on the Government. A similar sum was also appropriated for military purposes.

The question of a division of the State was debated at some length, in the Senate, upon a report in its favor by a committee, but was voted down by 20 to 17. The agitation of the subject was considered premature.

Measures were also proposed for a thorough military organization of the north-west. The thirty-nine counties of Virginia lying west of the main chain of the Alleghany Mountains, the extreme southern point of which was about 37° 20′ N. latitude, were those which formed the organization known as Western Virginia. They were, with their population, as follows:

Logan County.....*	4,838	Barbour.....	8,959
Wyoming.....	2,865	Upshur.....	7,292
Raleigh	3,367	Harrison	13,790
Fayette.....	5,997	Lewis	7,999
Nicholas	4,626	Braxton.....	4,992
Webster.....	1,555	Clay	1,787
Randolph.....	4,990	Kanawha	14,575
Tucker.....	1,428	Boone.....	4,840
Preston.....	13,312	Wayne	6,747
Monongalia.....	13,048	Cabel.....	8,020
Marion.....	12,721	Putnam	6,501
Taylor	7,463	Mason.....	9,185
Jackson.....	8,306	Wood	11,046
Roanoke.....	8,048	Pleasants.....	2,945
Calhoun.....	2,502	Tyler.....	6,517
Wirt.....	3,751	Doddridge.....	5,293
Gilmer.....	3,759	Wetzel.....	6,703
Ritchie.....	6,847	Marshall,.....	13,001
Ohio	22,422	Hancock.....	4,445
Brooke.....	5,494		
Total population.....			281,786

The whole population of Virginia in 1861 was 1,593,199, including 495,826 slaves, leaving a white population of 1,097,373. Not more than eight or ten thousand of the slaves were in the counties included above, so that, in losing this population of 281,786, Virginia would lose about one-fourth of her white inhabitants. The territory of the Kanawha, as it was proposed to call it, including the valley of the river of that name, and the fertile region along the Ohio, is as fine as any in the State, and in the decade between 1850 and 1860 the population increased

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there more rapidly than in any other part of Virginia. The proposition to erect this portion of Virginia into a new State created considerable discussion. The views of the Attorney-General of the United States, (Bates,) together with a statement of the plans of the Government relative to the seceded States, were thus expressed in a letter to a member of the Convention in Western Virginia: "The formation of a new State out of Western Virginia is an original, independent act of revolution. I do not deny the power of revolution—(I do not call it right, for it is never prescribed; it exists in force only, and has and can have no law but the will of the revolutionists.) Any attempt to carry it out involves a plain breach of both the Constitutions—of Virginia and of the Nation. And hence it is plain that you cannot take such course without weakening, if not destroying, your claims upon the sympathy and support of the General Government, and without disconcerting the plan already adopted both by Virginia and the General Government for the reorganization of the revolted States and the restoration of the integrity of the Union.

"That plan I understand to be this: When a State, by its perverted functionaries, has declared itself out of the Union, we avail ourselves of all the sound and loyal elements of the State, all who own allegiance to and claim protection of the Constitution, to form a State government as nearly as may be upon the former model, and claiming to be the very State which has been in part overthrown by the successful rebellion. In this way we establish a constitutional nucleus around which all the shattered elements of the commonwealth may meet and combine, and thus restore the old State in its original integrity.

"This, I verily thought, was the plan adopted at Wheeling, and recognized and acted upon by the General Government here. Your Convention annulled the revolutionary proceedings at Richmond, both in the Convention and the General Assembly, and your new Governor formally demanded of the President the fulfilment of the constitutional guarantee in favor of Virginia—Virginia as known to our fathers and to us. The President admitted the obligation, and promised his best efforts to fulfil it. And the Senate admitted your Senators, not as representing a new and nameless State, now for the first time heard of in our history, but as representing 'the good old commonwealth.'

"Must all this be undone, and a new and hazardous experiment be ventured upon at the moment when dangers and difficulties are thickening around us? I hope not; for the sake of the nation and the State I hope not. I had rejoiced in the movement in Western Virginia as a legal, constitutional, and safe refuge from revolution and anarchy—as at once an example and fit instrument for the restoration of all the revolted States.

"I have not time now to discuss the subject in its various bearings. What I have written is written with a running pen and will need your charitable criticism."

The Convention in session at this time passed an ordinance creating a State. This was to be approved by the people at an election on the 24th of October. Provision was also made for the annexation to the State of any adjoining counties which might desire it. This ordinance was approved by a majority of nearly one hundred to one. It was proposed to call the new State, Kanawha. Its population would be about 282,000.

Public affairs, however, remained in the position in which they were originally placed. The new organization was regarded as representing the old commonwealth. On the 2d of December, the Legislature again assembled. The Governor recommended the repeal of the stay law, and the confiscation of the property of secessionists. He congratulated the people that they had contributed their full quota to the army of the United States, which was about 6,000 men. He added: "We have been repeatedly told that Western Virginia would soon be overrun and subjugated by the Confederate armies, our property confiscated and ourselves driven from our homes or subjected to the penalties of treason. Wise, Floyd and Lee were in their turn to accomplish this work. They have attempted it, and have owed their own safety to the rapidity with which they have retreated before our forces."

After the proclamation calling for troops by President Lincoln, military operations assumed great activity in the bordering State of Ohio. General George B. McClellan was invited from his duties in connection with the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, by the Governor of Ohio, and appointed to the chief command in the State. Under his directions the volunteers were organized, and preparations for a campaign made. Early in May, the forces were ready to cooperate with the two or three regiments organized in Western Virginia, to oppose the advance of Confederate troops. The occupation of Western Virginia, which had voted against the Ordinance of Secession, and its control, was early an object with the Confederate Government. To oppose them, General McClellan pushed forward, under the orders of the United States Government.

On the 26th of May, he issued the following proclamation to the people of Western Virginia, from his head-quarters at Cincinnati, Ohio:

To the Union Men of Western Virginia:

VIRGINIANS: The General Government has long enough endured the machinations of a few factious rebels in your midst. Armed traitors have in vain endeavored to deter you from expressing your loyalty at the polls. Having failed in this infamous attempt to deprive you of the exercise of your dearest rights, they now seek to inaugurate a reign of terror, and thus force you to yield to their schemes and submit to the yoke of traitorous conspiracy dignified by the name of the Southern Confederacy. They are destroying the property of citizens of your State and ruining your magnificent railways.

The General Government has heretofore carefully

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abstained from sending troops across the Ohio, or even from posting them along its banks, although frequently urged by many of your prominent citizens to do so. It determined to wait the result of the State election, desirous that no one might be able to say that the slightest effort had been made from this side to influence the free expression of your opinions, although the many agencies brought to bear upon you by the rebels were well known. You have now shown, under the most adverse circumstances, that the great mass of the people of Western Virginia are true and loyal to that beneficent Government under which we and our fathers lived so long.

As soon as the result of the election was known, the traitors commenced their work of destruction. The General Government cannot close its ears to the demand you have made for assistance. I have ordered troops to cross the river. They come as your friends and brothers—as enemies only to armed rebels, who are preying upon you; your homes, your families, and your property are safe under our protection. All your rights shall be religiously respected, notwithstanding all that has been said by the traitors to induce you to believe our advent among you will be signalized by an interference with your slaves. Understand one thing clearly: not only will we abstain from all such interference, but we will, on the contrary, with an iron hand crush any attempt at insurrection on their part. Now that we are in your midst, I call upon you to fly to arms and support the General Government; sever the connection that binds you to traitors; proclaim to the world that the faith and loyalty so long boasted by the Old Dominion are still preserved in Western Virginia, and that you remain true to the Stars and Stripes.

G. B. McCLELLAN,
Major-General Commanding.

On the same day he issued the following proclamation to his troops:

SOLDIERS: You are ordered to cross the frontier and enter on the soil of Virginia. Your mission is to restore peace and confidence, to protect the majesty of the law, and secure our brethren from the grasp of armed traitors. I place under the safeguard of your honor the persons and property of the Virginians. I know you will respect their feelings and all their rights, and preserve the strictest discipline. Remember, each one of you holds in his keeping the honor of Ohio and of the Union. If you are called upon to overcome armed opposition, I know your courage is equal to the task. Remember, that your only foes are armed traitors, and show mercy even to them when in your power, for many of them are misguided. When, under your protection, the loyal men of Western Virginia shall have been enabled to organize and form until they can protect themselves, you can return to your homes with the proud satisfaction of having preserved a gallant people from destruction.

G. B. McCLELLAN,
Major-General Commanding.

The instructions to General McClellan were to cross the Ohio, and, in conjunction with the forces of Western Virginia under Colonel Kelley, to drive out the Confederate force, and advance on Harper's Ferry. On the night of the 26th of May, orders were given to Colonel Kelley at Wheeling, to march on Grafton, which he proceeded to execute early the next morning with the First Virginia Volunteers. He was followed on the same day by the Sixteenth Ohio, Colonel Irvine, which had been stationed at Bellair, Ohio. These forces advanced by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. At the same time, the Fourteenth Ohio, Colonel Steadman, crossed the Ohio at Marietta, and occupied Parkersburg. These, advancing on the railroad, were welcomed by crowds at every station. On the same night, a Confederate force of 1,500 men evacuated Grafton, and that place was occupied, on the 29th, by the Virginia and Ohio Volunteers. Here they were joined by the Seventh and Ninth Indiana. The Confederate force, in the mean time, had retired to Philippi, where they prepared to make a stand with considerable strength. Philippi is twenty-four miles from Grafton, and General McClellan determined to surprise the Confederate force. On the night of June 2, two divisions moved forward for this purpose. (*See* PHILIPPI.) The surprise was complete, and the Confederate force, under Colonel G. A. Porterfield, was forced to retire, abandoning a large amount of stores and arms, with a loss of fifteen killed. Owing to the storm and the darkness of the night, the first division, under Colonel Kelley, was unable to arrive in the rear of the Confederate force soon enough to cut off its retreat. This force retired to Laurel Hill, in the vicinity of Beverly, where the enemy was concentrated in a strongly fortified position, which not only commanded the road to the southern part of the State, whence the Confederate supplies were obtained, but from which an attack upon the Federal forces was constantly threatened. Laurel Hill is on the western slope of a range of the Alleghany Mountains, which runs from northeast to southwest, and which is impassable for an army except at certain points. The Confederate encampment was on a slope which declined gradually to the valley, and was strongly fortified in front, below which passed the only road to southern Virginia. The plan of General McClellan was to occupy the attention of the enemy, by the appearance of a direct attack, while a strong force marched round to his rear to take possession of the road by which his supplies came. The enemy must then either come out of his intrenchments and fight, or starve. Taking the main body of his army, composing a force of ten thousand men, General McClellan moved to Clarksburg, and thence to Buckhannon, on the west of Laurel Hill. Previously however, and on the 7th of July, he ordered General Morris to march upon Laurel Hill, to occupy the enemy. Taking with him the Ninth Indiana, Colonel Milroy, the Fourteenth Ohio, the First Virginia, the Cleveland Artillery, the Sixth and Seventh Indiana, and the Sixth Ohio, in the order named and making a force of about 4,000 men, he left early in the morning, and reached Bealington in front of the enemy at eight o'clock, with his right, having flanking parties on each side, and two companies of skirmishers ahead. The Confederate pickets fired and retreated. A slight skirmish ensued with a party of the enemy in a wood beyond the town, about two miles from the Confederate camp, which the Federal force had occupied. On the 8th, a brisk skirmishing was kept up all the afternoon with the Confederates, and some were killed

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on both sides. On the 9th, the skirmishing was renewed, and every outlet of the Confederate camp was watched except that back to Beverly, where General McClellan was soon expected to be. Thus the enemy was held in check on the north and occupied, while General McClellan was attempting to get in his rear. Meantime, as General McClellan reached Buckhannon, he found that the rear of the enemy was strongly fortified at a position called Rich Mountain, which was defended by one to two thousand men, under Colonel Pegram. He now formed the plan of capturing this entire force. For this purpose, General Rosecrans with about three thousand men was sent to attack his rear, while General McClellan himself made a direct attack in front. General Rosecrans with the Eighth, Tenth, Thirteenth Indiana, and Nineteenth Ohio, therefore proceeded, on the 11th, along the line of hills southeast of the enemy's intrenched camp on the Beverly road, to make an attack on the east side, while General McClellan made it on the west side, as soon as he heard from General Rosecrans. A courier, who mistook the road through the enemy's camp for the route of the troops, gave the enemy intelligence of the movement. Their position was about two miles west from Beverly, which is on the east side of what is called Rich Mountain, a gap in the Laurel Hill range, through which the southern road passes. General Rosecrans arrived in the rear of the enemy at four o'clock, and meeting a small force, immediately began the attack, to which they made a vigorous resistance, but were unable to withstand it. The effect was to alarm Colonel Pegram, and upon finding out his exposed position he silently moved off with his main body, with the hope of being able to join the camp at Laurel Hill. Meanwhile General McClellan was in position with his whole force during the afternoon ready to make an assault, but heard nothing from the other column except distant firing. Early in the morning he was about proceeding to plant cannon upon an eminence commanding a portion of the Confederate camp, and preparing to attack the whole next in front, when it was ascertained that the enemy had evacuated his position during the night, moving towards Laurel Hill, leaving only a few men in charge of the sick, cannon, and camp equipage and transportation.

The following despatch from General McClellan thus announced these movements:

RICH MOUNTAIN, VA., 9 A. M., *July* 12.

Col. E. D. Townsend, Assistant-Adjutant General:

We are in possession of all the enemy's works up to a point in sight of Beverly. We have taken all his guns; a very large amount of wagons, tents, &c.; every thing he had; and also a large number of prisoners, many of whom are wounded, and amongst whom are several officers. They lost many killed. We have lost in all, perhaps twenty killed and forty wounded, of whom all but two or three were in the column under Col. Rosecrans, which turned the position. The mass of the enemy escaped through the woods entirely disorganized. Among the prisoners is Dr. Taylor, formerly of the army. Col. Pegram was in command.

Col. Rosecrans' column left camp yesterday morning and marched some eight miles through the mountains, reaching the turnpike some two or three miles in the rear of the enemy. He defeated an advanced force, and took a couple of guns. I had a position ready for twelve guns near the main camp, and as the guns were moving up I ascertained that the enemy had retreated. I am now pushing on to Beverly—a part of Colonel Rosecrans' troops being now within three miles of that place. Our success is complete and almost bloodless. I doubt whether Wise and Johnston will unite and overpower me. The behavior of our troops in action and towards prisoners was admirable.

G. B. McCLELLAN,
Major-General Commanding.

By the retreat of Colonel Pegram, the rear of the Confederate force at Laurel Hill was entirely exposed. On the 11th, General Garnett first learned that General McClellan was in his rear. He immediately evacuated his camp, and retired before General Morris, hoping to reach Beverly in advance of General McClellan, and thus be able to withdraw his forces by the road to southern Virginia. Upon arriving within three miles of Beverly, the fugitives of Colonel Pegram's force were met, and finding escape impossible by that route, General Garnett returned towards Laurel Hill, and took the road branching off to the northeast towards St. George, in Tucker County. His aim was now to press along the base of the mountains down the Cheat River, with the hope of finding some practicable path across the mountains into the valley of Virginia. The following despatch of General McClellan describes the precise state of affairs at this time:

BEVERLY, VA., *July* 13, 1861.

To Col. E. D. Townsend:

The success of to-day is all that I could desire. We captured six brass cannon, of which one was rifled; all their camp equipage and transportation, even to their cups. The number of tents will probably reach two hundred, and more than sixty wagons. Their killed and wounded will fully amount to one hundred and fifty. We have at least one hundred prisoners, and more coming in constantly. I know already of ten officers killed and prisoners. Their retreat is complete. We occupied Beverly by a rapid march. Garnett abandoned his camp early this morning, leaving his camp equipage. He came within a few miles of Beverly, but our rapid march turned him back in great confusion, and he is now retreating on the road to St. George. I have ordered Gen. Morris to follow him up closely. I have telegraphed for the Second Pennsylvania Regiment at Cumberland to join Gen. Hill at Rowlesburg. The General is concentrating all his troops at Rowlesburg, to cut off Garnett's retreat, if possible, to St. George. I may say we have driven out some ten thousand troops, strongly intrenched, with the loss of eleven killed and thirty-five wounded. Provision returns were found showing Garnett's force to have been ten thousand men. They were Eastern Virginians, Georgians, Tennesseans, and, I think, Carolinians. To-morrow I can give full particulars, &c. Will move on Huttonsville to-morrow and endeavor to seize the Cheat Mountain pass, where there are now but few troops. I hope that Gen. Cox has by this time driven Wise out of the Kanawha valley. In that case I shall have accomplished the object of liberating Western Virginia. I hope the General will approve my operations.

G. B. McCLELLAN,
Major-General Commanding.

Up the mountains, through defiles, and

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over rugged ridges, guided by the tents, camp-furniture, provisions and knapsacks thrown away, the hot pursuit of the flying enemy was pressed. Captain Bonham led the advance, and General Morris the rear, and after fording Cheat River four times, they came up with the enemy's rear guard at Carrick's Ford, where the enemy attempted to make a stand, but were attacked on the right flank and forced to retire. At another turn in the river, about a quarter of a mile below, the enemy again attempted to stand. General Garnett tried in vain to rally his men and gather them around him. While he was thus standing with his back to the Federal forces, he received a Minié ball on the left of the spine. It made a terrible wound, piercing the heart and coming out at the right nipple. He threw up his arm and fell dead. The Confederate rout was now complete. Only about two thousand of the troops with which General Garnett left his intrenchments, escaped. General McClellan's despatch was as follows:

HUTTONSVILLE, *July* 14, 1861.

To Ed. Townsend: Garnett and forces routed. His baggage and one gun taken. His army demoralized. Garnett killed.

We have annihilated the enemy in Western Virginia, and have lost thirteen killed and not more than forty wounded. We have in all killed at least two hundred of the enemy, and their prisoners will amount to at least one thousand. Have taken seven guns in all.

I still look for the capture of the remnant of Garnett's army by General Hill.

The troops defeated are the crack regiments of Eastern Virginia, aided by Georgians, Tennesseans, and Carolinians.

Our success is complete, and secession is killed in this country. G. B. McCLELLAN,
Major-General Commanding.

Meantime Colonel Pegram, hearing of the retreat of General Garnett, surrendered the remnant of his force to General McClellan, (*see* BEVERLY,) who now issued the following address to his soldiers:

WESTERN VIRGINIA, BEVERLY, VA., *July* 19, 1861.

Soldiers of the Army of the West:

I am more than satisfied with you. You have annihilated two armies, commanded by educated and experienced soldiers, intrenched in mountain fastnesses and fortified at their leisure. You have taken five guns, twelve colors, fifteen hundred stand of arms, one thousand prisoners, including more than forty officers. One of the second commanders of the rebels is a prisoner, the other lost his life on the field of battle. You have killed more than two hundred and fifty of the enemy, who has lost all his baggage and camp equipage. All this has been accomplished with the loss of twenty brave men killed and sixty wounded on your part.

You have proved that Union men, fighting for the preservation of our Government, are more than a match for our misguided and erring brothers. More than this, you have shown mercy to the vanquished. You have made long and arduous marches, with insufficient food, frequently exposed to the inclemency of the weather. I have not hesitated to demand this of you, feeling that I could rely on your endurance, patriotism, and courage. In the future I may have still greater demands to make upon you, still greater sacrifices for you to offer. It shall be my care to provide for you to the extent of my ability; but I know now that, by your valor and endurance, you will accomplish all that is asked.

Soldiers! I have confidence in you, and I trust you have learned to confide in me. Remember that discipline and subordination are qualities of equal value with courage. I am proud to say that you have gained the highest reward that American troops can receive—the thanks of Congress and the applause of your fellow-citizens. GEO. B. McCLELLAN,
Major-General.

The disaster at Bull Run occurred at this time, and General McClellan was called to the active command of the Army of the Potomac. On the 1st of August he undertook the reformation and reorganization of a defeated army.

The gaps of the Cheat Mountain formed the key to Western Virginia, and they were now held by a strong Federal force. No further attempts were made by the Confederate Government to recover the country, until later in the year, when their forces reappeared under General Wise, and subsequently under General Floyd; and although many skirmishes took place, no material success was obtained, and finally, at the approach of winter, both generals had retired, the former to Southeastern Virginia and North Carolina, and the latter to Middle Tennessee, and Fort Donelson in Kentucky.

W

WARD, JAMES HARMAN, commander in the United States navy, son of Colonel James Ward of Hartford, Conn.; born in that city, in 1806, killed in the attack on Matthias Point, June 27, 1861. He was educated at the Vermont Military Academy at Norwich, and from thence entered Trinity College, Hartford. On the 4th of March, 1823, he received an appointment as midshipman on board of the Constitution, commanded by Commodore McDonough; rose to the rank of lieutenant on the 3d of March, 1831, and was attached to the Mediterranean squadron. For several years he was on the coast of Africa, and while there compiled his "Manual of Naval Tactics," published in 1858. In 1842–'3, he delivered in Philadelphia a popular course of lectures on Gunnery He urged upon the Government the necessity of establishing a Naval School, and upon the opening of the school was appointed one of the professors, and gave a series of lectures, subsequently published under the title of "Elementary Instructions on Naval Ordnance and Gunnery:" a work which has accomplished much in its effects upon naval science.

Soon after the introduction of steam into the navy, he gave the result of his observations in a work entitled "Steam for the Million," subse-

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quently republished by Van Nostrand, New York. In 1853 he was made commander, and in 1857 was appointed to the command of the receiving ship North Carolina, lying at the Brooklyn Navy Yard. At the commencement of the hostilities resulting in the present war, Captain Ward was summoned to Washington to aid the Government by his counsels. Here he remained and organized the Potomac flotilla, to the command of which he was appointed on the 16th of May, 1861. On the 31st of May he, with the Freeborn, Anacosta and Resolute, cannonaded the Confederate batteries at Acquia Creek, silencing three of them, and only retiring when his ammunition became exhausted. The next day, aided by the Pawnee, he resumed the attack, and succeeded in silencing the guns. On the 26th of June, upon discovering that a battery was being erected at Matthias Point by the Confederates, he sent to the Pawnee for aid to throw up breastworks; when completed, as the men were returning to the boats for the guns, a destructive fire was opened upon them by the enemy in ambush. The crew hastened to the steamer, the Freeborn covering their retreat. Captain Ward gallantly stood at his post sighting one of the guns, when he was struck by a Minié ball and almost instantly killed. His body was carried with due honor to New York, where it was received and laid in state on the North Carolina. After many testimonials of respect and affection, it was conveyed to Hartford and, after appropriate funeral honors, was buried by the side of his parents.

WASHINGTON, the political capital of the United States, is situated on the left bank of the Potomac River, between two small tributaries—the one on the east called the East Branch, and the one on the west called Rock Creek, the latter separating it from Georgetown. It is 38 miles south-southwest of Baltimore, and 122 miles north of Richmond, Virginia.

The Constitution of the United States provides that the Federal Government shall have exclusive jurisdiction over a territory 10 miles square, in which shall be located the capital of the nation. Quite a strife arose in the early sessions of Congress relative to the location of the seat of Government. Many places were proposed, as Trenton in New Jersey, Philadelphia and Harrisburg in Pennsylvania, Wilmington in Delaware, and Baltimore and Georgetown in Maryland. The measure finally became combined with what was called the "Assumption Bill." This bill proposed that the Government should assume the debts of the several States, which were contracted during the revolutionary war. This bill, and the one to locate the seat of Government, had failed in Congress by small majorities. There was a strong sectional party in favor of each, but not a majority. The Eastern and Middle States were for the assumption, and the Southern States against it; the latter desired the location of the seat of Government on the bank of the Potomac; the former upon the Susquehannah. The discontent was extreme on each side at losing its favorite measure. At last the two plans were combined. Two members from the Potomac, who had voted against the assumption, agreed to change their votes; a few from the Eastern and Middle States who had voted against the Potomac, agreed to change in its favor. Mr. Jefferson gives the following account of it: "This measure (the assumption) produced the most bitter and angry contest ever known in Congress before or since the union of the States. I arrived (from France) in the midst of it; but a stranger to the ground, a stranger to the actors in it, so long absent as to have lost all familiarity with the subject, and as yet unaware of its object, I took no concern in it. The great and trying question, however, was lost in the House of Representatives. So high were the feuds excited on this subject that, on its rejection, business was suspended. Congress met and adjourned from day to day without doing any thing, the parties being too much out of temper to do business together. The Eastern members threatened secession and dissolution. Hamilton was in despair. As I was going to the President's one day I met him in the street. He walked me backwards and forwards before the President's door for half an hour. He painted pathetically the temper into which the Legislature had been wrought—the disgust of those who were called the creditor States—the danger of the secession of their members, and of the separation of the States. He observed that the members of the Administration ought to act in concert—that, though this question was not of my Department, yet a common duty should make it a common concern—that the President was the centre upon which all administrative questions ultimately rested, and that all of us should rally around him, and support, with joint efforts, measures approved by him; and that the question having been lost by a small majority only, it was probable that an appeal from me to the judgment and discretion of some of my friends, might effect a change in the vote, and the machine of government, now suspended, be again set in motion. I told him that I was really a stranger to the whole subject; that not having yet informed myself of the system of finances adopted, I knew not how far this was a necessary sequence; that, undoubtedly, if its rejection endangered a dissolution of the Union at this incipient stage, I should deem that the most unfortunate of all consequences, to avert which all partial and temporary evils should be yielded. I proposed to him, however, to dine with me the next day, and I would invite another friend or two, bring them into conference together, and I thought it impossible that reasonable men, consulting together coolly, could fail, by some mutual sacrifices of opinion, to form a compromise which would save the Union. The discussion took place. I could take no part in it but an exhortatory one, because I was a stranger to the circumstances which

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should govern it. But it was finally agreed that, whatever importance had been attached to the rejection of this proposition, the preservation of the Union and of concord among the States was more important, and that therefore it would be better that the vote of rejection should be rescinded—to effect which some members should change their votes. But it was observed that this pill would be peculiarly bitter to the Southern States, and that some concomitant measure should be adopted to sweeten it a little to them. There had before been propositions to fix the seat of Government either at Philadelphia or Georgetown on the Potomac, and it was thought that by giving it to Philadelphia for 10 years, and to Georgetown permanently afterwards, this might, as an anodyne, calm in some degree the ferment which might be excited by the other measure alone; so two of the Potomac members agreed to change their votes, and Hamilton undertook to carry the other point." Congress accordingly continued its sessions at Philadelphia until suitable preparations were made, and then removed to Washington. The subsequent growth and improvement of the city have been on a scale corresponding to its importance. The population in 1860 was 61,123.

In January of 1861, it was reported at Washington, then the scene of the greatest political excitement in the country, that the President elect, Mr. Lincoln, had contemplated coming to Washington from the West by the route of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, but in consequence of apprehended dangers had changed his purpose. This led to the following letter from the mayor of Washington to the president of the railroad company:

MAYOR'S OFFICE, WASHINGTON, *February* 1, 1861.

SIR: I learn that the President elect, until very recently, contemplated passing over your road from Wheeling to this city, and that, owing to rumored intentions on the part of citizens of Maryland and Virginia to interfere with his travel to our capital, you were induced to make diligent inquiry as to the truth of these threats. If correctly informed, will you do me the favor to state the result of your inquiries touching this matter?

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
JAMES G. BERRET, Mayor.

JNO. W. GARRETT,
Pres. Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Comp'y.

On the 4th of February Mr. Garrett replied:

I can assure you that there is not and has not been the least foundation for any of the rumors to which you refer, and which have been industriously circulated in the Northwest. They are the simple inventions of those who are agents in the West for other lines, and are set on foot more with a hope of interfering with the trade and travel on the shortest route to the seaboard than with any desire to promote the safety and comfort of the President elect. His safety and comfort would have been perfectly assured from the Ohio River to Washington, had he adhered to his original purpose.

Our road is regarded, both in Maryland and Virginia, as a monument of the common enterprise of their people and as the means of a common prosperity. This feeling is of itself sufficient to protect the travel and freight of the road from all annoyance. I can only regret that the purpose of the President elect to travel by another route should serve to give countenance to stories which are in every respect unfounded.

Rumors of an attack upon Washington by bodies of men sympathizing with the secessionists had prevailed for some time previous. The substance of them was that an organization had been formed with the design of capturing the city. Small bodies of the regular army were therefore from time to time concentrated there.

On the 4th of February the Senate of the Virginia Legislature adopted a resolution, that in their opinion, there were "no just grounds for believing that citizens of Virginia meditate an attack on or seizure of the Federal property, or an invasion of the District of Columbia, and that all preparations to resist the same are unnecessary so far as this State is concerned."

Ex-Governor Wise of that State, upon whom such a design had been charged, in a speech at Richmond on Feb. 14, "denounced as false the report that he ever contemplated the invasion of Washington to prevent the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln. He deprecated civil war, but counselled active preparations to resist coercion. He was for the Union and the Constitution, but would never submit to a Northern Confederacy. He believed that if Virginia would take a firm stand and do her duty faithfully, all would yet be well. But she should demand that the Government should vacate the forts and arsenals in the South, and stand as a mediator between the North and the South."

On the 11th of February the House of Representatives of Congress adopted a resolution requesting the President to communicate "the reasons that had induced him to assemble so large a number of troops in this city, and why they are kept here; and whether he has any information of a conspiracy upon the part of any portion of the citizens of this country to seize upon the capital and prevent the inauguration of the President elect." To this resolution the President replied on the 1st of March, stating that the number of troops in Washington was 653, exclusive of marines, who were at the navy yard as their appropriate station. He further stated that these troops were ordered to Washington to act as a *posse comitatus*, in strict obedience to the civil authority, for the purpose of preserving peace and order in Washington, if this should have been necessary before or at the period of the inauguration of the President elect. At a time of high excitement, consequent upon revolutionary events—when the very air was filled with rumors, and individuals indulged in the most extravagant expressions of fears and threats, the President did not think that, before adopting this precautionary measure, he should have waited to obtain proof of the actual existence of a conspiracy to seize the capital. The safety of the immense amount of public property in the city, and that of the archives of the Government, in which all the States, and especially the new States in which

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the public lands are situated, have a deep interest, required prompt action, no less than the peace and order of the city, and the security of the inauguration of the President elect, which were objects of vast importance to the whole country.

The resolution of the House had been referred by the President to the Secretary of War, Mr. Holt, who returned an answer to the President on the 18th of February, in which he thus expressed his belief in the existence of an organization to capture Washington:

At what time the armed occupation of Washington City became a part of the revolutionary programme, is not certainly known. More than six weeks ago, the impression had already extensively obtained that a conspiracy for the accomplishment of this guilty purpose was in process of formation, if not fully matured. The earnest endeavors made by men known to be devoted to the revolution, to hurry Virginia and Maryland out of the Union, were regarded as preparatory steps for the subjugation of Washington. This plan was in entire harmony with the aim and spirit of those seeking the subversion of the Government, since no more fatal blow at its existence could be struck than the permanent and hostile possession of the seat of its power. It was in harmony, too, with the avowed designs of the revolutionists, which looked to the formation of a confederacy of all the slave States, and necessarily to the conquest of the capital within their limits. It seemed not very indistinctly prefigured in a proclamation made upon the floor of the Senate, without qualification, if not exultingly, that the Union was already dissolved—a proclamation which, however intended, was certainly calculated to invite, on the part of men of desperate fortunes or of revolutionary States, a raid upon the capital. In view of the violence and turbulent disorders already exhibited in the South, the public mind could not reject such a scheme as at all improbable. That a belief in its existence was entertained by multitudes, there can be no doubt, and this belief I fully shared. My conviction rested not only on the facts already alluded to, but upon information, some of which was of a most conclusive character, that reached the Government from many parts of the country, not merely expressing the prevalence of the opinion that such an organization had been formed, but also often furnishing the plausible grounds on which the opinion was based. Superadded to these proofs, were the oft-repeated declarations of men in high political positions here, and who were known to have intimate affiliations with the revolution—if indeed they did not hold its reins in their hands—to the effect that Mr. Lincoln would not, or should not, be inaugurated at Washington Such declarations, from such men, could not be treated as empty bluster. They were the solemn utterances of those who well understood the import of their words, and who, in the exultation of the temporary victories gained over their country's flag in the South, felt assured that events would soon give them the power to verify their predictions. Simultaneously with these prophetic warnings, a Southern journal of large circulation and influence, and which is published near the city of Washington, advocated its seizure as a possible political necessity.

A select committee of the House of Representatives, of which Mr. Howard of Michigan was chairman, made a report, in which they said that they had thoroughly investigated the subject, and were of opinion that the evidence before them did not prove the existence of a secret organization at Washington or elsewhere hostile to the Government, and that had for its object, upon its own responsibility, an attack upon the capital, or any of the public property there, or an interruption of any of the functions of the Government. At the same period a resolution was offered in the House of Representatives, expressing the opinion "that the regular troops now in this city ought to be forthwith removed therefrom." This was laid on the table.

Whatever of excitement and alarm existed in the city, had entirely subsided before the 1st of March, and a feeling of comparative peace and security prevailed.

The ceremonies at the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln were in some respects the most brilliant and imposing ever witnessed at Washington. Nearly 20 well-drilled military companies of the District, comprising a force of more than 2,000 men, were on parade. Georgetown sent companies of cavalry, infantry, and artillery of fine appearance. The troops stationed at the City Hall and Willard's Hotel became objects of attraction to vast numbers of both sexes. At noon the Senate Committee called upon President Buchanan, who proceeded with them to Willard's Hotel to receive the President elect. The party thus composed,[1] joined by other distinguished citizens, then proceeded, in open carriages, along the avenue at a moderate pace, with military in front and rear, and thousands of private citizens, in carriages, on horseback, and on foot, crowding the broad street. The capitol was reached by passing up on the north side of the grounds, and the party entered the building by the northern door over a temporary planked walk. During the hour and a half previous to the arrival of President Buchanan and the President elect in the Senate chamber, that hall presented a gayer spectacle than ever before. The usual desks of the senators had been removed, and concentric lines of ornamented chairs set for the dignitaries of this and other lands with which this country was in bonds of amity and friendship. The inner half-circle on the right was occupied by the judges of the Supreme Court, and by senators. The corresponding half-circle on the extreme left was occupied by the members of the cabinets of Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Lincoln, mingled together, and further on by senators. The concentric circle further back was filled by senators. The next half-circle on the right by the members of the diplomatic corps, all in the full court dress of their respective countries. In the half-circle immediately in the rear of that occupied by the ministers were the secretaries and attachés. The half-circles on the left, corresponding to those occupied by the corps diplomatique, furnished places for senators and governors of States and Territories. Outside of all, on both sides, stood—for there was no further room for seats—the members of the House of Representatives and chief officers of the executive bureaus. The galleries all round the Senate were occupied by ladies.

At a quarter past one o'clock the President

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of the United States and the President elect entered the Senate chamber, preceded by Senator Foot and the marshal of the District of Columbia, and followed by Senators Baker and Pearce. They took seats immediately in front of the clerk's desk, facing outward; President Buchanan having the President elect on his right, and the senators equally distributed right and left.

In a few minutes Vice-President Hamlin, who had been previously installed, ordered the reading of the order of procession to the platform on the east of the capitol, and the line was formed, the marshal of the District of Columbia leading. Then followed Chief-Justice Taney and the judges of the Supreme Court, the sergeant-at-arms of the Senate, the Committee of Arrangements of the Senate, the President of the United States and President elect, Vice-President of the United States and Senate, the members of the diplomatic corps, governors of States and Territories, and members of the House of Representatives. In this order the procession marched to the platform erected in the usual position over the main steps on the east front of the capitol, where a temporary covering had been placed to protect the President elect from possible rain during the reading of his inaugural address. The greater part of an hour was occupied in seating the procession on the platform, and in the delivery of the address of Mr. Lincoln, which he read with a clear, loud, and distinct voice, quite intelligible to at least 10,000 persons below him. At the close of the address Mr. Lincoln took the oath of office from the venerable chief-justice of the Supreme Court. After the ceremony of inauguration had been completed the President and ex-President retired by the same avenue, and the procession, or the military part of it, marched to the executive mansion. On arriving at the President's House, Mr. Lincoln met Gen. Scott, by whom he was warmly greeted, and then the doors of the house were opened, and thousands of persons rapidly passed through, shaking hands with the President, who stood in the reception room for that purpose. In this simple and quiet manner was the change of rulers made.

The proclamation of the President calling for 75,000 men was issued on the 15th of April. The impression had spread through the North that the first point of attack by the Southern troops would be Washington. As early as the 18th, therefore, seventeen car loads of troops, numbering about 600 men, arrived from Harrisburg, via Baltimore, and were quartered in rooms in the capitol. They passed through Baltimore about five o'clock, without serious molestation from disorderly persons. Other bodies from the same quarter were expected to arrive during the night.

At the same time a new kind of deposit was made in the basement rooms of the Treasury building, in the shape of several hundred casks of middlings, barrels of white beans, sugar, sacks of coffee, &c., to supply the troops which were concentrating at Washington. It is not often that such commodities have storage in buildings of such elegant and costly architecture. In and around the General Post-Office and public buildings also were stored hundreds of barrels of pork, and other army supplies from Baltimore and other points.

During the whole day and night of the 18th, the avenues to the city were guarded and closely watched. Cannon were planted in commanding positions so as to sweep the river along that front, and these were supported by infantry. A proclamation was also issued by Mayor Berret, exhorting "all good citizens and sojourners to be careful so to conduct themselves as neither by word or deed to give occasion for any breach of the peace." After the outbreak at Baltimore on the 19th, no mail was received at Washington, either from the North or South, except from Alexandria on the one side and Baltimore on the other, until the 25th. On the 27th the New York Seventh Regiment arrived, having left New York on the 18th. A delay took place between Annapolis and Washington, in consequence of the damage done to the railroad track. The news brought to Washington by the Seventh was that four New York regiments were at Annapolis, with a part of a Massachusetts regiment, the remainder of which was at the Junction. The Seventh, therefore, as they marched up Pennsylvania Avenue, preceded by their band, and making a fine appearance, were received with the wildest demonstrations of pleasure on the part of the citizens. On the next day another body of troops arrived. They consisted of one-half of the Rhode Island regiment, 1,200 strong, commanded and headed by Gov. Sprague; and the Butler brigade, under Col. Butler, of Massachusetts, numbering nearly 1,400 men. They were met at the depot by the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, stationed in the capitol, who greeted their friends with the heartiest cheers. These men, though severely worked by the toilsome labor requisite to repair the bridges and road track from Annapolis to the Junction, presented a fine appearance as their long and serpent-like lines wound through the streets. Troops now began to arrive daily, and Washington soon became the most military city on the continent.

On the night of the 23d of May the troops proceeded to occupy the heights on the opposite side of the Potomac in Virginia. The large camps formed in such positions in Virginia, that a rapid concentration by railroad could be made, rendered it prudent for the Government to occupy these positions, which, in consequence of the railroad connections between Alexandria and Richmond, were of great importance to the security of Washington. The night of the 23d was beautiful on the Potomac. A full moon looked peacefully down, and perfect quietness prevailed over all the shores in the neighborhood of Washington.

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Companies of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, were stationed near and on the Long Bridge. About midnight two companies of rifles were advanced across the bridge to the neighborhood of Roach's Spring. Scouts were sent out in all directions, who managed to get past the line of Virginia pickets. Somewhat later the latter, getting the alarm, set spurs to their horses, and made off down the road towards Alexandria in haste. Volunteers of the District of Columbia were also advanced towards Alexandria. At Georgetown, above, a movement was made about half-past eleven over the aqueduct by the Georgetown battalion. They drove off the two or three pickets on the Virginia side of the river, and soon established themselves in position. Next followed the Fifth Massachusetts Regiment, Twenty-eighth Brooklyn Regiment, Company B of the United States Cavalry, and the Sixty-ninth Regiment. The last-named regiment scoured Alexandria County, and went back as far as the Loudon and Hampshire Railroad. The sight of the troops crossing the aqueduct, with their burnished weapons gleaming in the bright moonlight, was strikingly beautiful. About 2 o'clock in the morning another large body of troops passed over from Washington and the neighborhood. The Seventh New York Regiment halted under orders at the Virginia end of the Long Bridge; the Second New Jersey Regiment went to Roach's Spring, half a mile from the end of the bridge; the New York Twenty-fifth and one cavalry company, and the New York Twelfth and the Third and Fourth New Jersey regiments, proceeded to the right, after crossing the bridge, for the occupation of the heights of Arlington. They were joined by the other troops, which crossed at the Georgetown aqueduct.

Ellsworth's Zouaves, in two steamers, with the steamer James Guy as tender, left their camp on the East Branch, and made directly for Alexandria by water. The Michigan Regiment, under Col. Wilcox, accompanied by a detachment of United States Cavalry and two pieces of Sherman's battery, proceeded by way of the Long Bridge directly for Alexandria. At four o'clock A. M., at about the same time, the Zouaves landed at Alexandria from the steamers, and the troops, who proceeded by the bridge, reached that town. As the steamers drew up near the wharf, armed boats left the Pawnee, whose crews leaped upon the wharfs just before the Zouaves reached the shore. The crews of the Pawnee's boats were fired upon by the few Virginia sentries as the boats left the steamship, by way of giving the alarm, when these sentries instantly fled into the town. Their fire was answered by scattering shots from some of the Zouaves on the decks of the steamers. Immediately on landing, the Zouaves marched up into the centre of the town, no resistance whatever to their progress being offered. Thus quiet possession was taken of that part of Alexandria, in the name of the United States, by that portion of the troops immediately commanded by Col. Ellsworth. The Michigan regiment, at the same time, marched into the town by the extension of the Washington turnpike, the cavalry and artillery marching in two or three streets below. The destination of both these detachments was the depot of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, which they instantly seized. They also found near by a disunion company of cavalry, of thirty-five men, and as many horses, who were made prisoners, not having heard the alarm made by the firing of the sentries below. A portion of the Virginian force escaped in cars. Thus was possession taken of the Virginia shore. Intrenching tools were conveyed over from Washington; the next day intrenchments were thrown up, and about noon a large national flag was raised within them, and thrown out to the winds. Great numbers of spectators, of both sexes, lined the heights on the east bank of the Potomac, watching the movements of the troops with eager interest. The only disastrous event occurring was the death of Col. Ellsworth, commander of the Fire Zouave regiment of New York. (See ELLSWORTH). The intrenchments thus commenced, subsequently became of immense extent, and with those on the other sides of Washington, consisted of forty-eight works, mounting 300 guns. The whole defence perimeter occupied was about thirty-five miles.

On the 9th of June a movement of troops up the Potomac took place from Washington. The Rhode Island battery, under Col. Burnside, was sent to join the force under Gen. Patterson at Chambersburg, and on the next day three battalions of District of Columbia Volunteers, numbering 1,000 men, moved up the Rockville road along the Potomac towards Edwards' Ferry. This point is about thirty miles from Georgetown, and equidistant from Washington and Harper's Ferry. It is the only crossing for teams between the Point of Rocks and the District. The road passed from Frederick (Md.) across a bridge over the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, to the established ferry across the Potomac, and terminated in Leesburg, Va., which is only four miles distant from the crossing. This route was at the time a general thoroughfare for the transit of secessionists from Maryland, and also for military stores, provisions, &c.

The quota of 1,000 men required from the District of Columbia was furnished to the Government by Washington and Georgetown at once. The supplies of military stores held by the Government at Washington were of the most extensive nature. The issues of ordnance and ordnance stores for the space of four months, between the 1st of July and 31st Oct. 1861, were as follows: 152,347 small arms, 14,454 sabres, 3,740 swords, 48,000 sets of accoutrements for foot soldiers, 16,465 do. for mounted soldiers, 16,685 sets of horse equipments, 2,554 sets of artillery harness. *Ammunition.*—18,-

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150,000 rounds for foot soldiers, 1,124,900 rounds for mounted soldiers, 61,306 rounds for field batteries, 16,942 rounds for garrison and seacoast. *Cannon.*—382 guns and howitzers, 717 gun-carriages and caissons, 53 travelling forges, 27 battery wagons.

WHEELING, the capital of Ohio County, in the western part of Virginia, is situated on the east or left bank of the Ohio River, and on both sides of Wheeling Creek. It is ninety-two miles below Pittsburg, three hundred and sixty-five miles above Cincinnati, and three hundred and fifty miles northwest of Richmond. It is also a port of entry for a district on the Ohio River. On the secession of Virginia, orders were received from Governor Letcher as early as the 20th of April, to seize the custom-house. But the people, being strongly in favor of the Union, maintained a guard over the building, under the direction of the city authorities. It subsequently became the seat of the State Government organized in Western Virginia. (*See* VIRGINIA, WESTERN.)

WHITTEMORE, THOMAS, D. D., born in Boston January 1, 1800, died in Cambridge, Mass., March 21, 1861. At the age of fourteen he was apprenticed to a morocco dresser in Charlestown, and subsequently to a brass-founder; but neither occupation suiting his taste, he entered into the employ of a bootmaker in Boston. Becoming acquainted with the Rev. Hosea Ballou, he was led to commence studying for the ministry under his direction, and preached his first sermon in Roxbury, two weeks before attaining his majority. In 1820, he was settled in Milford, Mass., and from thence removed to Cambridgeport, where he remained pastor over the Universalist Society nine years. In early life he was joint editor of the "Universalist Magazine," and in 1828 originated the "Trumpet," continuing the editorship for nearly thirty years. In 1830, he published a "History of Universalism." In 1832, "Notes and Illustrations of the Parables;" in 1836, the "Songs of Zion;" in 1841, the "Gospel Harmonist;" in 1841, "Conference Hymns;" and in 1844, a "Sunday School Choir." One of his most popular works appeared in 1839, entitled "Plain Guide to Universalism." He was president of the Cambridge Bank for many years, and also president of the Vermont and Massachusetts Railroad. Mr. Whittemore represented Cambridge several years in the Legislature.

WILLIAMS, THOMAS SCOTT, LL. D., an American jurist, born at Wethersfield, Conn., June 26, 1777, died at Hartford, Conn., Dec. 20, 1861. He was educated at Yale College, where he graduated in 1794; studied law at Litchfield, Conn., under Judge Reeve; was admitted to the bar in Windham County, in 1799, and commenced practice in Mansfield, Conn., whence he removed to Hartford in 1803. In 1809 he was appointed attorney of the Board of Managers of the School Fund, an office of considerable value and importance. Between 1813 and 1829 he represented the town of Hartford in the General Assembly seven times, and was a representative of the Hartford district in Congress from 1817 to 1819. In 1829 he was appointed an associate judge of the Supreme Court of Errors, and in 1834 was appointed chief-justice. He received the degree of LL. D. from Yale College the same year. He presided in the Supreme Court with eminent ability till 1847, when, having attained the age of seventy years, his term expired by constitutional limitation. He was mayor of the city of Hartford from 1831 to 1835. After retiring from the chief-justiceship, he returned to the practice of his profession as a counselling attorney and referee. He was deeply interested in all the great benevolent enterprises of the day, and was universally beloved and honored for his integrity and purity of character. He was, at the time of his death, and had been for some years, president of the American Tract Society, and a leading officer of the American Home Missionary Society, American Temperance Union, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, &c., &c. His donations to these and other objects of Christian benevolence were very large, and at his death he bequeathed $28,000 to them and to kindred institutions.

WILLIAMSPORT is a village in Washington County, Maryland, on the Potomac River, at the mouth of Conococheaque Creek. It is nine miles southwest of Hagerstown. The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal passes through the village. The movement of troops from Pennsylvania, and also up the Potomac, resulted in the concentration of more than eighteen regiments at this point on July 1.

Within a radius of five miles lay encamped the Second and Third Pennsylvania, under General Wynkoop; the Regular Cavalry, four companies of the Second, Perkins' battery of artillery, the Sixth, Twenty-first, and Twenty-third Pennsylvania regiments, under Colonel Thomas; the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Twenty-fourth Pennsylvania, under General Negley; the Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment, First Wisconsin Regiment, and McMullin's Independent Rangers, under Col. Abercrombie. The whole column, embracing eighteen full regiments, and several detached corps, such as Major Doubleday's two companies, the Second Cavalry, and the First City Troop, and Perkins' Artillery, were under marching orders to cross the river and take up a position on the south side unless repulsed by the enemy.

The ford is naturally one of the best on the river, and the proper ascent on the Virginia shore very easy. At three o'clock the next morning the movement commenced. It was a bright and beautiful morning, and as the soldiers, who were in excellent spirits, filed past, they were reviewed by Major-General Patterson. A Confederate force of three regiments of infantry, and one of cavalry, and four pieces of artillery, was on the Virginia side, under Gen-

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eral Jackson. The crossing was suspected, but not at so early an hour, and the Federal troops were close upon the Confederates before they were seen by the latter. The first stand was made at Porterfield's farm, on the turnpike and near Hainesville, where it was necessary to destroy a barn and carriage-house in order to make a charge upon the Confederates. Here was a sharp skirmish—the Confederates held their ground for a time, but eventually retreated. Knapsacks and canteens were thrown aside as incumbrances to a backward march. They left behind them a number of blankets and other articles of value, indicating a hasty retreat. The loss of the Federal troops was reported by General Patterson, at three killed and ten wounded. This was called the skirmish at Falling Water. The troops moved thence to Martinsburg.

WILSON'S CREEK, BATTLE OF. This was the severest engagement of the year, except the battle of Bull Run. General Lyon, (*see* LYON,) who had arrived on the 5th of August at Springfield, Missouri, learning that General Price, of the Confederate army, (Missouri State Guards,) had effected a junction with General Ben. McCulloch, and that the consolidated force, about 23,000 strong, was within ten or twelve miles of Springfield, resolved, though aware of the hazard of the movement, as a last resource, to attack the Confederates at their camp on Wilson's Creek, nine miles from Springfield. His entire force amounted to 5,200 men, of whom one regiment, the Fifth Missouri, were three-months men, whose time had expired nine days before the battle, but who had been retained by the urgency of Colonel Siegel. There were in all less than 500 cavalry, while the Confederates had over 6,000, according to General Ben. McCulloch's report. He had also three batteries, comprising in all sixteen guns, all of light calibre. This force marched from Springfield at eight P. M. on the 9th of August, intending to commence the attack at daybreak the next morning. They were in two columns, the larger consisting of three small brigades and not quite 4,000 men, under the command of General Lyon himself, the brigades being severally commanded by Major Sturgis, Lieutenant-Colonel Andrews, and Colonel Deitzler; the smaller column, of about 1,300 men and one battery of six pieces, was commanded by Colonel (now Major-General) Siegel. The Confederate camp was situated along Wilson's Creek for a distance of five or six miles, and in the ravines, and on the heights west of the creek; and General Lyon's plan of attack was to march his main column, which he divided into two, giving the command of one to Major Sturgis, in front and to the left flank of the enemy, so as to enfilade their position on the creek; while Col. Siegel with his column, taking another road from Springfield, and crossing the creek, which here assumes the form of an inverted U, lower down, should endeavor to turn their right flank. Siegel's column fell into an ambuscade, and suffered severely, losing five of his six cannon, and was thus unable to render as efficient service as had been intended. The fight was continued in front, and on the enemy's left with terrible effect for over six hours; the Confederates twice, in the course of the battle, coming up to the Federal lines with the Union flag flying, and thus deceiving the Federal troops till they could get so close as to pour a most destructive fire upon them, but themselves falling back in confusion, when the artillery, which was served by officers and men of the regular army, was brought to bear upon them. General Lyon, who was thrice wounded early in the engagement, and had had his horse killed under him, mounting another horse, led the Second Kansas Regiment, which had lost its colonel, for a charge upon the enemy; but was killed instantly by a rifle ball, which struck him in the breast. His death did not, however, throw the Federal troops into confusion, and the battle, in which Major Sturgis now commanded, was continued for nearly three hours longer, when the Confederate troops were driven from their camp and the field. Finding his force too much reduced to hold the position, Major Sturgis gave the order to fall back on Springfield, and there resigned the command to Colonel Siegel, who made a masterly retreat with the remnant of his army, his baggage trains, and $250,000 in specie, to Rolla. The loss of the Federal force in this battle was 223 killed, 721 wounded, 292 missing, mostly prisoners. The Confederate loss, according to their own account, was 517 killed, about 800 wounded, and 30 missing. Three of their generals were wounded, two of them mortally.

WINCHESTER is the capital of Frederick County, Virginia, one hundred and fifty miles north-northwest of Richmond, and seventy-one miles west by north of Washington. Excepting Wheeling, it is the largest town in the State west of the Blue Ridge, which is twenty miles distant. It is the terminus of the Winchester and Potomac Railroad, thirty miles long, which connects with the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad at Harper's Ferry. The Confederate forces, on their retreat from Harper's Ferry in the middle of June, halted here. The place was thenceforth occupied by them through the year. It was the head-quarters of a wing of the great army of the Confederates, whose centre was at Manassas Junction. The number of troops was greater or less as circumstances might require. The fortifications surrounding the town, except to the southward on the high ground, were very heavy. The works were made with logs and barrels filled with earth. In front of the breastworks deep trenches were dug, communicating below with the inside of the works. The guns were masked by artificial thickets of evergreens, extended in some cases, to be used as ambuscades for riflemen and sharpshooters. The fortifications extended two and a half miles, and the trees were felled between Bunker

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Hill and Winchester to impede a hostile advance.

WINTHROP, Major Theodore, an officer of volunteers in the United States army, and an American author, born in New Haven, Conn., September 22, 1828, killed in the battle at Great Bethel, June 10, 1861. He graduated with high honors at Yale College, in 1848, and soon after, partly to recruit his health, impaired by too close application, sailed for Europe, where he made an extensive tour mostly on foot. In Italy he formed the acquaintance of W. H. Aspinwall of New York, and upon his return became tutor to his son, with whom he afterwards again visited Europe. Returning from this second tour, he entered the employ of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company and went to Panama, where he resided about two years. He then joined the unfortunate expedition of Lieutenant Strain, the exposures of which injured his health to such a degree that he was compelled to return to New York. He next engaged in the study of law, and was admitted to the bar in 1855. He first practised in St. Louis, but finding the climate unfavorable, he returned again to New York, where his fondness for literary pursuits drew him aside from his profession.

At the commencement of hostilities which resulted in the present war, he enrolled himself in the artillery corps of the Seventh Regiment, and subsequently was made acting military secretary and aid by Gen. Butler. His description of the forty-two days' campaign of the Seventh Regiment, in the June, July, and August numbers of the Atlantic Monthly, attracted much attention by its gracefulness and brilliancy, and the interest thus excited was afterwards heightened by his untimely death. In the autumn of 1861, Messrs. Ticknor and Fields, of Boston, published two works of fiction of considerable merit, "Cecil Dreeme" and "John Brent," which were found among his papers after his death.

WISCONSIN, one of the Northwestern States of the Union, was admitted in 1848. It lies between the parallels of 42° 30′ and 47° 05′ north latitude, and between 87° and 92° 50′ west longitude from Greenwich. It is bounded N. by Lake Superior; N. E. by the upper peninsula of Michigan; E. by Lake Michigan; S. by Illinois; and W. by Iowa and Minnesota, from which it is in considerable part separated by the Mississippi and St. Croix rivers. Its area is 53,924 square miles, and its population in 1860 was 775,873. It is divided into 58 counties. The State consists geographically of two distinct regions: the elevated plateau lying north of the Wisconsin River, and maintaining a mean altitude of from 800 to 1,200 feet above the surface of Lake Superior—a country of heavy forests and high rolling lands, well watered, and with abundant lakes—a region in which the affluents of the Mississippi cross and interlock with the streams which fall into Lakes Superior and Michigan; and the southern rolling prairie, lying south of the Wisconsin River, also well watered and gemmed with lakes, but of less altitude, and admirably adapted for the cultivation of the cereals. The northern portion forms a part of the great lumber-producing region of the northwest, while the southern will long be one of the most productive wheat regions of the continent.

The following are some of the agricultural productions of the State in the year ending June, 1860, according to the census: Wheat, 15,812,625 bush.; rye, 888,534 bush.; Indian corn, 7,565,290 bush.; oats, 11,059,270 bush.; wool, 1,011,915 lbs.; potatoes, 3,848,505 bush.; barley, 678,992 bush.; cheese, 1,104,459 lbs.; butter, 13,651,053 lbs.; maple sugar, 1,584,406 lbs.; maple molasses, 83,003 gals.; sugarhouse molasses, 19,253 gals.; tobacco, 87,595 lbs.

The State has paid great attention to internal improvements. On the 1st of January, 1862, there were completed and in progress in the State, 2,223 miles of railway; of these 922 miles were open for traffic, the construction and equipment of which had cost $33,630,693. The condition of the banks of the State, at the commencement of 1861, was as follows:

Number of Banks	110
Capital	$6,782,000
Loans and Discounts	7,728,387
Stocks	4,949,686
Other investments	1,722,779
Due by other banks	745,063
Notes of other banks	1,162,986
Specie	872,518
Circulation	4,310,175
Deposits	4,083,151
Other liabilities	1,682,201

In June, 1862, there was a riot in Milwaukee, in consequence of the rejection by the bankers of that city of the notes of most of the banks of the State. The banking law of the State, which was modelled on the free banking law of New York, though modified in some particulars, permitted the lodging with the State comptroller, for the security of the issues of the banks of the State, of the bonds of the different States; and as the bonds of the Southern were generally lower than those of the Northern States, the banks had purchased largely of those as a basis for banking, and had issued their notes on those securities. The rapid reduction of the market value of these stocks, after the commencement of secession, produced an equally rapid depreciation in the value of the bank notes based upon them, and the eventual curtailment of the issues of these banks, occasioning severe losses and much bitterness of feeling on the part of the innocent holders of their notes. The riot was finally quelled by the State authorities without loss of life, but after considerable destruction of property.

Wisconsin was one of the first States of the North to declare herself unalterably for the Union. The State had gone for Lincoln in November, 1860, by 20,000 majority over all the other candidates, and the State election held the same month had resulted in a very large republican majority in both branches of the

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Legislature. The Legislature convened at Madison on the 10th of January, and Gov. Ramsey undoubtedly expressed the sentiments of the majority of the people of the State in saying, as he did in his Message, that "the election of Mr. Lincoln was legal, and there was no just cause of complaint from any quarter." In reference to the secession movement which had already attained formidable proportions, he said: "This is not a league of States, but a government of the people. The General Government cannot change the character of the State governments, or usurp any power not delegated; nor can any State change its character or increase its rights. The signs of the times indicate in my opinion that there may arise a contingency in the condition of the Government, under which it may become necessary to respond to the call of the National Government for men and means to sustain the integrity of the Union, and thwart the designs of men engaged in an organized treason."

The response of the Legislature to this Message was such as to show their loyalty and willingness to participate in any measures which the emergency might demand; but as, during the winter, there seemed to be a strong probability of a pacification of the difficulty, no measures of defence were adopted. The Legislature adjourned April 17. On the receipt of the President's proclamation of April 15, the Governor's guard at once volunteered, and volunteer companies were formed in all parts of the State. Gov. Ramsey called an extra session of the Legislature, which convened in May. In his Message, the Governor reviewed the causes of the difficulties, and recommended that immediate measures should be taken to prosecute the war with energy. He urged the immediate equipment of six regiments of volunteers, the purchase of a number of rifled cannon, and the appropriation of a million of dollars for the purposes of the war. He also suggested the necessity of a more efficient military organization, and insisted on the vital importance to Wisconsin of the free navigation of the Mississippi.

"The vast lumber and mineral interests of Wisconsin, independent of her commanding produce and stock trade, bind her fast to the north border and Northwestern States, and demand, like them, the free navigation of the Mississippi and all its tributaries, from their highest navigable waters to their mouths."

The Legislature responded fully and heartily to the recommendations of the Governor. During their session, which closed on the 27th of May, they passed a "war bill," providing for the raising of five additional regiments, besides the three already called for by the Government; and, in case these should also be needed by the United States, the raising a reserve of two more still, and, in case of farther call from the General Government, they authorized the Governor to keep constantly a reserve of two regiments beyond what were required for the national defence. For the organization and equipment of this force they made specific provision. An act "to provide for borrowing money to repel invasion and suppress insurrection," was also passed, which appointed the Governor, Secretary of State, and State Treasurer Commissioners to negotiate a loan upon State bonds, bearing six per cent. interest, of one million of dollars. Sixty per cent. of this loan was to be negotiated for specie, and the remainder for fully secured bank paper.

Two acts were passed in regard to the maintenance of families of volunteers: one appropriating from the war fund five dollars per month to each family, and the other authorizing counties, towns, cities, and villages to levy special taxes for the same purpose. The sum of $50,000 was appropriated to buy arms, and an act passed to prevent rendering aid to enemies, containing stringent provisions for the prompt punishment of offences coming within that category.

Under the stimulating influence of excitement, and provided by their enactments with the necessary means of effective service, the citizens of Wisconsin promptly enlisted in the service of the Government.

The whole number sent into the field by the State at the commencement of 1862, according to Gov. Salomons, was 24,000, a number considerably in excess of the quota of the State; and it is only justice to say that no troops proved themselves more efficient in all soldierly duties than those from Wisconsin. From the difficulty of procuring arms, they were unable to enter upon the service so early as the soldiers of some of the other States, but once armed and equipped, their courage and endurance rendered them most valuable soldiers.

WOOL AND FLAX FABRICS, AND CANE FIBRE. A process has been introduced for disintegrating wool, flax, and cane, by charging it in a cannon with steam, and then suddenly discharging it with explosion. Flax and hemp thus reduced to fine short fibre is well adapted for mixing with wool in various cloths. Short flax fibre is capable of being most intimately mixed with wool in the fulling operation. The disintegration of cane is performed by charging cylinders of boiler iron, which are about 18 feet in length and 1½ to 2 feet in diameter, with cane to about two-thirds full. A head of steam is then let on, which moistens and softens the cane, until it has sufficient force to blow open a door at one end, when the whole mass is exploded with a noise like that of a cannon. The cane falls to the ground, presenting the appearance of coarse oakum. It is then, by another process, reduced to pulp and manufactured into paper of all qualities, from the cheapest to the finest. The cane is the common fishing rods, which grow in great abundance in North Carolina.

One establishment for the disintegration of cane has been in operation at Elizabeth, N. J., for some years. The work is now suspended in consequence of the impossibility of obtaining the raw material in North Carolina during the war.

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ZWIRNER, Ernst Friedrich, a German architect, born at Jacobswald, in Silesia, Feb. 28, 1802, died at Cologne, September 22, 1861. He was the son of an inspector of forges, and was destined in childhood to the pursuits of metallurgy, for which he manifested a high capacity; but his preference for architecture was so evident that his father consented to allow him to follow his own inclination. After completing his classical course of studies, he entered the school of architecture at Breslau, from which he graduated at the age of 19 years. His first engagements procured him the means of entering, three years after, the Royal Academy of Architecture and the University of Berlin. He remained there four years, and was enrolled among the auxiliary members of the Superior Administration of Architecture in 1828. He became next the pupil and assistant of Schinkel, one of the most eminent architects of modern times, and for a time followed his plans and principles. In 1833 he was elected architect of the Cathedral of Cologne, and thenceforth it was the first object of his ambition to complete that great work in accordance with the spirit of its projector. The cathedral had been already five hundred years in building, and each generation had advanced it somewhat, but none had dared to dream of seeing it finished and surmounted by its colossal dome. Zwirner believed its completion within his life-time and under his direction possible, and when the good people shook their heads at his enthusiasm, it only strengthened his faith and made his zeal the more fervid. He succeeded in interesting Frederick William IV., king of Prussia, in the work, and in inducing him to bestow upon it an annual subsidy of $37,500, to aid in its completion; liberal subscriptions came also from other quarters, and in 1854 King Frederick William, with his own hands, placed the keystone in the north portal of the cathedral. The great work, a most admirable reproduction of the best gothic architecture of the middle ages, was nearly completed in 1855, but the last touches of the architect were not given to it till 1860. M. Zwirner also designed and executed several other chapels and castles of great beauty, at different points on the banks of the Rhine. At the time of his death he had been for some years president of the Council of Architecture of the province of Cologne, and privy councillor of the Prussian Government.

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INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

	PAGE
ABDUL MEDJID, SULTAN OF TURKEY	1
AGRICULTURE	2
ALABAMA	9
ALBERT, PRINCE	14
ALEXANDRIA, VA	15
ANNAPOLIS, MD	16
ANTHRACITE	16
ANTIQUITY OF THE HUMAN RACE	17
APPLETON, NATHAN	19
AQUIA CREEK, VA	19
ARCHITECTURE	20
ARKANSAS	22
ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES	26
ARTESIAN WELL AT PASSY	42
ASTRONOMICAL PHENOMENA	42
ATHENS, MO	45
ATKINSON, THOMAS WITLAM	46
AUSTRIA	46
BAKER, EDWARD D	48
BALL'S BLUFF	49
BALTIMORE	55
BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILROAD	60
BANKS IN THE UNITED STATES	60
BARBOURSVILLE, VA	63
BAUR, FERDINAND C	68
BEALINGTON, VA	69
BEAUFORT, S. C	69
BENNET'S MILLS, MO	69
BEVERLY	69
BINGHAM, KINSLEY S	69
BLOCKADE	70
BOONE COURT HOUSE	72
BOSQUET, PIERRE F. J	72
BOWLING GREEN, KY	73
BRIGGS, GEO. N	73
BROWNING, ELIZABETH B	73
BUCKHANNON, VA	74
BULL RUN, VA	74
CAIRO, ILL	90
CALIFORNIA	91
CAMP ALLEGHANY, VA	92
CAMPBELL, JOHN	92
CANADA AND BRITISH NORTH AMERICA	93
CARNIFEX FERRY, VA	95
CARTHAGE, MO	95
CAVOUR, CAMILLO BENSO	95
CHARLESTON, S. C	99
CHARLESTON, VA	102
CLARKSBURG, VA	102
COCKEYSVILLE, MD	103
COLUMBUS, KY	103
COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES	103
CONFEDERATE STATES	121
CONGRESS, CONFEDERATE	154
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES	166
CONNECTICUT	250
CONWAY, WILLIAM	252
COTTON	253
CURRENCY	255
CZARTORYSKI, PRINCE	255
DELAWARE	256
DERBY, GEORGE H	257
DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES	258
DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES	278
DOUGLASS, SIR HOWARD	280
DOUGLAS, STEPHEN ARNOLD	280
DRANESVILLE, VA	281
EARTHQUAKES AND VOLCANIC ERUPTIONS	282
EGLINTON AND WINTON, EARL OF	284
ELLIS, JOHN WILLIS	284
ELLSWORTH, EPHRAIM E	284
EPIDEMICS	285
ERICSSON'S BATTERY	287
EVANS, JOHN	287
EXPEDITIONS, MILITARY AND NAVAL	287
FAIRFAX COURT HOUSE, VA	294
FAST DAYS	294
FINANCES OF THE UNITED STATES	295
FLORIDA	314
FORTS AND ARSENALS, MINTS AND LIGHT-HOUSES SEIZED	315
FRANCE	323
FRANCIS, JOHN W	327
FREDERICK WILLIAM IV	328
FREDERICKTOWN, MO	328
FREEDOM OF THE PRESS	328
GALVESTON, TEX	330
GARLAND, JOHN	331
GARNETT, ROBERT S	331
GAULEY BRIDGE	331
GEOGRAPHICAL EXPLORATIONS IN 1861	332
GEORGIA	337
GIBBS, JOSIAH W	342
GIBSON, GEORGE	342
GORTCHAKOFF, PRINCE	342
GRAHAM, SIR JAMES	343
GREAT BETHEL	345
GREAT BRITAIN	346
GREAT EASTERN, STEAMER	350
GREBLE, JOHN TROUT	353
GREENBRIER RIVER, VA	353
GUYANDOTTE, VA	353
HABEAS CORPUS	354
HACKLEY, CHAS. W	362
HAMPTON, VA	362
HARPER'S FERRY, VA	362
HARRISONVILLE, MO	362
HARVEY BIRCH, SHIP	363
HATTERAS INLET	364

Digitized by Google

PAGE
HATTERAS ISLAND..... 364
HERBERT, SIDNEY..... 365
HOUSTON, MO..... 366
HOUSTON, SAM..... 366
ILLINOIS..... 367
INDIA AND FARTHER INDIA..... 369
INDIANA..... 370
INDIANS, WESTERN..... 373
INSURANCE..... 376
IOWA..... 388
ITALY..... 389
ITURBIDE, MADAME HAUTE DE..... 392
JAPAN..... 392
JEFFERSON, FORT..... 393
KANSAS..... 394
KENT, DUCHESS OF..... 394
KENTUCKY..... 395
LACORDAIRE, JEAN..... 407
LEBANON, MO..... 408
LEESBURG, VA..... 408
LEXINGTON..... 408
LINCOLN, ABRAHAM..... 410
LITERATURE, AND LITERARY PROGRESS.. 420
LOUISIANA..... 427
LYON, NATHANIEL..... 434
MAINE..... 436
MANASSAS JUNCTION..... 438
MANGUM, WILLIE P..... 438
MARTIAL LAW..... 438
MARTINSBURG, VA..... 442
MARYLAND..... 442
MASSACHUSETTS..... 449
MATTHIAS POINT..... 454
McKENZIE, WM. L..... 454
McLEAN, JOHN..... 455
METALS..... 455
METEORIC IRON..... 461
MEXICO..... 462
MICHIGAN..... 469
MINNESOTA..... 472
MISSISSIPPI..... 472
MISSOURI..... 477
MONROE, FORTRESS..... 497
MUNFORDSVILLE..... 498
MURRAY, NICHOLAS..... 498
NAPOLEON, ARK..... 499
NAVY OF THE UNITED STATES..... 499
NEW HAMPSHIRE..... 512
NEW JERSEY..... 514
NEWPORT NEWS, VA..... 517
NEW YORK..... 517
NEW YORK CITY..... 524
NORFOLK, VA..... 535
NORTH CAROLINA..... 537
OBITUARIES, AMERICAN..... 541
OBITUARIES, FOREIGN..... 547
OHIO..... 556
ONDERDONK, BENJAMIN T..... 560
ORLOFF, PRINCE..... 561
PADUCAH..... 561
PATENTS..... 562

PAGE
PEACE CONFERENCE..... 562
PEDRO V..... 568
PENNSYLVANIA..... 568
PENSACOLA BAY..... 573
PERRYSVILLE, MD..... 575
PERSONAL LIBERTY LAWS..... 575
PETROLEUM..... 579
PHILIPPI..... 581
PIERS..... 581
PIG POINT..... 581
PORT ROYAL..... 582
PRISONERS, EXCHANGE OF..... 582
PRIVATEERING..... 584
PUBLIC DOCUMENTS..... 594
RAILWAY, SUBTERRANEAN..... 631
RATIONS FOR VOLUNTEERS..... 632
RHODE ISLAND..... 633
ROMNEY..... 636
RUSSIA..... 636
SCHLOSSER, FRIEDRICH C..... 640
SCRIBE, EUGENE..... 640
SEWALL'S POINT..... 640
SHAW, LEMUEL..... 640
SLAVES..... 641
SOUTH CAROLINA..... 646
SPECTROGRAPHY..... 657
SPRINGFIELD, MO..... 658
ST. HELENA PARISH..... 659
ST. LOUIS..... 660
STAR OF THE WEST..... 662
STORRS, WM. L..... 663
SUMMERSVILLE, VA..... 663
SUMTER..... 664
TACONIC SYSTEM..... 670
TARIFF..... 670
TAYLOR, FORT..... 675
TELEGRAPH, ELECTRIC..... 675
TENNESSEE..... 676
TERRITORIES..... 685
TEXAS..... 686
TRENT, BRITISH MAIL STEAMER..... 692
TUCKER, GEORGE..... 695
TYBEE ISLAND..... 695
UNITED STATES..... 696
VERMONT..... 726
VICAT, LOUIS JOSEPH..... 728
VIENNA..... 728
VIRGINIA..... 729
VIRGINIA, WESTERN..... 742
WARD, JAMES H..... 748
WASHINGTON..... 749
WHEELING..... 754
WHITTEMORE, THOMAS..... 754
WILLIAMS, THOMAS SCOTT..... 754
WILLIAMSPORT..... 754
WILSON'S CREEK..... 755
WINCHESTER..... 755
WINTHROP, THEODORE..... 756
WISCONSIN..... 756
WOOL AND FLAX FABRICS..... 757
ZWIRNER, ERNST FRIEDRICH..... 758

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INDEX OF CONTENTS.

ABDEL AZIZ KHAN becomes Sultan of Turkey, 2.

ABDEL MEDJID, birth of, 1; education, 1; disposition, 1; hostility of the masses, 1; rebellion of Mahomet Ali, 1; foreign interference, 1; reforms in Turkey, 1; causes of his death, 2; his successor, 2.

African Slave Trade.—Act to prohibit passed Confederate Congress, 160; veto, 160.

Agriculture.—Its object, 2; primaries as pabulum, 2; chalk, 2; ingredients in soil, 2; effect of rains on, 3; underdraining, 3; underdrained soils, 3; sub-soil ploughing, 4; fertilizers, 4; true test of soil, 4; manures of the farm, 4; receptacles for manures, 5; composts, 5; lime, 6; sulphate of lime, 6; wood ashes, 6; green crops ploughed in, 6; recent changes in farm crops, 7; use of machinery, 7; piping, 7; cooked food, 8; mulching, 8; caloric engines, 8; decay of crops, 8; worn-out soils, 8; benefit of deep ploughing, 8.

Alabama.—Its boundaries, 9; population, 9; opinion of the people, 9; vote at the Presidential election, 9; State Convention meets, 9; its Union sentiment, 9; refuses to submit to the Republican administration, 10; ordinance of secession, 10; action of the Convention, 10; excitement outside, 10; forts seized, 11; opposed to the slave trade, 11; farewell remarks of the President of the Convention, 11; commissioner sent to Washington, 11; President declines to receive him, 11; further action of the State Convention, 12; precipitation, 12; reconstruction, 13; civil suits, 13; military operations, 14; troops furnished, 14; message of the Governor on extortions, 144; her Senators retire from Congress, 196; speeches on the occasion, 196, 197.

ALBERT, Prince, his birth, 14; marriage, 15; public acts, 15; death, 15.

ALBERTIS' battery at Bull Run, 84.

ALDEN, Captain, attacks the batteries at Galveston, 330; reply to the remonstance of foreign consuls, 330.

Alexandria.—Its situation, 15; scenes at, 15; decline, 15.

ANDERSON, Gen. ROBERT, continues at Fort Moultrie, 99; occupies Fort Sumter, 100; reason, 100; effect of it, 100; ordered to Fort Moultrie, 315; instructions to him from the War Department, 316; reply to Gov. Pickens, demand for surrender of Fort Sumter, 656; Anderson's correspondence with Gen. Beauregard, 665, 666; notifies the Secretary of War of surrender of Fort Sumter, 669; in the Senate of United States Congress, motion to approve his act in taking possession of Fort Sumter, 190; takes command in Kentucky, 401; resigns, 406.

Annapolis, its situation, 16; arrival of troops at, 16.

Anthracite, progress of the trade in 1861, 16.

Antiquity of the Human Race, 17; evidences, 17, 18.

APPLETON, NATHAN, his birth, 19; pursuits, 19; success, 19.

Aquia Creek, its situation, 19; skirmish at, 19; details, 19.

Architecture, its progress in New York, 20; do. in Washington, 20; building for the English International Exhibition, 21.

Arizona, bill to provide a temporary government for, 188; debate on, 188.

Arkansas, its boundaries, 22; government, 22; population, 22; vote for a State Convention, 22; action of the Convention, 22; result, 22; answer of the governor to the call for troops, 23; meeting of the State Convention, 23; ordinance of secession, 23; call for troops, 23; other acts, 23; war loan, 24; seizure of public property, 24; joins the Confederate States, 24; military operations, 24; method to increase the army, 25; forces in the field, 25; murmuring of the troops, 25; internal affairs, 25; secret Union organizations, 25; admitted as a member of the Confederacy, 162.

Arms, shipment of, to the Southern States in 1860, 123.

Army Confederate, its strength in July, 163.

Army of the United States, its numbers, 26; increase, 26; total force, 26; appropriations for, 27; pay of privates, 27; entire strength 1st of December, 27; do. of arms of the service, 27; stores for at Washington, 28; infantry arms, 28; Springfield musket, 28; how made, 29; Enfield rifles, 29; Prussian needle gun, 29; breech-loading arms, 29; proposals of the government, 30; rifles for sharpshooters, 30; cavalry, 30; the carbine, 30; Sharp's, Colt's, Savage's, 30; loading, 31; pistols, 31; artillery, 31; various kinds of ordnance, 31; columbiads, 31; Parrott gun, 32; Whitworth gun, 32; steel cannon, 32; Wiard's steel cannon, 32; mortars, 33; shells, 33; foundries, 33; projectiles, 34; Hotchkiss, 35; James, 35; gunpowder, 35; tents, 35; the Sanitary Commission, 36; objects of its appointment, 36; volunteers, 36; time in recruiting, 37; natives and foreign born, 37; age, 37; camp sites, 37; drainage, 37; ventilation of tents, 37; flooring of do., 38; impurities of camps, 38; clothing of the men, 38; average sickness, 39; do. British army, 39; mortality, 39; diseases of the volunteers, 40; treatment, 41.

Arrest, a list of political prisoners, 861.

Arsenals in the seceded States, their seizure, 315; arsenal at Augusta seized, 318; its contents, 318; arsenal at Baton Rouge seized, 318; its contents, 318; arsenal at Charleston seized, 318; its contents, 319; arsenal at Fayetteville seized, 319; its contents, 319; arsenal at Little Rock seized, 319; arsenal at Mount Vernon seized, 319; its contents, 319.

Artesian Well at Passy, its size, 42; time of completion, 42; flow of water, 42.

Astronomical Phenomena, comets, 42; their appearance

Digitized by Google

43, 44; seen in England, 44; do. Paris, 44; do. Rome, 44; do. Peru, 45; asteroids, 45; meteors, 45.
Athens, Mo., its situation, 45; skirmish at, 46.
ATKINSON, THOS. W., birth, 46; pursuits, 46; writings, 46.
Austria, its boundaries, 46; its divisions, 46; prospects of war, 46; imperial finances, 46; decrees, 47; amnesty, 47; action relative to Italy, 47.

B

BAKER, EDWARD D., birth, 48; struggle in life, 48; his career, 48; speech at Union Park, New York, 48; death, 48; Senator Thirty-sixth Congress, 166; on the attempt to prove that this Government is no government at all, 186; on the Peace Conference propositions, 221; on the acts of President Lincoln, 228.
Ball's Bluff, its situation, 49; instructions of McClellan, 49; details of the battle at, 49–54.
Baltimore, its situation, 55; public meeting, 55; resolutions, 55; railroad lines, 55; attack on the Massachusetts troops, 55, 56; excitement, 57; action of the police, 57; military occupation of, 58; proclamation of General Butler, 58; seizure of arms, 58; arrest of Marshal Kane, 58; Provost-Marshal appointed, 58; General Banks' proclamation, 58; protest of Police Commissioners, 59; arrest of commissioners, 59; reasons, 59.
Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, its location, 60; destruction of its property, 60.
BANKS, Gen. N. P., proclaims martial law at Baltimore, 449; biographical notice of, 722.
Banks in the United States, change in the banking system, 60; free bank law in several States, 60; number of banks, 61; circulation, &c., 61; details of all the banks, 62; weekly return of the New York banks, 63; do. Boston, 64; do. Philadelphia, 65; the clearing-house system, 66; magnitude of free banking, 66; suspension of specie payments, 67; action of the several States relative to banks, 67.
Barbourville, its situation, 68; skirmish at, 68.
BARNARD, JOHN G., biographical notice of, 724.
BARRON, Com. S., surrenders the forts at Hatteras Inlet, 283.
BARTOW, Col., killed at Bull Run, 84.
BAUR, FERDINAND C., his birth, 68; education, 68; views, 68.
BAYARD, JAMES A., member of the Senate, 225; on the expulsion of certain Senators, 224; on the credentials of the Senators from Western Virginia, 235.
BEALE, CHAS. L., member of Congress, 166, opposed to all compromises, 213; reasons, 213; let the just laws be enforced everywhere throughout the land, 214.
Bealington, its situation, 69; skirmish at, 69.
BEAUREGARD, Gen. G. T.,* his despatch to Secretary Walker that President Lincoln had determined to send provisions to Fort Sumter, 132; further correspondence, 132; demands evacuation of Fort Sumter, 665; proposes not to fire, if Major Anderson will inform him when he will evacuate, 665, 666; appointed brigadier-general, 157; proclamation to the army in Virginia, 147; report of the battle at Bull Run, 82; appointed to the highest military rank, 163; letter of President Davis, 164; beseeches the War Department to furnish him means to advance from Manasses, 438.
BEE, Col., killed at Bull Run, 84.
BELL, JOHN, vote for at the Presidential election, 697.
BENDIX, Col., at the battle of Great Bethel, 344.
BENHAM, HENRY W., biographical notice of, 723.
BENJAMIN, J. P., senator in Thirty-sixth Congress, 166; on the secession of the Southern States, 185; in reply to Senator Doolittle, 188; withdraws from the Senate, 200; appointed Secretary of War, 165; instructions to receivers under Confiscation Act, 149; letter ordering certain prisoners to be held as hostages for the safety of convicted privateers, 151; orders relative to bridgeburners in East Tennessee, 153.
Bennet's Mills, its situation, 69; skirmish at, 69.
BERRET, JAMES G., his arrest, 360; mayor of Washington.
Beverly, its situation, 69; skirmish at, 69; surrender of Col. Pegram, 69; correspondence with McClellan, 69.
BIGLER, WILLIAM, Senator in Thirty-sixth Congress, 166; offers a compromise bill, 177.
BINGHAM, JOHN A., member of Congress, 226; on the confiscation bill, 247.
BINGHAM, KINSLEY S., birth, 69; education, 69; public offices, 69.
BLACK, JOHN S., his opinion as attorney-general on the rights of the States and the power of the Federal Government, 697.
BLAIR, FRANCIS P., Jr., Member of Congress, 226; on the statements relative to the battle of Bull Run, 246.
BLENKER, Col., at Bull Run, 86.
Blockade, the Paris Congress, 70; convention between England and France, 70; original form of blockade, 70; neutrality of European powers, 70; Lord Russel's letter to Liverpool merchants, 70; views of the French Government, 71; authority of the President to institute a blockade denied, 71; rights of belligerents, 72; questions raised, 72, 230, 232, 234.
Blockade, Stone, at Charleston, 101; the plan explained by the Secretary of the Navy, 101; the vessels, 102; where obtained, 102; how prepared to be sunk, 102; details, 102.
Boone Court House, Va., its situation, 72; skirmish at, 72.
BOSQUET, PIERRE F. J., birth, 72; education, 72; pursuits, 73.
BOULIGNEY, JOHN E., member of Congress, 166; refuses to withdraw because Louisiana has seceded, 207; his reasons, 208.
Bowling Green, its situation, 73; fortifications, 73.
BRAGG, THOMAS, appointed Confederate attorney-general, 165.
BRECKINRIDGE, JOHN C., Senator in Thirty-seventh Congress, 166; readiness of Southern statesmen to compromise, 174, 224; on the acts of President Lincoln, 231–234; on the cause of the war, 242; joins the Confederate army, 467.
BRIGGS, GEORGE N., birth, 73; education, 73; offices, 73; death, 73.
BROWN, ALBERT G., Senator in Thirty-sixth Congress, 166; remarks on the demands of the Southern States, 167; only one way to meet the crisis, 169; on the point at issue, 189; withdraws from the Senate, 198.
BROWN, Col. HARVEY, bombards Forts Barrancas and McRea, and is bombarded in turn, 574, 575; his observations, 575; biographical notice of, 725.
BROWNING, ELIZABETH B., birth, 73; education, 73; writings, 73; death, 73.
BROWNING, ORVILLE H., Member of the Senate, 225; on the conduct of the war, 237.
BUCHANAN, President of U. S., 697; asks the opinion of the attorney-general on the questions raised, in consequence of secession, 697; message to Congress, 699; letter to Secretary Floyd, 701; letter to the South Carolina commissioners, 702; views of the action of Major Anderson, 702; message of Jan. 8th, 703; correspondence with Secretary Thompson, 704; do. with Secretary Thomas, 704; views of his cabinet on the state of affairs, 705; action relative to Commissioner Hayne, 706; interview with ex-President Tyler, 707; message to Congress, with the peace conference resolution of Virginia, 173.
Buckhannon, Va., its situation, 74; skirmish at, 74.

* Gen. Beauregard signs his name G. T. Beauregard.

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BURLL, DON CARLOS, biographical notice of, 722.
Bull Run, its situation, 74; forces, Federal and Confederate, 74; numbers, 74, 75; regiments, 75; orders of Gen. McDowell, 75; orders to march, 75; Fairfax Court House, 75; Centreville, 76; reconnoissance beyond Centreville, 76; Confederate plan of attack, 77; plan of Battle at Bull Run, 78; report of Gen. McDowell, 79; details of the conflict, 79, 80; retreat from, 85; explanation of the disaster, 87; killed and wounded, 88; Confederate reports of the victory, 88; loss of artillery, 88; forces engaged, 89; letter of Davis to Richmond, 89; *note*, 89; position of Gen. Patterson, 89.
BURNETT, HENRY C., member of Congress, 166; on the treatment of the seceding States, 212; on the conduct of the war 239, 240; on the cause of the war, 245; on the confiscation bill, 247.
BURNSIDE, AMBROSE E., at Bull Run, 81, 82, 86; commands the military forces, of the expedition to North Carolina, 292.
Burnside Expedition, its preparation, 292; its commander, General Burnside, 292; his life, 292; the naval commander, L. M. Goldsborough, 292; the military force transports, 292.
BUTLER, General BENJ. F., proclaims martial law at Baltimore, 439; commands the military expedition to Hatteras Inlet, 287; reply to the offer from the forts to surrender, 288; correspondence with the Secretary of War in regard to contrabands, 641, 642; biographical notice of, 722.
BUTLER, PIERCE, commences prosecution against the Secretary of War because of his arrest and imprisonment, 362.

C

Cairo, its situation, 90; occupation by troops, 91.
California, its boundaries, 91; surface of the country, 91; population, 91; floods in, 91; losses in various towns, 92.
CAMERON, SIMON, Letters to General Butler about contrabands, 641, and fugitives, 642, 643; instructions to General T. W. Sherman about fugitive slaves, 644; remarks in response to Colonel Cochrane, 645.
Camp Alleghany, its situation, 92; skirmish at, 92.
CAMPBELL, JOHN, birth, 92; profession, 92; pursuits, 92; writings, 92.
CAMPBELL, JOHN A., letter to Secretary Seward, 184; letter to President Davis, 185.
Canada, its extent, 93; population, 93; population of British America, 93; exports of Canada, 93; finances, 93; expenditures, 93; debt, 93; religious statistics, 94; trade with the United States, 94; postal revenue, 94; volunteers at the time of the Mason & Slidell excitement, 94.
CARLISLE, JAMES S., member of the Senate, 225; on his right to a seat, 226; on the conduct of the war, 236, 237, 238.
Carrifex Ferry.—Its situation, 95; skirmish at, 95; details, 95.
Carthage, its situation, 95; skirmish at, 95; details, 95.
CASS, LEWIS, resigns as Secretary of State, 700.
CAVOUR, Count, his birth, 95; education, 95; early pursuits, 95; his proficiency, 95; imprisonment, 96; remarkable letter, 96; his ambition, 96; residence in Switzerland and other countries, 96; attends the debates in the English House of Commons, 96; returns to Italy, 96; edits an agricultural journal, 96; its effect, 96; elected to the Chamber of Deputies, 96; his speeches, 97; enters the Cabinet, 97; immense labors, 97; his commercial treaties, 97; disciplines the army, 97; Piedmont joins France and England against Russia, 97; the reason, 98; reforms in the State, 98; the Italian question, 98; conflict between France and Austria, 98; peace, 98; his retirement, 99; subsequent events of his life, 99.
Charleston, S. C., its situation, 99; its harbor, 99; aspect of affairs in the city, 99; Fort Moultrie, 99; Anderson, 99; effect of the action of the State Convention, 99; excitement on the removal of Maj. Anderson to Fort Sumter, 100; occupation of Castle Pinckney, 100; seizure of the arsenal, 100; revenue cutter abandoned, 100; military preparations, 100; removal of all buoys from the harbor, 100; lights extinguished at night, 100; clearances of vessels, 100; harbor fortified, 100; arrival of heavy guns, 101; rate of taxation in the city, 101; arrival of troops, 101; capture of Fort Sumter, 101; fire at Charleston, 101; blockade of the port, 101; sinking of vessels in the channels of the harbor, 101; details, 102; effect, 102; the city prepared to resist an attack, 102.
Charleston, Va., its situation, 102; troops at, 102; their retreat, 103.
CHASE, SALMON P., appointed Secretary of the Treasury, 296; instructions in regard to fugitive slaves on cotton plantations at Port Royal, Nov. 20, 1861, 645, 646.
Chicamacomico, attack on the Federal troops at, 289.
Chocktaw Indians, regiments furnished to the Confederate army, 373; delegates admitted to seats in the Confederate Congress, 373.
Cities and towns, Northern, their contributions to the war, 309.
CLARK, DANIEL, Senator in Thirty-sixth Congress, 166; offers resolutions that the Constitution is sufficient to meet the evil, 476; on the expulsion of certain Senators, 234.
Clarksburg, Va., its situation, 102; first public meeting against secession in Western Virginia held here, 103; first military issue made here, 103.
CLAY, C. C. JR., Senator in the Thirty-sixth Congress, 166; withdrawal from the Senate, 196; his remarks, 196.
CLINGMAN, T. J., admitted to a seat in the Confederate Congress, 162; on Crittenden's peace propositions, 181; Senator in Thirty-sixth Congress, 166; remarks on cause of danger to the country, 168.
COBB, HOWELL, resigns as Secretary of the Treasury, 296; statement of reasons why Congress adjourned to meet at Richmond, 149; chairman of the Confederate Congress, 154; remarks on export duty on cotton, 157.
COBB, R. W., member of Congress, 166; on the position of the Republican party, 206.
COCHRAN, JOHN, member of Congress, 202; appeals to the patriotism of members, 202; on arming slaves, 645.
Cockeysville, Md., its situation, 103; troops for Washington encamp here after the difficulty at Baltimore, 103; its effect, 103.
COLLAMER, JACOB, member of the Senate, 225; on the object of the war, 241.
Columbus, Ky., its situation, 103; importance as a military position, 103; occupation by Confederate troops, 103; evacuation, 103.
Commerce of the United States, its character, 103; imports and exports for seventy years, 104; domestic exports for forty years, 104; imports and exports for 1861, 104; population, with the consumption of foreign goods and the duties collected, 105; table of leading articles exported in 1861, 106; decline in Southern products compared with other sections, 106; effect of Western railroads, 107; exports from the Northern section, 107; grain sent from the West, 107; receipts at Chicago, 107; exports of grain from Milwaukee, 107; grain at Toledo, 108; advance of freights on the Western lakes, 108; tonnage of the lakes, 108; Western produce received at

Digitized by Google

Buffalo by water, 108; transport of the New York Central railroad, 108; quantities and values left at tidewater on the New York canals in 1861, 109; Western grains exported from New York, 110; imports and exports at New York, 110; reversal of the trade in specie, 111; decline in the price of bills, 111; leading articles of domestic export, 111; vessels entered and cleared at New York, 111; coastwise tonnage, 112; exports from Baltimore, 112; do. from Philadelphia, 112; trade of St. Louis, 112; tonnage of New York, 112; leading articles of export, 112; trade of St. Louis, 112; receipts from the interior, 113; exports of leading crops from New Orleans, 114; railroads of the States, 115; canals and railroads in New York, 115; quantities and value of domestic exports of the United States, 117; exports of wheat and corn, 118, tonnage in each district of the United States, 119; indirect trade of the United States, 120; foreign vessels trading with the United States, 120.

Commissioners, Confederate, their last letter to Secretary Seward, 135.

Committee of Thirteen in the Senate, 175; report, 175.

Committee of Thirty-three in the House, 202; report, 207; action on their report, 216; action on amendments to, 216–218.

Compromise, readiness on the part of Southern statesmen to, 174, 224.

Compromise measures, vote on, in the Senate, 224.

Confederate Government, inferiority of the negro the corner-stone of, 129; errors of an opposite opinion, 129; entertained at the North, 129; a principle in politics as sure to succeed as a principle in physics, 129; elements for a successful career, 130; population of seceding States, 130.

Confederate States, first declaration of disunion, 121; occasional agitations of the question of disunion, 121; a question to be met, 122; political agitation of slavery, 122; grievances of South Carolina, debate in the convention, 122; no attempts to relieve the grievances made, 123; first public steps towards the formation of the Southern Confederacy, 123; shipment of arms to the Southern States in 1860, 123; views of Genera Scott on the future, 123, 124; action of Secretary Floyd in furnishing arms to the Confederate States, 124; secret meeting in Washington to plan the course of proceeding, 125; persons present, 125; *note*, 125; details of the proceedings, 125; conventions calling for the formation of a Southern Confederacy, 126; loyalty in Louisiana, 126; reconstruction, 126; inauguration of President Davis, 127; new questions, 127; mouths of the Mississippi River, freedom of the, 127; policy of the new Government, 128; military preparations, 128; pay of the army, 128; military force authorized, 128; commissioners sent to Europe, 131; do. to Washington, 131; organization of the Confederate Government, 131; instructions to collectors of the customs, 131; Beauregard ordered to demand the surrender of Fort Sumter, 132; or to reduce it if not surrendered, 132; commissioners to Washington refused an audience, 132; military force in the field May 1st, 138; subscription to five million loan, 138; plan of the campaign, 139; plan of the war, how decided, 140; auxiliaries relied upon by the Confederates, 140; Constitution of ratified, 141; business of second session of Congress, 142; loan of one hundred millions, 144; direct tax, 144; States aid the Government, 144; extortions on the people, 144; copy of treasury notes, 145; effect of President Lincoln's proclamation on the military spirit, 146; military objects of the Government, 147; passes an act to prohibit the payment of debts to Northern citizens, 147; amount so due, 147; an act to banish all who are not citizens, 147; proclamation under the act, 148; regulations in its execution, 148; object of this act, 148; act of sequestration, 148; instructions to receivers, 149; interrogatories to garnishees, 149; constitutionality of the confiscation act contested in South Carolina, 149; objections to it, 149, 150; post-office arrangements, 151; postage, 152; stamps, 152; Confederate courts organized, 152; force in the field in July, 152; paper money in, 152; embarrassment in financial affairs, 153; Presidential election, 153 officers of the Government, 154; inflammable state of public feeling, 182; telegraphic despatches to, 182.

Confiscation Act before Congress, 247–250.

Congress, Confederate.—Convenes at Montgomery, 154; members, 154; chairman, 154; his speech, 144; rules, 155; Provisional Government reported, 155; its features, 155; tariff clause, 155; proceedings after its adoption, 155; first election of Davis and Stephens, 155; permanent Constitution, 156; all questions between the States and United States, 156; provisions for officers resigning in the United States army and navy, 156; national flag, 156; Texas admitted, 157; Federal officers continued in office, 157; goods to be admitted duty free, 157; departments organized, 157; export duty on cotton, 157; officers of Confederate Government nominated and confirmed, 157; free navigation of the Mississippi declared, 157; loan of fifteen millions, 157; postal system adopted, 158; Confederate courts not to have cognizance of civil cases in which citizens of the United States are a party, 158; bill to raise a force of 100,000 men passed, 158; permanent Constitution adopted, 158; compared with the Federal Constitution, 158, 159, 160; commissioners to Europe appointed, 160; act to prohibit African slave trade passed, 160; vetoed, 160; vote on the vetoed bill, 161; other acts passed, 161.

Second session of Congress convenes, 161; reasons for its meeting, 161; message of President Davis, 161, act recognizing a state of war passed, 161; the act, 161; Virginia admitted as a member of the Confederacy, 162; acceptance of volunteers authorized, 162; act to establish a patent office passed, 162; fifty millions bonds to be issued, 162; bill to prohibit the payment of Northern debts passed, 162; the bill, 162; tariff bill passed, 162; Congress adjourned to meet at Richmond, 162.

Third session of Congress convenes, 163; members present, 163; report of the Secretary of War, 163; act to control the telegraph passed, 163; the act, 163; act to provide for the public defence, 163; two other commissioners to be appointed, 164; act to aid Missouri passed, 164; the substance of the act, 164; Governor Jackson recognized, 164; sequestration act passed, 164; war tax imposed, 164; approval of the declaration of the Congress of Paris, 164; act of sequestration, 165.

Fourth session convenes, 165; its acts, 165; Kentucky and Missouri admitted, 165; appropriations, 165.

Assumes charge of all questions between the several States of the Confederacy and the United States, 130; President Davis authorized to assume control of all military operations between the Confederate States and foreign powers, 130; appropriation made, 132; authorizes one hundred thousand men to be raised, 133; adjourns to meet at Richmond, 140; second session convenes, 141; authorizes enlistments in Kentucky, 399.

Congress, United States.—Convenes December 3d, 1860, 166; its members, 166; cause of trouble to the country, 166, 167; better look the matter in the face, 167; this state of affairs looks to two things, 167; all that is asked, is to be allowed to depart in peace, 168; repeal all the personal liberty laws, and it will not stop this revolution, 168; we intend to leave this Union—then bring us back, 168; Delaware the first to adopt the Con-

Digitized by Google

stitution, and will be the last to do any act for separation, 168; the portion of the message on the state of the country referred to a committee of thirteen in the Senate, 168; object, 168; the country will go safely through the crisis, 168; we should look to our country, not to our party, in the consequences of our action, 168; sectional hostility substituted for fraternity, 169; where is the remedy, 169; the only point that remains for difference, 169; first thing to be done, 169; the crisis can be met only in one way, 169; nothing which cannot be redressed promptly and in the most efficacious manner, 170; a war of sentiment and opinion by one form of society against another form of society, 170; the only concession that will satisfy the South, 170; the Republicans a unit against it, 170; a large majority of the North opposed to any interference with slavery, 171; these discussions amount to nothing—we cannot save the Union, 171; if there is any thing in the legislation of the Federal Government not right, the Republicans are not responsible for it, 171; the last election, 172; I would not compromise away the platform upon which the candidate was elected, 172; amendments to the Constitution proposed, 172; their nature, 172; is it not the cheapest price at which this Union was ever purchased, 173; willingness of Southern statesmen to compromise, 174; the remedy is not to be sought in compromise, but in a faithful execution of the bond, 174; this controversy will not be settled here, 174.

Committee of thirteen appointed, 175; report, 175; other resolutions, 175; the real causes of the discontent, 175; war means disunion—final, irrevocable, eternal separation, 175; modification of Crittenden's resolutions, 176; their object, 176; its importance, 176; the Union is now dissolved, 176; the cause of the South will receive the sympathy of tens and hundreds of thousands of patriotic men in the non-slaveholding States, 176; resolutions that the Constitution is sufficient for the evil, and that the energies of the Government should be directed to the maintenance of the Union, 176; attempt to consider the Crittenden resolutions, 177; its failure, 177; renewed, 177; failure, 177; considered, 177; amendments, 177; withdrawal of Senator Iverson, 178; his letter, 178; resolutions of Virginia for a peace conference, 178; sent to Congress by President Buchanan, 178; memorial from New York city presented in the Senate, 179; speaking goes before voting, voting goes before giving money, and all go before a battle, 180; not to be expected that in the ninety days allotted to this Congress, reason and judgment will come back to the people, 180; what do we hear, 180; what is recommended, 180; a convention ultimately be called, 180; if the Union fails, stand in the breach, 180; the policy of the new Administration, 181; the remedies failing through the Constitution, battle and bloodshed to preserve the Union, 181; different views in regard to the future, 181; extremes North and South tend to inevitable disunion, 181; the action of the Senate has created the impression that there is no hope for an adjustment, 181; non-intervention disrupted the Democratic party, and has now disrupted the Union, 181; one of three contingencies inevitably before the country, 181; a settlement, or recognition of a peaceable separation, or war, 181; have we seized any forts, 182.

Naval appropriation bill considered, 182; is there any demand for these steamers, 182; explanation, 182; what is the public emergency, 182; the bill has no warlike purpose, 182; duty to let the South go in peace, 183; what does the United States want to do, 183; if the time comes when it will be necessary to use force under the laws and Constitution, I am ready to do it, 183; this Government cannot be peaceably destroyed, or overthrown, or divided, 183; to what purposes are these steamers to be applied, 183.

Amendments to the Constitution proposed, 183; remarks, 184; free navigation of the Mississippi, 184; the attempt to enforce the laws in South Carolina, when she was not a member of this Confederacy, would bring about civil war, 185; cause of the destruction of the Government, 185; the present state of things foreseen for years, 185; extent to which secession will go, 185; right of South Carolina to take the course she did, 185; an attempt to prove that this Government is no Government at all, 186; this Government not a compact, 186; resolution of Senator Davis, 186; sentiments of a majority of the Northern people, embraced in three propositions, 187; present complaints of the South, 187; what is offensive to the South in the Chicago platform, 187; sentiment of the South for demanding guarantees, 187.

Bill to provide a temporary government for Arizona considered, 188; Mexican law on slavery, 188; abolitionists watching present affairs with intense interest, 189; can a citizen obeying a State law be hung for treason, 189; the point at issue between the two sections, 189; Mexican law, 189; views of John C. Calhoun, 189; it is no longer a question of union, but one of reunion, 190; the real grievance of the South, 190; no ground to fear Republican interference, 190; what is the condition of the country, 190; message from the President, 191; the events which have taken place, 191; it is proposed that the Government should abdicate, 192; Congressional compromises not likely to save the Union, 192; immediate duty of Congress, 192; Florida Senators retire, 193; their remarks, 193-195; Alabama Senators retire, 196; speeches, 196, 197; Mississippi Senators retire, 198; speeches of Senator Davis, 198; Louisiana Senators retire, 200; speeches, 200; in the House, President's Message referred to a committee of one from each State, 201; the committee, 202; members decline to serve, 202; propositions submitted to the House, 203, 204; not a representative of the Democratic party on the committee, 203; what was the cause of this discrimination, 203; manœuvres in the House to obtain an expression for compromise, 204-206; position of the Republican party, 206; slave property, 206; state of opinion in the House, 207; debate, 207; importance of cotton, 207; resolution relative to slavery unanimously passed the House, 208.

Proviso to exclude slavery from the territories, 208; omitted in the bills introduced, 208; right of secession, 208, 209; love of the Union, 209; importance of cotton, 209; object of the forts, 210; the President should collect the revenue, 210; the Government must be maintained, 210.

Object of the South, 211; movement of Major Anderson, 211; South Carolina is to-day approachable with reason and words of kindness, 211; the door of conciliation not closed, 212; amendment offered to the appropriation bill, that no money shall be used by the Government to make war, 212; is it the purpose to wage war or not, 212; no war contemplated by the Government but a defensive one, 212; members from Georgia retire, 213.

Reasons for opposing all compromise, 213; the just laws of the country should be enforced, 214; the present is no time for compromise, 214; obey the Constitution, and administer the laws as they are, and all will be well, 214; a general insurrection against the authority of the United States, 214; the present condition of things, 214; the Southern Confederacy is not hostile, 215; one of two things must be done, 215; it is a revolution—no more and no less, 215; object and effect of this bill is coercion,

Digitized by Google

215; to say that we have not the constitutional power to protect ourselves is an absurdity, 215; censure of the Secretary of the Navy, 216; votes on the report of the Committee of Thirty-three, 216, 217, 218; in the Senate, a bill to discontinue postal service considered, 218; rather a peace measure than otherwise, 218; an indirect attempt to strike at States which have seceded, 219; what the bill assumes, 219; what is the secret of the opposition to this bill, 219; a deliberate plot to break up this Union under pretence of preserving it, 219; but one issue in this case, 219; communication from the President of the Peace Conference, 220; report on, 220; dissent of certain Senators, 220; their reasons, 220; resolution offered, 220; the Peace Conference measure would increase the difficulties, 220; compromise needed to save the country, 220; to be deplored that the mediation of Virginia has not been effective, 221; we stand in the presence of peace or war, 222; the amendments of the Peace Conference are a cheat, 222; the Senate convenes on Sunday evening, 223; crowded hall, 223; disturbance, 223; questions of order, 223; readiness of the South to compromise, 224; amendments offered to the Peace Conference proposition, 224; all measures fail to pass, 225; Congress adjourns, 225.

Extra Session, commencing July 4th, 225; the members, 225; question of the right of Senators from Western Virginia to seats, 226; notice of a bill to confiscate property, 226; resolution to approve the acts of the President, 227; amendment offered, 227; all the propositions of this joint resolution cannot be endorsed, 227; suspension of the *habeas corpus*, 227; no necessity for it, 227; the acts of the Administration were forced upon it by the condition of the country, 228; an army of forty thousand true men last January would have prevented this state of affairs, 228; the application of force is not the way to maintain the Union, 228; justification for the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, 228; ratify whatever needs ratification, 228; the determined aggregated power of the whole people of this country will yet conquer, 229; violation of the rights of the people, 229; seizure of telegraphic despatches a violation of the Constitution, 230; the President has no right to regulate commerce between the States, 230; he has involved the country in a war in violation of the Constitution, 230; other instances, 230; those who propose to maintain the Union by force are disunionists, 230; efforts to avert the difficulty, 231; what is the excuse for this violation of the Constitution—necessity, 231; the doctrine of necessity denied, 231; what has the President done, 232; who is to judge, 232; the line of demarcation in endorsing the conduct of the President, 232; the increase of the army, 232; not disposed to say the Administration has unlimited power, 233; this joint resolution of not much importance, 233; the Senate does not intend to pass the resolution, 234; the President has no power to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*, 234; resolution to expel certain Senators offered, 234; is a Senator to be condemned individually for the action of his State, 234; desirable to deny on this floor the right of any State to secede, 234; expulsion implies turpitude, 235; resolution passed, 235.

Senators from Western Virginia, their credentials presented, 235; involves grave questions, 235; you have no authority to create a new State, 235; the certificates, 235; an abandonment of the whole form of your Government, 235; it is because we will not recognize insurrection in a State that we admit these men, 235; this proceeding is an overthrow of the Constitution, 236.

Amendment offered to the army bill, 236; the purpose of this war is to maintain the national honor, 236; defend the national property and uphold the flag, 236; to preserve the Union, 236; declarations of Senators, 236; rather than let the Government perish let slavery perish, 236; the institution of slavery will not survive the march of the Union armies in any State, 236; this is no war of subjugation, 236; if it is not a war of subjugation, what is it, 237; if the issue is the Government or slavery, then let slavery do down, 237; the institution of slavery did not of necessity produce this rebellion, 237; is commerce to be destroyed because a tariff is made, 239; what right has any Senator to go into my State and thrust himself between me and my property, 237; what would be thought if you were to march an army against New York to despoil the people of their houses and their goods, 238; amendment rejected, 238.

Conduct of the war, 238; increase of the army necessary, 238; what is the clamor about the increase of the regular army, 239; state of the army when secession commenced, 239; this Government rests for its support on the consent of the governed, 239; men and money may desolate but cannot bring peace, 239; this is not a war of conquest, 239; this Government will be preserved and the gallows will eventually perform its office, 240; what is your country worth when the finale comes, 240; if there is no other way to quell this rebellion we will make a solitude and call it peace, 240; not vote more men and money than the Administration asks, 240; one hundred thousand men entirely sufficient to restore the Constitution, 240; may it not be necessary to leave the track of the chariot wheels of war so deep in the Southern soil that a century may not obliterate it, 241; amendment offered, 241; in the Senate resolution on the conduct of the war offered, 241; the war prosecuted for the purpose of the subjugation of rebels and traitors, 241; the resolution simply says that we are not waging a war for the subjugation of States, 241; we have a purpose to defend the Constitution and the laws of the country, 242; a fear exists that the design of this war is subjugation, 242; such not its purpose, 242; Congress no right to interfere with slavery in the States, 242; this war is prosecuted for purposes of subjugation, 243; the war is prosecuted for the purpose of subduing the disunionists of the Southern States, 243; what did the minority demand, 243.

In the House resolutions relative to the war offered, 244; appropriation to pay the police force of Baltimore considered, 244; by ratifying the acts of this administration you are writing the blackest pages in the history of this country, 244; division of the Democratic party at Charleston and Baltimore brought the existing calamity upon the Union, 245; the Douglass party furnished you one-half of your entire army, 245; who forced General Scott into the battle at Bull Run, 245; statement of General Scott respecting the battle, 246; discussion of the battle, 246.

Confiscation bill in the Senate, 246; its features, 247; fourth section of the bill, 247; under some contingencies the slave becomes entitled to his freedom, 247; it amounts to a wholesale emancipation, 247; limitations of the bill, 247; you place one species of property on a different footing from another, 248; you have no power by the Constitution to touch slavery at all, 248; is it not competent to forfeit the claim that a man has to his slaves for treason in the master, 248; if you have no power, there the question ends, 248; is it not a plain breach of the Constitution that a man shall forfeit his slaves, 249; can a confiscation law promote the success of the army, 249; the rebels have no standing in court, they cannot invoke the Constitution, 250; bill amended and passed, 250; Congress adjourns, 250.

Connecticut, its boundaries, 250; Government, 250; popu-

Digitized by Google

lation, 250; members of Congress, 250; election, 250; Message of the Governor, 251; acts of the Legislature, 251; militia law, 251; first regiment, 251; peace meetings, 251; proclamation of the Governor, 251; second Message of the Governor, 252; loan of two millions, 252; regiments furnished during the year, 252.

Convention Commercial meets at Memphis, 146; action of, 146.

CONWAY, WILLIAM, quartermaster in the United States navy, 252; refuses to obey his superiors and haul down the United States flag at the Pensacola navy yard, 252.

CORCORAN, Colonel, held as a hostage in prison, 151.

Cotton consumption in 1861, 252; cotton enterprises in India, 252; export from the United States, 253; qualities of, 253; Surat cotton, 253; supplies from other sources than the United States, 253; imports to Great Britain from all countries, 254; its culture in Turkey, 254; do. Greece, 254; do. Cyprus, 254; do. Asia Minor, 254; do. Egypt, 254; do. Tunis, 254; do. Madeira, 254; do. Sierra Leone, 254; do. Sherbo, 254; do. Lagos, 254; do. River Niger, 255; do. other places, 255.

Recommendation to burn it, to prevent seizure, 142; export of prohibited, 165; importation of into Great Britain in 1861, 320.

Cotton Loan proposed, 142; instructions to planters, 142; views of the Government, 143.

Cotton Planters, doings of convention of, 144.

Court-houses and Post-offices in seceded States, their seizure, 315–320.

COX, General, enters Charleston, Va., 103.

COX, SAMUEL S., Member of Congress, 166; infidelity to the Union, 209; submits propositions relative to secession, 209.

CRITTENDEN, JOHN J., Senator in Thirty-sixth Congress, 166; proposes amendments to the Constitution, 172; the amendments, 173; territory to be divided under them, 174; modifications of his resolutions, 176; extraordinary condition of the country makes it necessary to resort to this extraordinary measure, 176; appeals to, the Senate to act on the Peace Conference propositions, 220; on the Compromise proposition, 223; offers a resolution on the object of the war, 244; on the confiscation bill, 248, 249; first to bring a regiment of troops into Kentucky, 401.

Currency. (See *Banks*.)

CURTIN, Governor A. G., Inaugural, 569; Message April 9th on military affairs, 569, 570; proclamation convening Legislature in extra session, 571.

CURTIS, SAMUEL R., Member of Congress, 166; on the constitutional power of the Government to protect itself, 213.

Custom-houses in seceded States, their seizure, 315–319; location and cost, 319, 320.

CZARTORYSKI, Prince, his birth, 255; education, 255; sent as hostage to Russia, 255; becomes Minister of Foreign Affairs, 255; no confidence in Napoleon, 255; official position in Poland, 255; retires, 255; escapes to Paris, 255; residence at Paris, 256.

D

DAVIS, JEFFERSON, Senator in Thirty-sixth Congress, 166; source from which this evil has sprung, 168; offers a resolution expressing the claims of the South, 186; asks to be excused from serving on the Committee of Thirteen, 175; excused, 175; motion to reconsider, 175; request withdrawn, 176; remarks on withdrawing from the Senate, 198; elected President, 127; address on his arrival at Montgomery, 127; inauguration of, 127; cabinet authorized to assume control of military operations, 180; on the commencement of hostilities, 188; proclamation granting letters of marque, 187; copy of letter of marque, 187; instruction to privateers, 188; desires peace, 189; letter to the Maryland Commissioners, 141; proclamation respecting alien enemies, 148; letter to President Lincoln relative to the treatment of the prisoners captured in the privateer Savannah, 150; remarks on in his message, 150; chosen President for six years, 158; previously elected by Congress, 155; vetoes the act to prohibit the African slave trade, 160; on the events which have taken place, 191; proclaims martial law in East Tennessee, 441; letter to the Governor of Kentucky, 399.

Davis, Jeff., privateer, officers and crew convicted of piracy, 151; hostages seized by the Confederate Government, 151.

Delaware, its boundaries, 256; population, 256; Government, 256; Legislature addressed by the commissioner from Mississippi, 256; its decision, 256; proclamation of the Governor, 256; orders of do., 256; volunteers during the year, 256; views of the people, 256; Peace Convention, 257; the speakers, 257; Legislature convenes, 257; Message of the Governor, 257.

Instructions of Legislature to Commissioners to Peace Congress, 564.

DENNISON, Governor, Message of, 556; proclamation of, 557; decides that Ohio debt is legal, 558.

DERBY, GEORGE H., his birth and death, 257; education, 257; wounded at Cerro Gordo, 257; rank in the army, 257; his writings, 257.

Despatch to the President o the Virginia State Convention, on the attack upon Sumter, 137.

Diplomatic Correspondence of the Confederate States; interview of the commissioners with Lord John Russell, 278; their letter to Lord John Russell, 278; his reply, 279; further correspondence, 279.

Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States; Senator Black's circular to all the American Ministers, 253; Senator Seward's do., 258; correspondence with the Minister to Prussia, 260; correspondence with the Minister to Belgium, 261; correspondence with the Minister to Mexico, 262; correspondence with the Minister to Great Britain, 262; correspondence with the Minister to France, 263; correspondence relative to the seizure of Mason and Slidell from the British steamer Trent, 276.

DIVEN, ALEXANDER S., member of Congress, 226; on the Confiscation bill, 249.

DIX, JOHN A., appointed Secretary of Treasury 704; speech at Union Square, 705; letter to the Collector at New Orleans on the seizure of the marine hospital, 820; proclamation to inhabitants of Accomac and Northampton Counties, Va., Nov. 17, 644; biographical notice of, 729.

DIXON, JAMES, Senator Thirty-sixth Congress, 166; the first thing to be done to avoid the crisis, 163; on the conduct of the war, 238.

DOOLITTLE, JAMES R., Senator in Thirty-seventh Congress, 166; on slavery restriction in Arizona, 188; on the Mexican law, 189; member of the Senate, 225; on the cause of the war, 243.

DOUGLASS, Sir HOWARD, his birth, 280; military career, 280; writings, 280.

DOUGLASS, STEPHEN A., Senator in Thirty-sixth Congress, 166; country before party, 168; nine-tenths of the complaints about the non-execution of the fugitive slave law are unfounded, 171; speech on the state of affairs, 175; war means disunion, 175; further remarks, 181; there is a deliberate plot to break up this Union, under a pretence of preserving it, 219; one of two things must be done, 219.

Digitized by Google

his birth, 280; education, 280; public offices held, 280; candidate for the Presidency, 280; vote of the people, 280; speeches in Congress, *see* CONGRESS; speech at Wheeling, 280; address to the Illinois Legislature, 280; sickness, 280; letter to the Chairman of the Democratic Committee, 280; death, 281.

Dranesville, Va., its situation, 251; skirmish at, 251; details, 282.

DURELL, R. HOLLAND, member of Congress, 166; the present is no time for compromise, 214.

DUPONT, Commodore S. F., commands the naval expedition to Port Royal, 289; biographical notice of, 726.

DURYEA, Colonel, at the battle of Great Bethel, 344.

E

EARLY, Colonel, at Bull Run, 85.

Earthquakes and Eruptions of Volcanoes; earthquake at Mendoza, South America, 282; city totally destroyed, 282; earthquake at Edd, Africa, 282; eruption of Vesuvius, 282; earthquake on the Island of Penang, 283; earthquakes in the United States, 286.

EGLINTON, Earl of, his birth, 284; education, 284; offices, 284; fond of sports of the turf, 284; revives the tournament, 284.

ELLIS, JOHN W., his birth, 284; education, 284; offices in North Carolina, 284; elected Governor, 284; orders the forts to be seized, 284.

Letter of, to President Buchanan, 537, 538; answer of, to President Lincoln's call, 538, 539; proclamation of, 539; message of, 539.

ELLSWORTH, EPHRAIM E., his birth, 284; education, 284; organizes the Chicago Zouave corps, 284; raises a regiment of volunteers in New York, 284; cause of his death, 285.

ELZEY, Colonel, at Bull Run, 85.

EMMONS, PROFESSOR EBENEZER, Taconic System, 670.

Epidemics, the principal that prevailed in 1861, 285; cholera, 285; typhus fever, 285; yellow fever, 285; small-pox, 285; sanitary reform, 285; steppe murrian, 286; remedy for small-pox, 286.

Ericsson's Battery. (See *Navy*)

EVANS, JOHN, his birth, 287; education, 287 discovers fossil remains, 287; labors as a geologist, 287.

Evening News, St. Louis, suppressed by General Fremont, 410.

Expeditions, Military and Naval, their number, 287, the Hatteras Expedition, 287; the expedition to Port Royal, South Carolina, 289; the expedition to Ship Island and New Orleans, 290; the Burnside expedition to North Carolina, 292; the mortar fleet under Com. Porter, 292; the Mississippi River expedition, 293.

F

Fairfax Court-House, its situation, 294; skirmish at, 294; details, 294.

Fast Days, frequent, 294; proclamation of President Buchanan, 294; resolution of the Confederate Congress, 294; proclamation of President Davis, 294; proclamation of President Lincoln, 295; second proclamation of President Davis, 295.

FAULKNER, CHAS. J., his arrest, 360.

FESSENDEN, W. P., Senator in Thirty-sixth Congress, 166; on the naval appropriation bill, 183; on the bill to discontinue postal service in seceded States, 219; on the object of the war, 241.

Finances of the Confederate States, coin and bank circulation in, 309; payment of Northern debts forbidden, 310; Treasury notes authorized, 310; action of the banks, 310; convention of bank officers, 310; resolutions, 310; second session, 310; resolutions, 310; action of the Confederate Congress, 311; payments of interest on Southern securities, how to be made, 311; cotton and produce loans, 311; form of subscription, 311; issues of paper by the Government, 311; failures in 1861, 313.

Finances of the United States, change in the policy of the Government, 295; resources and payments of the Federal Government from its origin to 1861, 295; effect of the war upon the finances, 296; loan of June, 1861, 296; issue of Treasury notes in December, 1860, 296; bids for loan, 296; loan authorized in February, 1861, 296; revision of the tariff, 296; bids for the loan, 296; taken, 297; resources of the Treasury, 297; recommendations of bank committees, 297; struggles of the Government for money, 297; war loans of the States, 297; 60 day loan of the Government, 297; demands of the Secretary upon Congress, 297; action of Congress, 298; action of the banks of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, 298; report of the Secretary of the Treasury in December, 299; his circular to assistant treasurers relative to demand notes, 299; order of Gen. Scott to the army, 299; estimates of revenue and expenditure for 1862, 299; debt at the close of 1860-61, 300; amounts afterwards authorized, 300; taxation, 301; table of States, population, debt, valuation of property and tax, 301; inequality of the tax, 301; table of population and assessed value of real and personal property in the United States, 302; table of the true value of do. per census of 1860, 302; the change from gold to paper money, 303; amount of metals in the country, 303; rate of money and bills of exchange in New York for 1861, 303; specie movement, 304; receipts, exports, and coinage of California gold, 304; bars of California gold, 304; value of each bar, 305; bullion deposits at the assay office in New York, 305; operations of the office, 305; operations of the mint in Philadelphia, 306, coinage, 306; shipments of specie from England, 306; coinage of stock sales during 1861, 307; State war loans, 307; loan of Indiana, 307; loan of New Jersey, 308; loan of Massachusetts, 308; loan of Connecticut, 308; loan of Maine, 308; loan of Illinois, 308; loan of Michigan, 308; loan of Iowa, 308; failure to negotiate, 308; reason, 308; loan of Ohio, 308; loan of New York, 308; loan of Pennsylvania, 308; contributions of cities and towns, 309; failures in the United States in 1861, 312; revenue and expenditure in 1861, 313.

FITZPATRICK, BENJAMIN, Senator in Thirty-sixth Congress, 166; withdraws from the Senate, 197; his remarks, 197.

Florida, her Senators retire from Congress, 193; their speeches on the occasion, 193-195.

Its boundaries, 314; lighthouses, 314; population, 314; government 314; State convention, 314; when convened, 314; Ordinance of Secession, 314; vote on its passage, 314; address of the South Carolina Commissioner to the Convention, 314; acts of the Convention, 314; treason defined, 314; seizure of forts in the State, 314; troops furnished to the Confederate Government, 314.

FLOYD, JOHN B., furnishes arms to the Southern States, 123, 124; resigns as Secretary of War, 701; indictment by a Grand Jury at Washington, 701; action of the court, 701.

FOLSOM, SAMPSON, Choctaw delegate to the Confederate Congress, 373.

FOOTE, ANDREW H., commands the Fleet of Federal gunboats on the Mississippi River, 293; biographical notice of, 726.

Forts and Arsenals in seceded States, their seizure, 315; Fort Caswell, its cost, 315; condition, 315; Fort John-

Digitized by Google

son, its position, 315; Fort Macon, its situation, 315; condition, 315; Fort Johnson, its situation, 315; condition, 315; Fort Pickney, its situation, 315; condition, 315; armament, 315; Fort Moultrie, its situation, 315; its occupation by troops, 315; orders to Gen. Anderson, 316, abandonment, 316; seizure by South Carolina forces, 316; Fort Pulaski, its situation, 317; condition, 317; armament, 317; seizure, 317; Fort Jackson, its situation, 317; its seizure, 317; Fort Clinch, its situation, 317, condition, 317; Fort Marion, its situation, 317; its seizure, 317; Fort Barrancas, its situation, 317; armament, 317; Fort McRae, its situation, 317; its seizure, 317; Fort Morgan, its situation, 317; seizure, 317; Fort Gaines, its situation, 317; seizure, 318; fort on Ship Island, its condition, 318; seizure, 318; Fort St. Philip, its situation, 318; seizure, 318; Fort Jackson, its situation, 318; Fort Livingston, its situation, 318; Fort Brown, its situation, 318; its evacuation, 318; Fort Smith, its occupation, 318; articles captured, 318.

Seizure of arsenals, 318, 319; do. ordnance depot at San Antonio, Texas, 319; do. of mints, 319; do. of custom-houses, 319; do. of court houses and post-offices, 320; do. of marine hospitals, 320; do. of lighthouses, 320; extinguishment of lights, 320.

France, boundaries, 323; population, 323; government, 323; occurrences of the previous year, 323; cession of Savoy and Nice, 323; occupation of Syria, 323; change in the relations with England, 324; commercial treaty with Great Britain, 324; her relations with Italy, 324; excitement in France, 324; action of the clergy, 325; decree enlarging the liberty and scope of the legislative body, 325; freedom of the press, 325; commercial treaty with Belgium, 325; copyright treaty with Russia, 325; Victor Emanuel recognized, 325; the elections, 325; the American blockade, 325; export trade to the United States, 326; effect of its loss, 326; change in the finances, 326; control of expenditures yielded to the legislature, 326; capture of Mason and Slidell, action of the emperor, 326; Mexican expedition, 326, Society of St. Vincent, 326; its suppression, 326; Renan, 327; excitement relative to, 327.

Francis, John W., birth, 327; education, 327; pursuits, 327; literary labors, 327.

Franklin, Wm. B., biographical notice of, 729.

Frederick William IV., birth, 328; education, 328; as a soldier, 328; as a king, 328; death, 328.

Fredericktown, Va., its situation, 328; skirmish at, 328; details, 328.

Freedom of the Press, its situation, 329; attack on a weekly paper in New Hampshire, 329; attack on a weekly paper in Maine, 329; newspapers suppressed in St. Louis, 329; attack on a weekly paper in Pennsylvania, 329; treatment of an editor in New Hampshire, 329; attack upon another weekly paper in Pennsylvania, 329; inquiry of the Grand Jury of the United States Court in New York if certain newspapers can be indicted, 329; these papers excluded from the mails, 329, action of a Grand Jury in New Jersey, 329; suppression of a weekly paper in New York State, 330.

Fremont, John C., ordered to Missouri, 484; his despatch on the capture of Lexington, 410; proclaims martial law in St. Louis, 411; efforts to strengthen Cairo, 421; his proclamation, 421; removed from command in Missouri, 423; address to his soldiers, 423; letter from Secretary of War to, 423; reception at St. Louis, 426; address to, 424; reply, 424; proclamation, Aug. 30, 1861, on slaves of secessionists, 643; biographical notice of, 721.

Frost, Gen. D. M., letter to General Lyon, 660; surrenders with his entire force to General Lyon, 661.

G

Galveston, Texas, its situation, 330; means of defence, 330; its batteries fire on a schooner's boat, 330; the batteries attacked, 330; remonstrance of the foreign consuls, 330; reply of Capt. Alden, 330; city evacuated by the inhabitants, 331.

Garibaldi Guard at Bull Run, 86.

Garland, John, birth, 331; education, 331; rank in the army, 331.

Garnett, Robert S., birth, 331; rank in the army, 331; commands a Confederate force, 331; defeated and killed, 331.

Gauley Bridge, its situation, 331; skirmish at, 331; details, 331.

Geographical Explorations of 1861, in the Arctic regions, 332; in King William's land, 333; Swedish polar expedition, 333; topographical surveys in European countries, 333; exploration of the isthmus between the Caspian and Black Seas, 333; sea of Azof, 333; Central Asia, 334; the Sacred Mountain of Japan, 334; route of the Amoor River, 334; valley of Cashmere, 334; Farther India, 334; Caspian Sea, 335; Eastern Persia, 335; the Sahara desert, 335; river Senegal, in Africa, 335; headwaters of the Gaboon, 335; South Africa, 336; sources of the Nile, 336; Australia, 336; New Zealand, 336; Patagonia, 336; Salt Lake and Carson's Valley, 337; Salvador, 337.

Georgia, her members of Congress retire, 213; authorizes the Confederate Government to occupy all the forts, &c., within her limits, 130; also to control all military operations in the State, 130; message of the Governor on extortion, 145.

Its boundaries, 337; population, 337; government, 337; resolutions adopted in the Assembly of the Legislature, 337; rescinded, 337; views of the Legislature, 337; address to the people of the Southern States, 338; public meetings of the citizens, 338; vote for delegates to the State Convention, 338; meeting of the convention, 338; ordinance of secession, 338; vote, 338; demonstrations on its passage, 339; other resolutions, 339; acts of the convention, 339; adoption of the Confederate Constitution, 340; new constitution of the State, 340; vote on, 340; effect of President Lincoln's proclamation, 340; Governor Brown prohibits the payment of debts to Northern creditors, 340; action of the agents for the cotton loan, 341; people urged not to ship cotton during the blockade, 341; supply of arms exhausted, 341; financial condition of the State, 341; extortions of provision dealers, 341; action of the Governor, 341; military force of the State, 342; invasion of Georgia by the Port Royal expedition, 342; vote of the State in November, 1860, 342.

Gibbs, Josiah W., his birth, 342; education, 342; scholarship, 342; writings, 342.

Gibson, George, birth, 342; education, 342; rank in the army, 342.

Gist, Governor, Message of, November 1, 1860, 647; farewell Message, December, 1860, 647.

Goldsborough, L. M., commands the naval force of the expedition to North Carolina, 292.

Gortchakoff, Prince, birth, 342; education, 342; enters the Russian army, 342; services as a soldier, 343; defence of Sebastopol, 343.

Graham, Sir James, birth, 343; education, 343; rank, 343; services, 343.

Grant, Ulysses S., biographical notice of, 724.

Great Bethel, its situation, 343; position of Federal troops, 343; object of movement, 343; orders, 343; notes on, 344; march of troops, 344; accidental collision, 344; defeats the plan of the expedition, 345; resolved to march

Digitized by Google

upon Great Bethel, 345; the conflict, 345; loss, 345; causes of failure, 345.

Great Britain, state of the country at the beginning of the year abroad and at home, 346; improvement, 346; duty on paper repealed, 346; cotton supply association, 347; proclamation of neutrality, 347; position of the government, 347; effect of the capture of Mason and Slidell, 347; steamer Nashville, 347; policy of the Government towards the United States, 348; area and population, 348; finances, 349; English army, 349; Indian army, 349; navy, 349; iron-clad ships, 349; railways of Great Britain, 350; factory statistics, 350; newspaper statistics, 350; importation of cotton in 1861, 350.

Great Eastern, steamer, size, 350; bound on a voyage to the United States, 350; disabled, 351; manner in which she was relieved, 351, 352.

Greble, John T., birth, 353; education, 353; services in the army, 353; killed at Great Bethel, 353.

Green, James S., Senator in Thirty-sixth Congress, 166; only one point of difference, 168; on the naval appropriation bill, 183; against the Peace Conference propositions, 229; on the bill to discontinue postal service in seceded States, 218.

Greenbrier River, Va., its location, 353; skirmish at, 353; details, 353.

Grimes, James W., Senator in Thirty-sixth Congress, 166; on the naval appropriation bill, 182.

Grow, Galusha A., member of Congress, 166; on the proviso to prohibit slavery in the territories, 208; elected Speaker of the House of Representatives in Congress, 296.

Guthrie, James, resolutions offered by, at Peace Congress, 566; moves the adoption of first section of Committee's Report, 566; his preamble to report, 568.

Guyandotte, Va., its situation, 353; skirmish at, 353; details, 353.

H

Habeas Corpus, nature of the writ, 354; arrest of Merryman, 354; application for a writ of Habeas Corpus to Chief Justice Taney, 354; the writ as issued, 354; answer returned, 355; interrogatories, 355; writ of attachment as issued, 355; return to, 355; remarks of the Chief Justice, 356; case of Emmett McDonald, 356; writ of Habeas Corpus issued in St. Louis, 356; question of jurisdiction raised, 356; result of the case, 356; communication from one of the judges of the United States Court at Washington, 356; remarks of the Court, 357; notice to Gen. Porter to show cause why a writ of attachment should not issue, 357; reply, 357; decision of the Court, 357; action of Judge Garrison, 358; opinion of the Attorney-General on the power of the President to suspend the writ, 358; treason, 358; letter of Secretary Seward, 358; letter to the American minister at London, 358; opinion of the Judge of the District Court of New York on treason, 359; overt act of, defined by Justice Nelson, 359; arrest of Ross Winans, 360; arrest of C. J. Faulkner, 360; arrest of the Mayor of Washington, 360; arrest of members of the Maryland Legislature, 360; Fort Lafayette, 360; list of the prisoners, 361; Pierce Butler commences a prosecution against the Secretary of War, 362.

Debate on the suppression of, in Congress, 227-234.

Hackley, Charles W., birth, 362; education, 362; career, 362; writings, 362.

Hale, John P., Senator in Thirty-sixth Congress, 166; proposes to look the troubles right clearly in the face, 167; this Congress can do nothing; this controversy will not be settled here, 174; on the uprising of the Northern people, 227; on the right of Senators from Western Virginia to seats, 235; on the object of the war, 242.

Halleck, Gen. H. W., takes command at St. Louis, 425; orders relative to slaves, 426; for a tax, 426; declares martial law, 426; order prohibiting fugitive slaves from coming within lines of camp, 641; biographical notice of, 721.

Hampton's Legion at Bull Run, 84.

Hampton, Va., its situation, 362; burned, 362.

Harlan, James, Senator in Thirty-sixth Congress, 166; on the real grievance inflicted on the South by the North, 190; all Southern fears are groundless, 190.

Harper's Ferry, its situation, 362; U. S. Armory and arsenal, 362; attempt to seize, 362; burned, 362; report of Lieut. Jones, 363; approval of his conduct by the Secretary of War, 363; subsequent events, 363.

Harrisonville, Mo., its situation, 363; skirmish at, 363.

Harvey Birch, ship, captured and burned by officers of the Confederate steamer Nashville, 364.

Hatteras Expedition, its preparation, 287; its destination, 287; forts at Hatteras Inlet, 287; vessels of the expedition, 287; commanded by Commodore Stringham, 287; the military forces, 288; their officers, 288; commanded by Major-General Butler, 288; arrival at the point of destination, 288; attack on the forts, 288; the conflict, 288; white flag raised, 288; correspondence of the commanders, 288; articles of capitulation, 288; surrender of the forts, 289; materials captured, 289; four Confederate vessels captured, 289; attack on Federal troops at Chicamacomico, 289.

Hatteras Inlet, its situation, 364; depth of water, 364.

Hatteras Island, its situation, 364; features, 364; Twentieth Indiana Regiment landed on the upper part, 364; their capture attempted by a Confederate force, 364; their retreat, 365; Union people accompany them, 365; relieved, 365; attack on the Confederate force by the gunboat Monticello, 365.

Hatti Scherif, of 1839, 1.

Hawkins, George S., member of Congress, 166; declines to serve on the Committee of Thirty-three, 294.

Hayne, I. W., sent to Washington to demand surrender of Fort Sumter, 656, 664; instructed to deliver his letter and demand explanations from the President, 665.

Hazard, Samuel F., commands the transport fleet of the expedition to North Carolina, 292.

Heintzelman, Colonel, at Bull Run, 81; biographical notice of, 722.

Hemphill, ——, are the laws of the United States in force in the States that have seceded, 219.

Henry, ——, Mayor of Philadelphia, speech at office of "Palmetto Flag," April 15, 571.

Herbert, Sidney, birth, 365; education, 365; public services, 365; as a writer, 365; character, 365.

Hicks, Governor, reply to the Commissioner from Mississippi, 442; address to the people of Maryland, 443; his proclamation, 444; message to the Legislature, 445; another proclamation, 448.

Hickman, John, member of Congress, 226; on the conduct of the war, 240, 241.

Hill, Joshua, member of Congress, 166; his conciliatory speech, 211; resigns his seat, 213.

Hostilities, who commenced them? 133, 136; capture of Sumter a political necessity, 136.

Houston, Sam., reported death, 366; birth, 366; career, 366; public services, 366; sojourn with the Indians, 366; political views, 367; address to the citizens of Texas on the Confederacy, 692.

Howard, William A., member of Congress, 166; this state of affairs is a revolution, 215.

Hunt, S. Sterry, opposes Emmons' theory, 671.

Digitized by Google

HUNTER, Colonel DAVID, at Bull Run, 81; in command at St. Louis, 493; biographical notice of, 722.

HUNTER, R. M. T., Senator in Thirty-sixth Congress, 166; on the retrocession of forts and arsenals, 190; appeals to the Senate to act on the Peace Conference propositions, 220; appointed Secretary of State in Confederate States, 162.

I

Illinois, its boundaries, 367; population, 367; value of property, 367; message of the Governor, 367; action of the Legislature on the Peace Conference, 368; readiness of the citizens to volunteer, 368; proclamation of the Governor, 368; loan for war purposes, 368; militia of the State, 368; troops furnished to the United States, 368; State expenses for troops, 369; constitutional convention, 369; progress of the State in wealth, 369; railroads, 369; grain crops, 369; culture of cotton, 369.

Instructions of Legislature to Commissioners to Peace Congress, 565.

IMBODEN's battery at Bull Run, 84.

India and Farther India, intrigues of Russia in, 369; famine, 369; mutiny of troops, 369; culture of indigo, 369; finances, 370; scarcity of cotton, 370; immense railroad enterprises, 370.

Indiana, its boundaries, 370; population, 370; value of property in, 371; banks, 371; live stock, 371; produce, 371; condition of popular education, 371; promptness of citizens to volunteer, 371; military movements, 371; forces sent into the field, 372; arms distributed, 372; extensive service of the troops, 372; militia law, 372; railroad accident, 372.

Instructions of Legislature to Commissioners to Peace Congress, 565.

Indians, Western, their number, 373; Choctaws, their location, 373; regiments furnished to the Confederate army, 373; delegates to the Confederate Congress, 373; Cherokees, 373; proclamation of John Ross, 373; Cherokee population, 373; secede, 373; troops raised, 374; Delaware Indians, 374; numbers, 374; civilization, 374; Pottawattomies, their location, 374; number of the tribe, 374; Sacs and Foxes, 374; Shawnees, 374; Ioways, 374; Omahas, 374; Kickapoos, 374; Winnebagoes, 374; Yanctonnais, 374; Sioux, 374; Cheyennes, 374; Arapahoes, 374; Pah-Ute tribe, 375; Washoe tribe, 375; Apaches, 375; Navajoes, 375; Utahs, 375; action of the Mormon people, 375; action of the Legislature of California, 375; Indians in Washington Territory, 375; number of Indian schools, 375; wealth of Indians, 375; moral and religious cultivation, 375; interest due to, on bonds of seceded States, 376.

Insurance, amount of property covered by, 376; fires in the United States in 1861, 377; property destroyed, 377; losses in eight years, 378; marine losses, 378; insurance in Massachusetts, 378; mutual and stock companies, 379; condition of companies in New York, 379; number of companies, capital, assets, &c., 380; do. in other States than, New York, 381; marine companies in New York, 382; profits, 383; life insurance, 383; companies, 383; claims by death, 384; mortuary experience in Massachusetts, 385; do. classified, 386, 387; further mortuary experience, 388.

Iowa, its boundaries, 388; valuation of property, 388; vote for President, 388; staples, 388; flax culture, 388; message of the Governor to the Legislature, 389; war loan, 389; troops, 389; clause of the State Constitution relative to a debt, 408; attempts to negotiate a loan, 408.

ITALY, its boundaries, 389; situation at the commencement of the year, 389; address of the king to the deputies of the people, 389; title of King of Italy given to Victor Emmanuel, 390; history of the Roman question, 390; secession of States, 390; letter of the Pope, 390; aid sought from friendly powers, 390; action of Spain, 390; refusal of the French to restore the Legations, 391; foreign volunteers, 391; defeat, 391; present power of the Pope, 391; population, 391; reorganization of the new kingdom, 391; its debt, 392; the Neapolitan kingdom, 392.

ITURBIDE, Madame, her political position, 392; death of her husband, 392; retires to the United States, 392; character, 392.

IVERSON, ALFRED, Senator in Thirty-sixth Congress, 166; apprehensions which cause secession, 168; the only concession that will satisfy the South, 170; withdraws from the Senate, 178; his letter, 178; how received, 178.

J

JACKSON, CLAIBORNE F., recognized as Governor of Missouri by the Confederate Government, 164; act to afford aid to Missouri, 164.

JACKSON'S brigade at Bull Run, 84.

JAMESON, CHARLES D., biographical notice of, 724.

JAMISON, DAVID F., opening address to secession Convention, S. C., 643.

JANNEY, JOHN, President of the Virginia State Convention, 781.

Japan, extent of the empire, 392; population, 392; civilization, 393; skill in manufactures, 393; government, 393; foreign intercourse, 393.

Jefferson, Fort, its location, 393; armament designed for, 393; design to capture it, 393.

JOHNSON, ANDREW, Senator in Thirty-sixth Congress, 166; proposes three amendments to the Constitution, 183; remarks, 184; on the right of Senators from Western Virginia to their seats, 285; on the object of the war, 241.

JOHNSON, R. W., Senator in Thirty-sixth Congress, 161; on the action of the Senate, 181.

JOHNSTON, General, at Bull Run, 84.

JONES, Lieut. R., burns the Government property at Harper's Ferry, 368; conduct approved, 563.

JONES, WILLIAM H., sent by the Treasury Department to New Orleans, 422; correspondence with the captain of the cutter McClelland, 429.

K

KANE, Marshal, his arrest, 360.

Kansas, its boundaries, 394; admission as a State, 187 and 394; border warfare, 394; drought, 394; Jayhawking, 394; military movements, 394.

KEITT, LAWRENCE M., on a pledge between President Buchanan and the commissioners of South Carolina, 763.

KELLOGG, WILLIAM, member of Congress, 225; on the confiscation bill, 248.

KEMPER'S battery at Bull Run, 84.

KENLY, JOHN R., appointed provost-marshal at Baltimore, 440.

KENNEDY, ANTHONY, member of the Senate, 225; on the act of President Lincoln, 227, 228.

KENT, Duchess of, birth, 394; early marriage, 394; death of her husband, 394; second marriage, 394; care in the education of her daughter, Queen Victoria, 394; death, 394; burial, 394.

Kentucky.—Its boundaries, 395; population, 395; government, 395; first political movements, 395; letter of the

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Governor to the Commissioners from Alabama, 395; convention of the Union party, 395; Legislature convenes, 395; Governor's Message, 395; action of the Legislature on peace measures, 395; on the free navigation of the Mississippi, 396; answer of the Governor to the Federal call for troops, 396; address of the State Union committee, 396; election of delegates to the Border State Convention, 396; neutrality resolutions of the House, 397; Border State Convention, 397; vote for members of Congress, 397; enforcement of the river blockade, 397; difficulty relative to the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, 398; result, 398; correspondence of the Governor with President Lincoln, 398; do. with President Davis, 399; Message of the Governor to the Legislature, 399; invasion of the State by Confederate troops, 399; correspondence with Gen. Harris, 400; despatch of Gen. Polk, 400; end of the neutrality, 400; action of the Legislature, 400; proclamation of the Governor, 400; satisfaction with the action of the Legislature, 401; veto of the Governor, 401; loan bill in the Legislature, 401; Anderson takes command of troops, 401; resolutions requesting the Senators in Congress to resign passed, 401; address to the people, 402; action at the next session of the Legislature, 402; influence of the course of Kentucky, 403; Sovereignty Convention assembles, 403; provisional government organized, 403; commissioners to Richmond, 403; first appearance of a military force in the State, 403; Zollicoffer advances, 404; military movements, 404; Zollicoffer's proclamation, 404; force in Eastern Kentucky, 405; Nelson's movements, 405; his proclamation, 405; address to his soldiers, 405; further military movements, 405; Anderson's proclamation, 406; Gen. Buckner's proclamation, 406; Anderson's second proclamation, 406; Sherman takes command, 406; accumulation of troops, 406; Kentucky soldiers in the field, 407; battles and skirmishes in Kentucky, 407.

Instructions of Legislature to Commissioners to Peace Congress, 565.

Admitted as a member of the Confederacy, 165.

KEYES, Col. E. D., at Bull Run, 81; biographical notice of, 723.

KING, PRESTON, Senator in Thirty-sixth Congress, 166; does not despair of the Republic, 168; on the naval appropriation bill, 183; on the acts of President Lincoln, 223.

L

LACORDAIRE, JEAN, birth, 407; education, 407; pursuits, 407; his religious devotion, 407; editorship, 407; a preacher, 408; writings, 408.

Lafayette, Fort, used as a prison, 860.

LANDER, FREDERICK W., biographical notice of, 726.

LANE, HENRY S., member of the Senate, 225; on the acts of President Lincoln, 228-232.

LANE, JAMES H., member of the Senate, 225; on the conduct of the war, 238.

LANE, JOSEPH, Senator in Thirty-sixth Congress, 167; cause of trouble to the country, 167; on the cause of the destruction of the Government, 185.

LATHAM, MILTON S., member of the Senate, 225; on the acts of President Lincoln, 227-232; on the expulsion of certain Senators, 235.

Lebanon, Mo., its situation, 408; skirmish at, 408; details, 408.

Leesburg, Va., its situation, 408; evacuation, 408.

Letters of Marque, letter of Secretary Welles, 592.

Lexington, Mo., its situation, 408; seige of, 408; details, 409; surrender, 409; losses, 409; despatch of Fremont relative to, 410; evacuated by the Confederates, 410.

Lighthouses in seceded States, their seizure, 329; name, position, &c., 320-323.

LINCOLN, ABRAHAM, elected President, 410; vote, 410; leaves Springfield for Washington, 410; speech to the citizens, 410; speech at Toledo, 410; reception at Indianapolis, 410; speech, 411; do. at Cincinnati, 411; do. at Columbus, 412; do. at Stenbenville, 412; do. at Pittsburg, 412; do. at Cleveland, 412; do at Buffalo, 413; do. at Albany, 414; do at Poughkeepsie, 415; speech of Mayor Wood, of New York, 415; reply of President Lincoln, 415; speech at Trenton, 416; speech of Mayor of Philadelphia, 417; reply of President Lincoln, 417; speech in Independence Hall, 417; do. at the flag-raising, 418; do. at Harrisburg, 418; arrival in Washington, 419; rumors relative to his passage through Baltimore, 419; letter of the City Marshal, 419; reception in Washington, 419; address to the Mayor, 419; do. to the crowd, 420.

Inaugural, its views, 710; first proclamation, 715; letter to Gov. Hicks, 716; interview with the Commissioners from Baltimore, 717; second proclamation, 717; third proclamation, 718; order relative to Gen. Scott, 720.

His views on the arrests in Maryland, 448.

His letter to the Governor of Kentucky, 598.

Bill in the Senate to confirm the acts of, 227.

His proclamation declaring Southern privateers to be pirates, 555.

Modifies Gen. Fremont's proclamation, Sept. 11, 1861, 644.

Literature and Literary Progress—I., in the United States, 420; scientific works, 420; theological, 421; political science, 421; history, 421; biography, 421; travels, 421; science and art, 421; agriculture, &c., 422; belles-lettres, 422; periodicals, 422; II., in Great Britain, 423; France, 426; Germany, 427.

Little Bethel, its situation, 343.

Loans of States and cities for the war, 367-369.

LOMAN, EASTMAN, Choctaw delegate to the Confederate Congress, 573.

Louisiana, its boundaries, 427; government, 427; extra session of the Legislature called, 427; proclamation of Governor, 427; opposition to calling a convention, 427; action of the Legislature, 428; proceedings in New Orleans, 428; vote for delegates to the State Convention, 428; seizure of the revenue cutter Lewis Cass, 428; Convention assembles, 428; ordinance of secession passed, 428; the ordinance, 428; aspect of New Orleans, 429 occupation of the mint and custom-house, 429; the funds on hand, 429; agent of the Treasury Department sent to rescue the revenue cutters, 429; action relative thereto, 429; ordinances passed by the Convention, 430; pastoral letter of Bishop Polk, 430; reception of General Twiggs, 430; vote on the Confederate Constitution, 431; vote at the presidential election in 1860, 431; proposed amendment of the ratification, 431; excitement in contributing men and money for the war, 431; call of the Governor for troops, 432; men under arms on June 1st, 432; approaches to New Orleans, 432; different routes, 432, suspension of the banks, 432; city of New Orleans bankrupt, 432; cotton at New Orleans, 433; State taxes, 433; appropriations, 433; expenditures for military purposes, 433; debts to the banks, 433; stay law proposed by the Governor, 433; troops in the field at the close of the year, 434; report of Adjutant-General Grivot, 434; attack at the Passes of the Mississippi upon the Federal fleet, 434.

Message of the Governor on extortions, 142; her Senators withdraw from Congress, 200; speeches, 200.

LOVEJOY, OWEN, member of Congress, 225; on the conduct of the war, 240.

Digitized by Google

LYON, NATHANIEL, birth, 434; education, 434; service in the army, 434; command in Missouri, 434; military movements, 435; Killed at Wilson's Creek, 435; his will, 436.

M

MACDOUGAL, JOSEPH A., member of the Senate from California, 235; on the expulsion of certain Senators, 235.

Maine, its boundaries, 436; agricultural statistics, 436; banks, 436; State debt, 436; miles of railroads, 436; action of the Legislature, 436; proclamation of the Governor, 437; war loan, 437; pay to volunteers, 437; troops raised for the United States service, 437; results of the geological survey, 437.

MALLORY, S. R., Senator in Thirty-sixth Congress, 166; remarks on withdrawing from the Senate, 195.

Manassas Junction, its situation, 438; its military importance, 438; fortifications, 438; cause of the inactivity of the Confederate army, 438.

MANGUM, WILLIE P., birth, 438; education, 438; public life, 438.

MANN, DUDLEY, appointed commissioner to Europe, 160; sent to Europe from South Carolina as commercial commissioner, 656.

MANSFIELD, JOSEPH K. T., biographical notice of, 728.

Marine Hospitals in Seceded States.—Their seizure, 320; hospital at New Orleans seized, 320; letter of Collector Hatch, 320; answer of Secretary Dix, 320; his letter, 320.

Marque, Letters of, proclamation granting, 137; form of, 137; instructions to privateers, 138.

Martial Law, defined, 438; questions arising under it, 439; proclaimed at Baltimore by General Butler, 439; proclamation, 439; General Banks proclaims martial law at Baltimore, 440; appoints a provost-marshal, 440; action of the Police Commissioners, 440; instructions to Marshal Kenly, 440; Fremont proclaims martial law in St. Louis, 441; appoints a provost-marshal, 441; Jefferson Davis proclaims martial law in East Tennessee, 441; provost-marshal appointed, 441; his orders, 441.

Declared by Fremont in St. Louis, 491; do. by General Halleck, 496.

Martinsburg, its situation, 442; skirmish at, 442; details, 442.

Maryland sends commissioners to Washington and to Montgomery, 141; reply of President Davis to, 141; arrest of members of the Legislature of, 360.

Its boundaries, 442; population, 442; influences acting upon the people, 442; reply of the Governor to the Commissioners from Mississippi, 442; efforts of opposite parties, 443; address of the Governor to the people, 443; the action proposed, 444; State Convention, 444; its action, 444; proclamation of the Governor, April 18, 444; call of the Legislature, 445; message of the Governor, 445; action of the Legislature, 446; report of the Commissioners to wait on President Lincoln, 446; reply of the Governor relative to burning bridges, 446; Legislature adjourns, 447; destruction of railroad and canal property, 447; elections, 447; another session of the Legislature, 447; its action, 448; views of President Lincoln on the arrests in Maryland, 448; final message of the Governor, 448; protests against the invasion of Maryland by Virginia troops, 449.

MASON, JOHN M., Senator in Thirty-sixth Congress, 166; the remedy is at home in the State councils, 170; response to Senator Seward's remarks, 180, 181; remarks on the President's Message with the resolutions of Virginia, 179; on the naval appropriation bill, 182; on the views of Calhoun, 182; on the bill to discontinue postal service in seceded States, 219; on the Peace Conference propositions, 221; seizure on the steamer Trent, 623; surrendered to the British officers, 695.

Massachusetts, boundaries, 449; population, 449; distribution of manufactures, 449; railroads, 449; taxable property, 449; politics, 450; election, 450; John Brown meeting, 450; military orders, 451; military movements, 451; arms bought in Europe, 451; troops in the field, 452; action of the State Legislature, 452; anti-slavery meeting, 452; compromise meeting in Faneuil Hall, 453; war loans, 453; election, 453; receipts and expenditures, 454.

Resolutions or instructions of Legislature of, to its commissioners to Peace Conference, 564.

Matthias' Point, its situation, 454; naval attack on, 454.

MCCALL, G. A., biographical notice of, 725.

MCCLELLAN, Gen. GEORGE B., details of his campaign in Western Virginia, 746; promoted to commander-in-chief, 720; notice of, 721.

MCCLERNAND, JOHN A., member of Congress, 166; on the right of secession, 208; on the conduct of the war, 293, 292; offers a resolution to prosecute the war, 244; instructions relative to an exchange of prisoners, 583; biographical notice of, 723.

MCDONALD, EMMETT, the case of, 356.

MCDOWELL, IRWIN, biographical notice of, 724.

MCKAY, DONALD, letter respecting American navy, 504.

MCKENZIE, WM. L., birth, 454; activity in Canada, 454; retires to the United States, 455.

MCKINSTRY, J., appointed provost-marshal at St. Louis, 441.

MCLEAN, JOHN, birth, 455; education, 455; public offices, 455; opinions, 455.

MEAGHER, T. F., biographical notice of, 726.

MEMMINGER, C. G., instructions to collectors of revenue in the Confederate States, 131; instructions to planters relative to the cotton loan, 142; reply to the planters who ask relief, 145.

MERRICK, Judge WM. M., the case of, 356.

MERRYMAN, JOHN, proceedings in the case of, 354.

Metals, Lake Superior Copper Mines, 455; statistics of its production, 456; Keweenaw district, 456; Portage Lake district, 456; Ontonagon district, 456; copper in the puddling furnace, 456; malleable iron, 457; copper in Canada, 457; zinc, 457; iron and anthracite of Pennsylvania, 458; pig iron in Scotland, 458; heats of melted cast iron and some alloys, 458; improvement in iron and steel, 459; gold in Nova Scotia, 459; researches on the platinum metals, 460; dimorphism of arsenic, antimony, &c., 460; lead in some silver coins, 461; alloys of aluminium, 461; new alloy, 461.

Meteoric Iron, masses, 461; analysis, 462.

Mexico, boundary, 462; States, 462; area, 462; population, 462; races, 462; trade, 462; production of silver, 462; political condition, 463; government, 463; list of constitutions adopted, 464; excesses, 464; disorders, 464; proceedings of President Juarez, 465; Mexican foreign debt, 465; taxes, 465; foreign interference, 465; doctrine of the American Government, 465; its present doctrine, 466; immediate causes of the complaints on the part of the three nations, 466; Convention between France and Spain, 466; speech of the Spanish Queen, 467; plan of operations of the allied powers, 467; military and naval forces, 468; arrival at Vera Cruz, 468; proclamation to the people, 468; do. of the Mexican General, 469.

Michigan, its boundaries, 469; population, 469; valuation of property, 469; Personal Liberty Laws, 469; message of the Governor to the Legislature, 469; acts of the

Digitized by Google

Legislature, 470; response to the call for troops, 470; extra session of the Legislature, 470; troops sent into the field, 470; railroads, 471; upper peninsula, 471; its copper mines, 471; organization of companies, 471; debt of the State, 471; amendment to the State Constitution, 471.

MILES, Col., at Bull Run, 86.

MILES, WM. P., on a pledge of President Buchanan with South Carolina, 708.

Minnesota, its boundaries, 472; population, 472; vote of the State, 472; resolutions of the Legislature, 472; troops furnished for the war, 472.

Mints in Seceded States, their seizure, 315; mint at New Orleans, 319; its coinage, 319; seizure, 319; mint at Dahlonega, 319; deposits, 319; mint at Charlotte, 319; its deposits, 319; coinage, 319; seizure, 319; at New Orleans seized, 429; money on hand, 429.

Mississippi, her Senators retire from Congress, 198; remarks, 198.

Its boundaries, 472; population, 472; the government, 472; action relative to slaves of border States, 473; recommendation of the Governor respecting, 473; Legislature passes an act calling a State Convention, 473; sentiment of the people, 473; election of members of the Convention, 474; it assembles, 474; passes an ordinance of secession, 474; proceedings of the Governor, 474; resolution against reconstruction, 474; taxes, 475; action on the Confederate Constitution, 475; debate on submitting it to a vote of the people, 475; vote on the ordinance of secession, 475; military enthusiasm, 475; military resources, 476; tax recommended, 476; do. stay law, 476; further action of the Legislature, 476; plan to secure volunteers, 476; military operations on the Southern extremity of the State, 477.

Mississippi River Expedition.—Gunboats ordered by Fremont, 293; the gunboats, 293; their armament, 293; under command of Andrew H. Foote, 293.

Missouri, its boundaries, 477; population, 477; vote, 477; public sentiment of the people, 477; views of Governor Jackson, 477; vote to hold a Convention, 477; it assembles, 478; address of the Commissioners from Georgia, 478; report of the Committee on Federal Relations, 478 minority report, 478; details of the action of the Convention, 479; action of the Governor, 479; war loan, 480; excitement in the Legislature on the capture of Camp Jackson, 480; proclamation of General Harney, 480 interview of Governor Jackson and General Price with General Lyon, 481; views of General Lyon, 481; Governor Jackson's account of the interview, 481; order from the War Department to General Harney, 482; proclamation of General Lyon, 482; movement of troops commenced, 483; proclamation of Colonel Boernstein, 483; proclamation of General Lyon to the people, 483; enlistment of troops, 484; Fremont ordered to Missouri, 484; address of General Sweeny, 484; march of General Lyon to Springfield, 485; his troops, 485; troops of General Price, 485; death of Lyon, 485; northern counties of Missouri, 485; proclamation of General Pope, 486; call for the State Convention to re-assemble, 486; its business, 486; school fund, 487; elects State officers, 487; address to the people, 487; proclamation of Lieutenant-Governor Reynolds, 488; do. of Jeff. Thompson, 489; proclamation of Governor Gamble, 489; proclamation of Governor Jackson, 490; objects of the military campaign, 490; proclamation of General Fremont, 491; military orders, 491; proclamation emancipating slaves, 491; martial law in St. Louis, 491; Fremont leaves St. Louis, 492; advance of the army, 492; retreat of General Price, 492; agreement between Generals Fremont and Price, 492; repudiated by General Hunter, 493; recall of Fremont, 493; his address to his soldiers, 493; letter from Secretary of War, 493; address of citizens of St. Louis to Fremont, 494; his reply, 494; State Convention re-assembles, 494; Federal force in Missouri, 495; further military movements, 495; list of battles and skirmishes in the State, 495; order of General Halleck relative to slaves, 496; relative to martial law, 496; runaways, 496.

Admitted as a member of the Confederacy, 165; the Legislature at Neosho, 497; agreement with the Confederate States, 497; members of Confederate Congress, 497; instructions of Legislature to commissioners to Peace Congress, 565.

MITCHELL, O. K., biographical notice of, 725.

Molasses, export of, prohibited from the Confederate States, 165.

Monitor, The, description of, 505, 506; trip to Fortress Monroe, 507; effect of the shot of the Merrimac, 508.

Monroe, Fortress, its situation, 427; armament, 427; views of Governor Letcher on its possession, 428.

Montgomery, rejoicing at, on fall of Fort Sumter, 153.

Mortar Fleet of Com. Porter, the vessels, 292; how fitted out, 292; armament, 292; how to be used, 293; their departure, 293.

Moultrie, Fort, its situation, 315; condition, 315; force that occupied it, 315; evacuation by Major Anderson, 316; instructions to Major Anderson, 316; occupied by South Carolina troops, 316; used in the attack on Fort Sumter, 316.

MUIR, ROBERT, the case of, 358.

MULLIGAN, Col. J. A., surrenders Lexington, 608; biographical notice of, 726.

Munfordville, its situation, 498; skirmish at, 498; details, 498.

MURRAY, NICHOLAS, birth, 498; education, 498; pursuits, 498; writings, 498.

N

Napoleon, Arkansas, its situation, 499; seizure of United States hospital, 499.

Navy of the United States, report of a Committee in Congress on list of vessels, and their condition, 499; resignation of officers, 500; available force of ships, 500; scenes at Norfolk, 500; preparations for the blockade, 501; vessels in service July 4th, 501; increase of force, 502; iron-clad ship, 502; list of vessels built, 503; La Gloire, French iron-clad ship, 503; English iron-clad ships, 504; the Achilles, 504; the Warrior, 504; letter of M. Ray, 504; plans offered to Congress, 504; the Examiners, 504; their advice, 505; plans accepted, 505; the Monitor, 505–507; her trip to Fortress Monroe, 507; effect of the shot of the Merrimac on her, 507; Stevens' Battery, 508; description, 508; drawings of, 509; cost, 510; further details, 510; naval skirmishes during the year, 511, 512.

NELSON, WILLIAM, biographical notice of, 724.

New Hampshire, its boundaries, 512; valuation of property, 512; population, 513; vote at the Presidential election, 513; proclamation of the Governor on the call for troops, 513; State election, 513; action of the Legislature, 513; militia, 513; assumes the Federal tax, 513; banks, 513.

New Jersey, its boundaries, 514; population, 514; government, 514, State Union Convention, 514; resolutions, 514; letters, 514; Message of the Governor to the Legislature, 514; joint resolutions on the state of the Union, 515; resolutions of Republican members of the Legislature, 515; military movements, 516; extra session of

Digitized by Google

the Legislature, 516; its action, 517; troops in the Federal service, 517; instructions to Commissioners to the Peace Conference, 564.

Newport News, its situation, 517; encampment, 517.

New York, its boundaries, 517; population, 517; taxable valuation of the State, 518; freight of railroads and canals, 518; vote of the State, 518; the Legislature, 519; Message of the Governor, 519; defiant resolutions of the Legislature, 519; action of the people, 519; other memorials, 520; action relative to the Peace Conference, 520; public meeting in New York City, 520; meeting at Albany, 521; its resolutions, 521; petitions, 521; seizure of muskets by the police, 522; letter of Governor Brown, of Georgia, 522; letter of Governor Morgan, 522; further correspondence, 522; number of volunteers furnished by the State, 523; ordnance and small arms, 523; money and men advanced by New York, 524; instructions to Commissioners to Peace Conference, 564.

New York City, its importance, 524; population, 525; value of property, 525; changes in the population, 526; city railroads, 526; lots improved and unimproved, 527; tenant houses, 527; number of dwellings, 527; property, tax, and population, 528; tax of, in 1861, 529; debt of, 529; loans for war purposes in 1861, 529; political bias of, 529; patriotism of, 530; Mr. Seward's speech in, Dec. 22, 1860, 530; effort for compromise in, 530; patriotic excitement of, after the fall of Sumter, 530, 531; Mayor Wood's proclamation, 531; departure of the Seventh Regiment from, April 19, 1861, 531; mass meeting in Union Square, April 20, 531; meetings of the Chamber of Commerce and the New York Bar, 532; departure of the Sixth, Twelfth, and Seventy-first Regiments N. Y. S. M. on the 21st April, 532; the churches of, on the 21st, 532; departure of the Eighth, Thirteenth, and Sixty-ninth Regiments on the 22d April, 533; table of regiments passing through, April 19th to June 29th, 533; money and men for the war furnished by, 533, 534; arrivals of foreign emigrants at, 534; statistics of crime and incidental police duties in, 534; supply of meat for, 534; flour and domestic produce delivered in, 1860-61, 534; City Inspector's report for 1861, 535; dispensary returns in, 535; monthly return of marriages and births in, 535.

Nicholson, A. O. P., Senator in Thirty-sixth Congress, 166; on the complaints of the South, 167; revolution has suspended the relations between the Federal Government and the seceded States, 220.

Norfolk, Va. description of, 535; navy yard opposite to, 535; vessels in, 535; destruction of navy yard, 536; old Fort Norfolk, with its ammunition, taken by the Virginia authorities, 536; collector of prohibited from accepting drafts of United States, &c., 536; small notes issued by City Council of, 536; arrival of Confederate troops at, 536, 537.

North Carolina, description of, 537; action of Legislature of, 537; resolution of inhabitants of Pasquotank County, 537; Forts Caswell and Johnston seized, but restored by Governor J. W. Ellis, 537; Governor Ellis' Letter to President Buchanan, Jan. 12, 1861, 537, 538; reply of Secretary of War, 538; passage of convention bill, 538; appointment of commissioners to Peace Conference at Washington, 538; vote of on Convention or no Convention, 538; Governor Ellis' reply to the President's call for troops, 538, 539; Pasquotank resolutions of April 23d, 539; Governor Ellis's proclamation, 539; the Governor calls for the enrolment of 30,000 men, 539; special session of Legislature of, May 1, 1861, 539; Governor's message, 539; call of convention, 539; other action of Legislature, 539, 540; seizure of Federal forts, mint, and arsenal, 540; ordinance of secession of, 540; ordinance assenting to Constitution of Provisional Government of Confederate States, 540; delegates elected to Confederate Congress, 540; flag of, 540; Senators from, to Confederate Congress, 540; loan of one million dollars authorized, 540; sending forward of troops from, 540; Union movement in Hyde County, 540, 541; Union Convention in Hyde County, 541; repair and manufacture of fire-arms at Fayetteville, 541; contributions of the State for war purposes, 541; number of troops sent from to Confederate army, 541; representatives from in Confederate Congress, 541; tax raised in, 541; battles and skirmishes in, 541.

O

Obituaries, American, 541-546; Foreign, 547-556.

Ocracoke Inlet, the fortification abandoned by Confederate troops, and destroyed by Federal troops, 289.

Ohio, description of, 556; Governor Dennison's message to Legislature of, 556; extra session of Legislature of, 556; joint resolutions of Legislature of, Jan. 19, 1861, 556; detention of arms at Cincinnati, 556, 557; militia laws of, passed April 12th and 13th, 557; Governor Dennison's proclamation, 557; war laws passed by Legislature April 17, 18, and 26, and May 7, 557; lease of public works authorized, 557; general order for organization of militia, 558; arrival of Ohio troops in Washington, May 23, 558; organization and number of Ohio troops in United States service, 558; expenses paid by State, and refunded by United States, 558, 559; Ohio Democratic State Convention, action of, 559; statistics of State, taxes, valuation, debts, naturalization, freight, &c., 559, 560; instructions of Legislature to commissioners to Peace Congress, 564, 565.

Onderdonk, Benjamin T., biographical notice of, 560, 561.

Ordnance Depot at San Antonio, Texas.—Its surrender, 319; its contents, 319; given up by Gen. Twiggs, 319.

Orloff, Prince Alexei F., biographical notice of, 561.

P

Paducah, Ky., description of, 561; occupation of by Federal troops, 561, 562.

Paris Congress, declaration of, approved by Confederate Government, 164.

Patents, new law of, 562; number issued, 562.

Patterson, General, explanation of his position on the day of the battle at Bull Run, 89.

Peace Conferences, initiated by resolutions of Virginia, 178, 562; views of President Buchanan on, 562; recommended by other States, 562; meeting of at Washington, Feb. 4, 1861, 562; delegates or commissioners from the several States, 562; John Tyler's address at the opening of 563, 564; resolutions or instructions controlling their commissioners adopted by the Legislatures of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Ohio, 564; resolutions or instructions of Legislatures of Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, Missouri, and Tennessee, 565; Mr. Guthrie's resolution, and the committee appointed under it, 566; report of that committee, 566; sections of said report as amended, and the votes on these sections, 566-568; Mr. Guthrie's preamble, 568; Mr. Johnson's resolution, 568;

Resolutions of Virginia relative to, 178; communicated to Congress by President Buchanan, 178.

Pedro V., King of Portugal, biographical notice of, 568.

Pendleton, George H., member of Congress, 226; on the conduct of the war, 249.

Pendleton's battery at Bull Run, 94.

Digitized by Google

Pennsylvania, description of, 568, 569; minerals of, 569; Governor Curtin's inaugural, 569; resolutions of Legislature of, January 17 and 24, 569; Message of Governor Curtin on military affairs, April 9, 569, 570; militia law passed, April 12, 570; law to punish treason, passed April 13, 570; excitement in Philadelphia on the 15th of April, 570, 571; Mayor Henry's speech, 571; Governor Curtin's proclamation convening an extra session of Legislature, April 20, 571; movement of troops under call of the President, 571; acts of the Legislature in regard to the war, at extra session, 571, 572; loan of $3,000,000 authorized, 572; esolutions of Legislature, 572; Pennsylvania troops in United States service, 572; arms owned by the State, 572; members of Congress elected on Union issues, 572, 573; debt of Pennsylvania, 573; railroad progress in the State, 573; Instructions of Legislature to Commissioners to the Peace Conference, 564.

Pensacola Bay, description of, 573; Fort Pickens taken possession of by Lieutenant A. J. Slemmer, 573; Fort Pickens reinforced, 12-16 April, 573; Wilson's regiment stationed on Santa Rosa Island, 573, 574; daring exploits of Federal troops, 574; attack on Wilson's regiment, October 8, 574; bombardment of Forts Barrancas and McRae by Fort Pickens and of Fort Pickens by the Confederate forts and batteries, 574, 575; Colonel Brown's conclusions, 575.

Perryville, description of, 575.

Personal Liberty Laws, motives which led to their enactment, 575; the sixth section of the Fugitive Slave Law, 575, 576; Governor Morgan (N. Y.), recommends their repeal, 576; Governors Washburn (Me.), Banks (Mass.), and Packer (Penn.), make similar recommendations, 576; recommendation of the Governor of Ohio, 577; law of Rhode Island, 577; do. of Vermont, 577; do. of Maine, 577; do. of Connecticut, 577; do. of Massachusetts, 577; do. of New York, 578; New Jersey has no law, 578; law of Pennsylvania, 578; Indiana and Illinois no law, 578; law of Michigan, 578; Ohio, 578; Wisconsin, 578; number of fugitives in twenty years, 579.

Petroleum, supply of the springs, 579; how raised to the surface, 579; location of springs, 579; decline in price, 579; exports of, 580; Oil Creek, 580; probable duration of the supply, 580; its uses, 580.

Phelps, Gen., commands first body of troops sent to Ship Island, 291; arrival, 291; landing, 291; issues a proclamation, 291; its effect, 292.

Philippi, its situation, 581; skirmish at, 581; details, 581.

Pickens, Fort, reinforcement of, 511, 708.

Pickens, Gov. F. W., (S. C.,) inaugural, Dec. 10, 1860, 647, 648; proclamation, 638; speech, Dec. 21, 654; his cabinet, 654, 655; correspondence with Major Anderson relative to surrender of Fort Sumter, 656; letter to President Buchanan relative to surrender of Fort Sumter, 656; address to the people on the taking of Fort Sumter, 657.

Pierce, Gen. E. W., commands the expedition to Great Bethel, 343.

Piers at Southport, England, 581; the form, 581; manner of driving the piles, 581; advantages of the method, 581.

Pig Point, its situation, 581; skirmish at, 581.

Pillow, Gen. Gideon, occupies Columbus, Ky., 100; his letter on exchange of prisoners, 582.

Planters apply to Confederate Government for relief, 145; reply of the Secretary of the Treasury, 145.

Polk, Gen. Leonidas, enters Kentucky, 402; his pastoral letter, 430; letter relative to an exchange of prisoners, 583.

Polk, Trusten, Senator in Thirty-sixth Congress, 166; on the condition of the country, 190; on the acts of President Lincoln, 229, 233.

Pope, John, biographical notice of, 724.

Population of Confederate States, 130.

Porter, Col. Andrew, at Ball Run, 82, 85; biographical notice of, 728.

Porter, Fitz John, biographical notice of, 728.

Port Royal Expedition, its object and destination, 289; population and productions of the group of islands, 289; date of sailing, 289; vessels of the expedition, 289; commanded by Com. S. F. Dupont, 289; the military forces of the expedition, 289; commanded by Gen. T. W. Sherman, 289; a gale of wind scatters the ships, 290; arrival at Port Royal, 290; vessels enter the harbor, 290; a storm, 290; the forts, 290; attack on them, 290; its plan, 290; captured, 290; loss, 290; results, 290.

Powell, Lazarus W., Senator in Thirty-sixth Congress, 166; offers a resolution to refer President's Message, relative to the state of the country, to a committee of thirteen, 168; remarks, 168; on the acts of President Lincoln, 230; on the right of Senators from Western Virginia to seats, 236; on the conduct of the war, 236, 238.

Prentiss, Benjamin M., biograpical notice of, 725.

Preston, W. B., member of Confederate Congress, 165.

Prisoners or persons arrested, a list of, 361.

Prisoners, exchange of, difficulty of the question, 582; how solved, 582; letter of Gen. Pillow, 582; reply of Gen. Grant, 582; manner in which an exchange was made at Cairo, 583; details, 583; treaty between Gens. Fremont and Price, 584.

Privateering, the law on the subject, 584; proclamation of President Lincoln, 585; action of the Confederate States, 585; numbers, 586; the Petrel, 586; the Calhoun, 586; Ivey, 586; Wm. H. Webb, 586; the Dixie, 586; the Jeff. Davis, 587; her prizes, 587; the Bonita, 587; the Sallie, 587; the James Gray, 587; prizes at New Orleans, 587; revenue cutters made privateers, 588; the Gordon 588; the Coffee, 588; the McRae, 588; the Lady Davis, 588; the Nina, 588; the Jackson, 588; the Incarora, 588; the Yorktown, 588; the Everglade, 588; the Savannah, 588; discussion on the subject in the British House of Lords, 589; action of foreign Governments, 590; one of the crew of the Jeff. Davis, 590; his trial for piracy, 590; opinion of Judge Sprague, 590; trial of the crew of the Savannah, 591; letter of Secretary Welles as to letters of marque, 592; transfer of ships, 592; the Nashville, 593; the Sumter, 593; proclamation of Pres. Davis granting letters to, 137; instructions to, 138; steamer Nashville, 593; her cruise, 593; the Sumter, 593; her cruises, 593; escapes, 593.

Protest of Southern Senators on the admission of California, 193.

Pryor, Roger A., member of Congress, 166; on the object of the military bill, 215; remarks at Charleston on the attack upon Sumter, 137.

Public Documents, Message of President Buchanan, December, 1860, 594; do. Jan. 8th, 1861, 598; inaugural of President Lincoln, 600; Message of President Lincoln, July 4th, 1861, 608; do. December, 1861, 607; inaugural of President Davis, 612; Message of President Davis, April 29th, 1861, 614; do. July 20th, 1861, 619; do. Nov. 18th, 1861, 622; proclamation of neutrality by Queen Victoria, 624; decree of the Queen of Spain, 626; decree of the King of Portugal, 626; views of the Emperor of Russia, 626; Constitution of the Confederate States, 627.

Pugh, Geo. E., Senator in Thirty-sixth Congress, 166; there is nothing which cannot be redressed promptly and in the most efficacious manner, 170; the Northern people had no policy against slavery, 171; on the amendment of the Constitution, 222.

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R

Railway, Subterranean, beneath the city of London, 631; its commencement, 631; length, 632; details of a portion of the line, 632; trial trip, 633.
Ration, details of the old ration to the soldier, 623; details of the present ration, 623.
REAGAN, JOHN H., appointed Postmaster-General, 158.
Resolution, on the duty of the soldiers of the army relative to slaves, 227.
Retaliation measures of between Confederate and Federal Governments, 151.
REYNOLDS, JOHN H., member of Congress, 166; let the present laws be enforced, 214; rally under the folds of the stars and stripes, and the country will be saved, 214.
Rhode Island, its boundaries, 633; political divisions, 633; manufacturers, 634; Personal Liberty Bill, 634; action of the Legislature, 634; troops of the State, 634; extra session of the Legislature, 635; Message of the Governor, 635; acts, 635; force furnished to the United States, 635; instructions of Legislature of to her commissioners to the Peace Conference, 564; export of rice prohibited, 165.
RICHARDSON, WILLIAM A., member of Congress, 225; on the cause of the war, 244, 245; on the statements of General Scott relative to the battle of Bull Run, 245, 246.
Richmond, Confederate Congress adjourn to meet at, 140.
RICKETT's battery at Bull Run, 84.
ROBERTSON, JOHN, sent by Virginia as Peace Commissioner to the Southern Confederacy, 730.
Romney, its situation, 636; skirmish at, 637.
ROSECRANS, W. S., biographical notice of, 725.
ROSS, JOHN, his proclamation to the Cherokees, 373.
ROST, P. A., appointed Commissioner to Europe, 160.
Russia, its size, 636; races of people, 636; Government, 636; causes of disturbance, 636; outbreak in Poland, 637; circumstances, 637; agronomic societies suppressed, 637; serfdom of Russia, 638; numbers, 638; condition of serfs, 638; ways of becoming free, 638; territorial acquisitions, 639; conduct towards the United States, 639; finances, 639; internal improvements, 639; education, 639.

S

Sacramento City, loss by floods in 1861, 92.
SAULSBURY, WILLARD, Senator in Thirty-sixth Congress, 166; Delaware was the first to adopt the Constitution, and will be the last to do any act looking to separation, 168.
SCHENCK, Col. ROBERT C., at Bull Run, 82-86; biographical notice of, 725.
SCHLOSSER, FRIEDRICH C., birth, 640; pursuits, 640; writings, 640.
SCOTT, General WINFIELD, views on the danger to the Union, 123; his statements relative to the battle at Bull Run, 246; order announcing the issue of demand notes to pay the soldiers, 299.
SCRIBE, EUGENE, birth, 640; occupation, 640; writings, 640.
Sequestration Act of Confederate Congress, 165.
SEWARD, W. H., Senator in Thirty-sixth Congress, 166; presents the memorial from New York City, 180; remarks, 180; on the state of public affairs, 192; offers a minority report relative to the propositions of the Peace Conference, 220; speech in Boston, 450; speech at New York, Dec. 22, 1860, 530; instructions to General McClellan relative to escaped slaves of insurgents, 646; letter to the commissioners from South Carolina, 711; second note, 718; letter to Governor Hicks, 716.
Sewell's Point, its situation, 640; attack on the batteries, 640; results, 640.
SHAW LEMUEL, birth, 640; pursuits, 640; public offices, 640.
SHERMAN General THOMAS W., proclamation to inhabitants of South Carolina, Nov. 8, 1861, 644; biographical notice of, 724.
SHERMAN, General WILLIAM T., takes command in Kentucky, 406; biographical notice of, 723.
SHERMAN, JOHN, member of the Senate, 225; on the acts of the President, 234; on the conduct of the war, 236, 237; on the cause of the war, 243.
Ship Island Expedition, its destination, 290; island occupied by a Confederate force, 291; evacuated, 291; occupied by Federal troops, 291; captures of Confederate vessels, 291; General Butler commands the military force, 291; first troops composing the expedition, 291; landing on the island, 291; proclamation of General Phelps, 291; other troops added, 292.
SICKLES, DANIEL E., member of Congress, 166; on the present condition of things, 214.
SIEGEL, FRANZ, biographical notice of, 726.
SINGLETON, O. R., member of Congress, 166; refuses to serve on the Compromise Committee, 201.
Slaves, Federal Government had no control over them in the States before the war, 641; its relation to the slaves of insurgents, 641; slaves called contrabands—meaning of the term as thus applied, 641; Gen. Butler's correspondence with the Secretary of War in regard to them, and reply of that functionary, 641, 642; correspondence relative to execution of Fugitive Slave law between U. S. Marshal in Kansas and Attorney-General, in July, 642; Confiscation Act approved Aug. 6, 1861, 642; Secretary Cameron's second letter to Gen. Butler, 642, 643; Secretary Caleb Smith's statement of the position of the Government on the question, at Providence, Aug. 16, 1861, 643; Gen. Fremont's proclamation, Aug. 30, 1861, 643; President Lincoln's modification of the proclamation, Sept. 11, 1861, 644; Instructions of Secretary Cameron to Gen. T. W Sherman, Oct. 14, 1861, 644; Gen. Sherman's proclamation, Nov. 8, 1861, 644; Gen. Dix's proclamation to inhabitants of Eastern shore of Virginia, Nov. 17, 1861, 644; Gen. Halleck's order prohibiting fugitives from entering the lines of the camps of the army, 644; Col. Cochrane's address, 645; Secretary Cameron's address, 645; Secretary Chase's orders respecting fugitive slaves to be employed on cotton and other plantations at Port Royal, Nov. 30, 1861, 645, 646; Secretary Seward's instructions to Gen. McClellan in regard to escaped slaves of insurgents, 646.
SLEMMER, Lieut. ADAM J., takes possession of Fort Pickens, 573.
SLIDELL, JOHN, Senator in Thirty-sixth Congress, 166; on the free navigation of the Mississippi, 184; withdraws, 200; speech on the occasion, 200; seized on board the steamer Trent, 693.
SMITH, CALEB, statement of the position of Government in regard to fugitive slaves, 643.
SMITH, CHARLES F., biographical notice of, 724.
SMITH, E. K., arrives at Bull Run with troops, 85; appoints Col. W. M. Churchill provost-marshal in East Tennessee, 441.
South Carolina determines to attack Fort Sumter, 132; her members retire from Congress, 206; description of, 646; debate on Secession in Legislature of, in 1856, 646, 647; electoral vote of the State cast for Breckenridge, Nov. 6, 1860, 647; act passed by Legislature calling a State Convention to meet at Columbia, Dec. 17, 1860, 647; Message of Gov. Gist, 647; military bill passed, 647; Gov. Gist's farewell Message, Dec., 1860, 647; Gov. Pickens' Inaugural, Dec. 10, 1860, 647, 648; Convention assembled, Dec. 17, 648; Mr. Jamison's opening address, 648; Convention adjourns to Charleston on ac-

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count of small-pox at Columbia, 649; committees appointed by Convention, 649; ordinance of secession, 650; Governor authorized to appoint Collectors of Customs, Postmasters, &c., and incumbents to hold over till such appointments are made, 650; discussion on this subject, 650, 651; ordinance of secession signed, 651; address to people of Southern States, 651; declaration of causes, prepared by Mr. Memminger, 651, 652; commissioners appointed to proceed to Washington and treat with the Federal Government for the delivery of the forts, magazines, lighthouses, &c., to the sovereign State of South Carolina, 651; the manner in which secession was effected, 652, 653; declaration adopted, 653; Gov. Pickens' proclamation, 653; report of Committee on relations with other Slaveholding States, 653; transfer of powers of Congress to State Legislature by the Convention, 653; anxiety concerning forts in Charleston Harbor, and pledge of members of Congress from South Carolina that they should not be attacked if no reënforcements were sent to them, 654; Gov. Pickens' speech, Dec. 21, 1860, 654; Gov. Pickens' cabinet, 654, 655; seizure of the U. S. arsenal, Dec. 31, 1860, 655; loan of $400,000 authorized, 655; Palmetto flag adopted, 655; Gen. Pickens proposes purchase of three war steamers, 655; J. N. Merriman, collector at Georgetown, S. C., seized on charge of treason against the State, 655; reply of South Carolina to the peace propositions of Virginia, 655, 656; Dudley Mann sent to Europe as a commissioner to negotiate for the opening of direct trade, 656; arms sent to Florida on its secession, 656; correspondence between Gov. Pickens and Major Anderson relative to surrender of Fort Sumter, 656; Gov. Pickens' letter to Pres. Buchanan, 656; $1,880,000 to be issued in Treasury notes, 656; volunteer force of 10,000 men ordered to be raised, 656; Provisional Constitution of Confederate States adopted, March 26, 656; Fort Sumter captured by orders from Confederate Government, 657; Governor Pickens' address, 657; 19,000 troops sent to Virginia, 657; representatives of South Carolina in Confederate Congress, 657.

Spectrography, definition of, and experiments in, 657; the Spectroscope, 657; discovery of new elements by means of, 658; detection of elements existing in the atmosphere by means of the Spectroscope, 658.

Springfield, Mo., description of, 658; battle of Wilson's Creek, and retreat upon, 659; Zagonyi's recapture of, 659.

STANNARD'S battery at Bull Run, 84.

STANTON, BENJAMIN, member of Congress, 166; no intention to make war, 212; on the amendment to the Act of 1798, 214, 215.

Star of the West, description of, 662; voyage of to Charleston, 662; is fired upon by the forts in Charleston harbor, 663; is captured by the Texans, 663.

State War Loans, 307, 308.

STEPHENS, ALEXANDER H., speech in opposition to secession, 699; speech on the war, 139; speech at Atlanta, on the plan of the confederate government, 141; speech at Augusta, on the Cotton Loan, 143; chosen Vice-President for six years, 153; vote in Congress, 155; speech on taking his seat as Vice-President, 156.

STEVENS' *Battery*, description of, 508; drawing of, 509; cost, 510; further details, 510.

STEVENS, ISAAC I., biographical notice of, 725.

STEVENS, THADDEUS, member of Congress, 166; on the rightfulness of secession, 207; on the conduct of the war, 238; on the confiscation bill, 249.

St. Helena Parish, S. C., topography and history of, 679.

St. Louis, Mo., description of, 660; guard of soldiers stationed at Sub-treasury, 660; arms removed to Springfield, Ill., April 20th, 660; Gen. Frost's letter to Gen. Lyon, 660; Gen. Lyon demands and receives the surrender of Frost and his brigade, 661; soldiers attacked by a mob in the streets, fire upon the crowd, 661; character of Camp Jackson, 661, 662; martial law declared in, 662; protest of the mulcted secessionists in, 662.

Stock, average sales during the year, 207.

STONE, CHARLES P., biographical notice of, 723.

STORRS, WILLIAM L., biographical notice of, 663.

STRINGHAM, Com. S. H., commands the naval expedition to Hatteras Inlet, 287; conference relative to surrender of the forts on board his ship, 288.

STUART'S cavalry at Bull Run, 84.

Sugar, export of prohibited, 165.

Sultan of Turkey, 1.

Summerville, Va., description of, 663; skirmish at, 663.

SUMNER, CHARLES, member of the Senate, 166; offers a memorial against any compromise, 220.

SUMNER, EDWIN V., biographical notice of, 722.

Sumter, Fort, supply vessels sail from New York, 718; when fire opened upon her, 138; labors of the engineer corps in completing, 664; occupied by Major Anderson, Dec. 26, 1860, 664; officers and garrison of, 664; excitement at Charleston in consequence, 664; Gov. Pickens demand for surrender of, 664; Col. Hayne sent to Washington to demand surrender of, 664; correspondence of Messrs. Fitzpatrick, Mallory and Slidell with the President on, 664; President's answer sent to Charleston, and reply of S. C. Government, 665; Col. Hayne instructed to deliver his letter, and demand whether the President asserted his right to send reënforcements to, 665; the President's reply, 665; question of attacking, referred to Confederate Congress, 665; women and children removed from, 665; Gen. Beauregard demands the evacuation of, April 11, 665; Major Anderson's reply, 665; Gen. Beauregard's proposal, 665, 666; Anderson's reply, 666; Gen. Beauregard notifies Major Anderson that he will open fire in one hour, 666; the first day's bombardment of, 666; list of batteries firing upon, 666, 667; armament of fort, 667; effect of fire from, 667; effect of fire of enemy's batteries on, 667; the second day's bombardment of, 667, 668; hot shot fired on from Fort Moultrie and other batteries, 668; barracks set on fire, 668; Wigfall and his flag of truce, 668; terms of evacuation agreed upon with, 668; terms of evacuation of, finally approved by Gen. Beauregard, 668, 669; condition of, at time of evacuation, 669; fleet sent by government for relief of, 669; official notification of evacuation of, by Major Anderson, 669; biographical sketch of Major Anderson, 669; effect of intelligence of surrender at the North, 669.

SWEENEY, THOMAS W., biographical notice of, 725.

T

Taconic System, professor Emmons' theory of the, 670; long rejected, 670; recent discoveries render probable Professor Emmons' views of, 670, 671; T. Sterry Hunt's theory accounting for the formations without admitting the, 671.

TANEY, Chief Justice, proceedings before, in the case of John Merryman, 354-356.

Tariff, revenue and protective, discussions on, 671; table of changes in and results of, 672; whole revenue of each tariff, 672; warehousing system, and independent treasury plan of finance adopted, 672; tariffs of 1857 and 1861, 672; orders of the Treasury Department, 673; do. of collector of New York, 673; protest against the payment of duties, 673; comparative rates of duty for twenty years, 673; difficulties in the operation of the old and new tariff, 675; revenue at New York, 675.

Taxes in the Confederate States, 164.

Digitized by Google

Taylor, Fort, its location, 675; armament, 675.
TAYLOR, Lieutenant-Colonel, bears a letter from Jefferson Davis to President Lincoln, 150.
Telegraph, Electric, progress in 1861, 675; communication with San Francisco, 675; on the lower Amoor, 675; connection between Europe and America through Russia, 675; by the Atlantic Ocean, 676; smaller enterprises, 676.
Telegraphic Despatches, their seizure a violation of the Constitution, 230.
Tennessee, instructions of Legislature to commissioners to Peace Conference, 555.
Its boundaries, 676; population, 676; sessions of its Legislature, 676; members, when elected, 676; vote for President, 677; extra session of the Legislature called, 677; evils complained of, 677; conservative sentiment, 677; New York resolutions, how received, 677; election of delegates to a State Convention, 677; vote on the Convention, 678; answer of the Governor to the President's proclamation, 678; address of citizens, 678; Legislature convenes, 679; message to, 678; Commissioner from the Confederate States, 679; letters from citizens, 679; military league made with the Confederate States, 679; articles, 679; declaration of Independence, 680; ordinance to adopt the Provisional Constitution, 680; a military force organized, 681; fundamental law of the State, 681; payment of debts to Northern citizens prohibited, 682; progress of military affairs, 682; Union Convention in East Tennessee, 683; acts of the Legislature, 683; efforts to procure arms, 683; message of the Governor, 684; call for men, 684; second call, 685; burning of bridges in East Tennessee, 685.
Message of the Governor on extortions, 144.
Tennessee, East, martial law in, 153, 441.
Territories, their division as proposed by the Crittenden amendments to the Constitution, 174; organized in 1861, 685; Dakotah, its size, 685; boundaries, 685; Colorado, its size, 686; boundaries, 686; Nevada, its size, 686; boundaries, 686.
Texas, boundaries, 686; government, 686; population, 686; secession sentiment of the people, 686; Governor refuses to call a session of the Legislature, 687; his views, 687; call for a convention, how made, 687; action of the Governor, 687; Legislature convened, 688; resolutions relative to a State Convention, 688; vote of the State for members of the Convention, 688; ordinance of secession, 688; vote of the people upon it, 689; vote at the Presidential election, 689; difficulty between the Governor and the State Convention, 689; action of the Convention, 690; condition of affairs, 690; war loan, 690; United States forces in Texas, 690; surrender of Twiggs, 690; seizure of public property, 690; surrender of Major Sibley, 691; surrender of Colonel Reeve, 691; address of ex-Governor Houston to the people, 692; his letter to the people in favor of the Confederate Government, 692; intercourse with Northern people prohibited, 692; state of affairs at the close of the year, 693; troops in the field, 693; crops, 693.
THOMAS, Col. F. J., killed at Bull Run, 84.
THOMAS, FRANCIS, member of Congress, 210; on the right of the Government to use the forts for other purposes than the defence of the States, 210.
THOMAS, GEORGE H., biographical notice of, 724.
THOMAS, PHILIP, resigns as Secretary of Treasury, 704.
THOMPSON, JACOB, resigns as Secretary of the Interior, 704.
TOMPKINS, Lieut., commands the cavalry in the skirmish at Fairfax Court-House, 224.
TOOMBS, ROBERT, Senator in Thirty-sixth Congress, 166; the Union is dissolved, 176; men are arming to defend the separation, 176.
TOUCEY, ISAAC, resolution of censure as Secretary of the Navy passed the House of Representatives, 216.
TOWNSEND, Col., at the battle of Great Bethel, 344.
Treason, Secretary Seward's letter defining, 358.
Trent, steamer, how employed, 693; passengers, 693; boarded by officers from the San Jacinto, 693; the English report, 693; an officer's report, 694; protest of Mason and Slidell, 694; details, 695.
TRUMBULL, LYMAN, Senator in Thirty-sixth Congress, 166; on slavery in Arizona, 190; reply to Senator Davis, 192; on the condition of affairs, 228; on the acts of President Lincoln, 238; on the object of the war, 241.
TUCKER, GEORGE, birth, 695; education, 695; public offices, 695; writings, 695.
TWIGGS, Gen., surrenders the ordnance depot at San Antonio, Texas, 319, also 690; dismissed from the army by order of the President, 319.
Tybee Island, its situation, 695; reconnoissance of, 695; occupied, 695.
TYLER, JOHN, member of Confederate Congress, 165; despatch to, relative to the attack on Sumter, 137; address of at opening of Peace Conference, 563, 564.

U

United States, population, 696; election of President, 696; principle represented, 696; officers of the Government in 1860, 697; opinion of the Attorney-General on the right of a State to secede, 697; do. on collection of duties in a seceded State, 697; right of the Government over public property, 697; right of the Government to make war upon a State, 698; affairs in the Southern States, 699; speech of Stephens on the prosperity of the Union, 699; President Buchanan's message, 699; attitude of South Carolina, 699; resignation of Secretary Cobb, 700; resignation of Secretary Cass, 700; reason, 700; state of public sentiment at this time, 700; affairs in South Carolina, 701; resignation of Secretary Floyd, 701; reason, 701; correspondence, 701; arrival of Commissioners from South Carolina at Washington, 701; object, 701; letter to the President, 702; his reply, 702; manner of their reception, 702; President's views on the movement of Major Anderson, 703; reply of the commissioners, 703; rejected by the President, 703; President's message of Jan. 8th, 703; principles governing his conduct, 703; resignation of Secretary Thompson, 704; correspondence relative thereto, 704; resignation of Secretary Thomas, 704; reasons, 704; John A. Dix appointed to the Treasury, 704; views of the Government at this time, 705; decision respecting Fort Sumter, 705; commissioner Hayne, of South Carolina, arrives at Washington, 705; the proposition to him, 705; letters of Senators to the President, 705; reply of Secretary Holt, 705; a final reply to demand for Fort Sumter, 706; Virginia peace resolutions, 707; mission of ex-President Tyler, 707; action of the President, 708; armistice charged on President Buchanan, 708; sentiments of the people, 709; close of Mr. Buchanan's term of office, 709; inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, 709; the change which had taken place since November, 709; the policy of the President declared, 710; commissioners from South Carolina arrive at Washington, 710; letter to Secretary Seward, 710; his reply, 711; commissioners' response, 712; military movements in New York, 713; preparation of transports, 713; sail from the port, 714; excitement, 714; affairs at Charleston, 714; Virginia commissioners visit the President to inquire as to his policy, 714; his answer, 715; capture of Sumter, 715; proclamation of President Lincoln, 715; call for troops by the Secretary of War, 715; answers of the Governors of the respective States, 716;

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letter of President Lincoln to the Mayor of Baltimore, 716; letter of the Secretary of State to the Governor of Maryland, 717; interview between commissioners from Baltimore and the President, 717; the blockade proclamation, 717; seizure of telegraphic despatches, 718; proclamation ordering blockade of Florida, and suspension of habeas corpus writ, 718; instructions by the Secretary of the Treasury to collectors of the customs, 718; mails discontinued, 718; extra session of Congress, 719; its action, 719; finances, 719; army, 719; navy, 719; act passed to approve and justify the acts of the President, 719; its constitutionality, 719; military arrangements, 719, 720; retirement of Gen. Scott, 720; promotion of Gen. McClellan, 720; correspondence, 720; order of Gen. McClellan on taking command of the army, 721; biographical notices of numerous army officers, 721-726.

V

Vermont, its boundaries, 726; statistics, 727; response to the call for troops, 727; action of the Legislature, 727; Personal Liberty Bill, 727; war loan, 727; first regiment, 727; other troops, 728; vote of the State, 728.

VICAT, LOUIS JOSEPH, birth, 728; discoveries, 728; pursuits, 728; honors, 728.

VIELE, E. L., biographical notice of, 726.

Vienna, its situation, 728; skirmish at, 728.

Virginia, movement of her Legislature for a Peace Conference, 178; the resolutions, 178; boundaries, 729; population, 729; vote, 729; public sentiment, 729; Union meetings, 729; resolutions of New York, how received, 729; action of the Legislature, 730; address of members of Congress, 730; the State Convention, 730; it assembles, 731; organization, 731; proceedings, 731; on Lincoln's inaugural, 732; debates, 732, 733; communication from Governor Pickens, 734; response to the call for troops, 734, ordinance to repeal the ratification of the United States Constitution, 735; proclamation, 735; exports of grain prohibited, 736; warlike aspect, 736; joins the Southern Confederacy, 736; convention with, 737; proceedings in Western Virginia, 737; mustering troops, 738; military movements, 738; bridges ordered to be burned, 738; debate on the payment of State interest, 739; vote on the secession ordinance, 739; paper money, 740; military strength of Virginia, 740; condition of affairs in the State, 741; list of battles and skirmishes, 741; counties of Accomac and Northampton, 742; proclamation of General Dix, 742; prices of merchandise, 742; passes ordinance of secession, 138; how received in the Confederate States, 138.

Virginia, Western, its attachment to the Union, 743; boundaries, 743; a Convention called, 743; its proceedings, 743; Declaration of Independence, 743; speech of the new Governor, 743; address of Governor Letcher to the people, 743; McClellan's proclamation, 744; population, 744; Attorney-General Bates on the situation of Western Virginia as a State, 745; McClellan's proclamation to the Union men, 745; to his troops, 746; details of his campaign, 746, 747; despatches, 747.

W

WADE, BENJAMIN F., Senator in Thirty-sixth Congress, 166; totally unable to understand precisely what it is of which they complain, 171; when has a Republican Senator proposed to violate a right of the South? 171; on the bill to discontinue postal service in seceded States, 218.

WALKER, L. P., Secretary at War, orders General Beauregard to demand the surrender of Fort Sumter, 182; further correspondence, 182; remarks on attack on Sumter, 183; "No man could tell where this war would end," 183; letter to Governor Magoffin, 183.

WARD, JAMES H., birth, 748; education, 748; writings, 748; service, 749.

Warren, Fort, used as a prison, 862.

Warsaw, Mo., burning of, 495.

Washington, its situation, 749; circumstances of its selection for the seat of Government, 749; rumors of an attack on President Lincoln, 750; investigation, 750; assembling of troops at, 750; inquiries by Congress of the reason, 750; reply of President Buchanan, 750; do. of Secretary Holt, 751; inauguration ceremonies, 751; excitement on April 15th, 752; movement of troops, 752, 753; small arms and ordnance issued at the arsenal, 753.

Wheeling, Va., its situation, 754; capital of Western Virginia, 754.

WHITTEMORE, THOMAS, birth, 754; pursuits, 754; writings, 754.

WICKLIFFE, CHAS. A., member of Congress, 226; on the confiscation bill, 247.

WIGFALL, LOUIS T., Senator in Thirty-sixth Congress, 166; we intend to leave this Union—then bring us back, 168; the people of the South cannot save the Union, 171; on non-intervention, 181; comes with a flag of truce to Fort Sumter, 668.

WILLEY, WAITMAN T., member of the Senate, 225; on the object of the war, 242.

Williamsport, Va., its situation, 754; skirmish near, 755.

WILLIAMS, THOMAS S., birth, 754; education, 754; pursuits, 754.

WILSON, HENRY, member of the Senate, 228; on the acts of President Lincoln, 228-233.

Wilson's Creek, Mo., its situation, 755; details of the battle at, 755.

WILSON, WILLIAM, stationed with his regiment on Santa Rosa Island, 573; attacked by Confederates, October 8, 1861, 574.

WINANS, ROSS, his arrest, 860.

Winchester, its situation, 755; occupied by troops, 755.

WINDER, J. H., letter on seizing certain Federal prisoners for hostages for the safety of Confederate privateersmen, 151.

WINTHROP, THEODORE, his birth, 756; education, 756; death, 756.

Wisconsin, its boundaries, 756; population, 756; banks, 756; bank riot, 756; vote for Lincoln, 756; session of the Legislature, 756; its action, 757; the war bill, 757; acts passed, 757; troops furnished, 757.

WISE, GEN. H. A., retreats from Charleston, Va., 103.

Wochentliche Union office sacked by a mob, 687.

WOOD, BENJAMIN, member of Congress, 226; offers a resolution in the House, 244.

WOOD, FERNANDO, proclamation of, 521.

Wool and Flax Fabrics, the disentegration, 757; how done, 757; uses, 757.

WOOL, JOHN ELLIS, biographical notice of, 722.

WRIGHT, HORATIO G., biographical notice of, 724.

Y

YANCEY, WM. L., appointed Commissioner to Europe, 160.

YULEE, DAVID L., Senator in Thirty-sixth Congress, 166; withdraws, 193; remarks on, 193.

Z

ZAGONYI, Major CHARLES, re-capture Springfield, Mo., 659.

ZWIRNER, ERNST F., his birth, 758; education, 758; labors in architecture, 758.

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